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ANNUAL REGISTER**

THE INDIAN ANNUAL REGISTER

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JULY—DECEMBER 1942

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Chronicle of Events

July 1942

His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council was extended; and it was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay, expressed the determination of the Princes to fight for the King-Emperor and the defence of the Motherland.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared at Nagpur that the Indians being a subject people could not help China. Pandit Nehru deplored the condition of education in the country due to the war situation.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his book "Freedom and India," complained: "We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari resigned his membership of the Congress and the Assembly.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of the British power from India and ploudded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. On the failure of the appeal, the Congress intended to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

At the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A. (Central) declared: "If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said in New Delhi: (re: negotiation with the Congress): "If this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if this question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war.....it is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiation".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said: "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article entitled "To every Japanese", said: "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister, of Bihar, and a member of the Congress Working Committee, said at Patna: "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in a letter to the *Times*, "Nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Mr. M. S. Aney said at Nagpur: "The Cripps' proposal should be accepted.....these proposals gave all parties the chance of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government."

Mr. Jammadas Mehta said at Poona: "The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity to India and the Allied cause. It was the biggest diplomatic failure."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar wanted to resign the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, on account of ill health.

1st Professor Comland, Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, surveying the Cripps' Mission's negotiation, in a booklet published in London, observed: "As regards both Anglo-Indian and Hindu-Muslim relations the Cripps' Mission has opened a new phase of the Indian question."

The Government of Bombay decided to institute a State Medical Faculty to hold examinations leading up to the registrable medical qualifications in Allopathy, pending the conversion of the Government Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad into Medical Colleges.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview to the "*News Chronicle*" said: "We want all Indians to have the will to resist Japanese aggression and never to submit and to help China to the best of our ability. But it is impossible to do these things effectively within the frame work of the present structure and policy in India. Risks must be taken in the attempt to change this, but complacently to allow it to remain is the greatest of all risks. The defence of India can only be effective under a free Government with the full co-operation and good-will of the Indian people."

Mr. Rajendra Prasad discussed the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardhaganj. The discussion included Gandhiji's proposed new movement. Mr. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, had further talks with Mahatma Gandhi on the constructive programme about village self-sufficiency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, apprised Mahatma Gandhi of the trend of his discussions with Mr. Jinnah, who insisted on his demand of Pakistan in his talks with Mr. Rajagopalachari.

The Council of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held two sittings at Gorakhpur.—It discussed the general situation in the country in the light of the international situation.

2nd. It was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.C.M., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios were made by the Governor-General:—
Member in charge of Information—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in succession to the late Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

Member in charge of Civil Defence—Sir J. P. Srivastava, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghubendra Rao.

Member for War Transport, and for Ports and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications to be Governor of Assam—Sir E. C. Benthall and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

Member for Defence.—The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon.

Commerce Member.—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, to succeed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaaswami Mudaliar, on his appointment as a representative of India on the War Cabinet.

Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker—Sir Jogendra Singh.

Member-in-charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in future to be designated the War Portfolio.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said at question time in the House of Commons, that he had received a letter from the Glasgow Trades Council (a Labour Organization) asking for the reopening of negotiations and that he was replying that the Government's attitude was clearly stated by himself and Sir Stafford Cripps on April 28.

He added: "Statements already made show that the Viceroy will always be willing to listen to suggestions made within the framework of our previous proposals by any representative body of Indian public opinion."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a Press interview in Bombay, said that he felt that the only way Britain could do justice was by handing over "Moslem homelands to the Moslems and Hindu homelands to the Hindus." This, he said, was a practical proposition and would cause the least amount of trouble and friction. The Pakistan Scheme was just and reasonable both for Hindus and Moslems. He characterized the Congress proposal for a "united and democratic government for the whole of India" as one which could and would mean for all intents and purposes, a Hindu Raj and Hindu domination, over a hundred million Moslems.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee on account of ill health and addressed a letter to the effect to Maulana Azad.

3rd. Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India, in visiting Manchester, met a number of Indian trainees who were working at engineering factories in the north-west.

Mr. A. C. Sen, presiding at the quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, discussed the problem of food-supply in the country. Mr. Sen referred particularly to the position in regard to the supply of rice, salt and sugar. In this connexion, he expressed his approval of the Government's "Grow more food" campaign.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, in a statement at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes, in Bombay, reiterated the determination of the Princes to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland and for the world cause at stake.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message of Greeting and Goodwishes to the President of the United States on the occasion of the American Independence Day.

The adjourned meeting of the Provincial Organizing Committee, set up by the Progressive Coalition Party was held at the Calcutta residence of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq in the chair.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting held under the presidentship of Pandit Suraj Bali Pandey, President of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee, at Gorakhpur, observed: "We do not want the Germans or the Japanese to come to India. We will fight them with or without arms."

4th. The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, visited Liverpool. He was met by Sheikh Abdul Hamid and Mr. M. U. Bakht, the Indian Seamen's Welfare Officer.

Sir Azizul Haque, in a speech at Chester, said: "Today, India holds the most important key position". Sir Azizul outlined India's contribution of an average of 40,000 Seamen to the British mercantile services, the enlistment of 50,000 men voluntarily to the army every month, and the development of industry on a scale which could not be believed by any one unless he went to India. India had been so organised that she was able to provide a very large amount of war munitions.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, speaking at a big Red Shirt gathering at Babra, near Charsadda, criticised the British Government for not taking Indians into their confidence.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier."

The Mysore Legislative Council concluded its discussion on the cut motions

on the Budget for 1942-43, and voted all the demands. Mr. D. H. Chandra-sekhar, President of the Council, presided.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, declared that Indians at the moment being a subject nation, could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help. Pandit Nehru added that Britain professed to be fighting for freedom and democracy, yet she denied these to peoples in her Empire. The result was that a subjugated country like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the Jodhpur situation in the *Harijan*, advised the workers to observe restraint in language. He offered his condolences to the widow and children of Mr. Balmukund Bisa.

The Government of India decided to appoint an Officer to make a special study of the all-India aspects of problems connected with the supply and prices of articles of common consumption.

Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, C.I.E., I.C.S., Establishment Officer to the Government of India, was appointed Civil supplies Commissioner (Rice and Miscellaneous) in addition to his duties as Establishment officer.

- 5th. Mr. Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, opening the National Youths' Conference at the St. Mary's Hall, George Town, exhorted Indian Youths to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, whose voice was more than ever the voice of India.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the second Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Bangalore, said that the Hindu Mahasabha movement was, in its merit, entirely and strictly national and was always prepared to deal with the communal problems in a spirit of equality and justice.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in the *National Herald*: "Truth, they say, is the first casualty in war. There are many other casualties.....I do not know in which category education will fall. In India, education is apparently considered a luxury in war time by Military or Civil authorities. Already many Schools have been closed and probably many more will suffer the same fate."

The Government of Bengal promulgated an Ordinance identical with the Turbulent Areas Ordinance promulgated during the latter part of 1941, in view of the recurrence of disturbances in Dacca.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay appreciating the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council said: "It constitutes a step forward in the direction of constitutional progress, larger Indian in action and non-officialisation of the Council is also an improvement on the present state of things."

At the annual meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation at Poona, several resolutions touching on the various aspects of the political life of the country were passed.—Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Federation, was in the chair.

Mr. N. Kalyankrishnan, presiding over the South India Students and National Defence Convention held at Salem, stressed the imperative need for national unity and a National Government to organise resistance to foreign aggression.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement from Allahabad on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He said: "In my opinion the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, though it raises the number of Indians to ten, does not really betoken any change in the political and institutional character of the council or its powers. It is only the continuation of the policy of the Declaration of August 8, 1940."

- 6th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha, under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The Government of Bihar prohibited the export of rice outside the province.

Dr. Cyril Fox, Director General, Geological Survey of India, in a talk to a gathering of industrialists and journalists in New-Delhi, dealt with India's great mineral wealth and efforts to discover and develop it through the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

The Government of India informed the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, that the question of granting compensation for goods abandoned by owner and goods seized by the enemy, would be considered after the war.

At the Mysore Legislative Council, non-official business was taken up. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekhar occupied the chair.

- 7th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked by Mr. Stephen

Davis (Labour) in the House of Commons whether "with a view to rendering unnecessary the retention in India of British, American and other troops now there he will make immediate approaches to leaders of the Indian National Congress in order to establish a National Government in India so that the people shall be inspired to organise the defence of their own country." Mr. Amery replied : "No. The forces now in India are indispensable for the safety of India and for victory of the Allied cause and will be retained until victory is achieved."

Sir A. Rama-swami Mudaliar, reviewing his three years' stewardship of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association, claimed that though spectacular results by way of starting "big basic industries" were not achieved during the period, a number of "ancillary and auxiliary industries had been started, which would provide the base for basic industries."

At the session of the Congress Working Committee held at Sewagram, Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views already expressed in the Harijan, both with regard to his attitude towards the British Government and the communal problem.

The *Monshoor*, the official organ of the All-India Muslim League, wrote from New Delhi: "In spite of the strong position of the rank and file of the Congress Party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with firmness and determination is doing propaganda for his great mission to effect a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League."

A Press Note from Bombay, stated : "Since the Government of Bombay undertook a review of the cases of persons who are being detained under its order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, out of 84 communist detainees, who were under detention on January, 1, 1942, 47 have been released up to date. The remaining cases are under consideration."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, which was held to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Chinese war of resistance, emphasised that the people of this country should shoulder the task of defending it from the Japanese. He also pointed out that there was no difference between the "Pakistan" of his conception and that of Mr. Jinnah and the communists.

- 8th. The Congress Working Committee resumed its discussion on the general political situation at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a special interview to British and American Press correspondents at Wardha, observed : "The Congress position is very much changed since Sir Stafford Cripps' departure. The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing to then. The rank and file felt great relief when the negotiations failed. I would have got the passive approval of the Congress to a settlement with Sir Stafford Cripps but now it is not possible to secure that passive approval."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, replying to the reception by the British Council in Liverpool, said : "India has her differences, but what country in the world is without its differences ? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural we should have many languages but please remember that Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the foreword to the volume of his speeches, under the title "India and Freedom", said : "There is no charge to which British public opinion has been more sensitive than the reproach that our policy towards India bears no relation to our professed war aims. We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

- 9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his letter to the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, in reply to the latter's communication, calling upon him to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him, wrote : "In order to be absolutely free to carry on my campaign for converting the Congress from its present policy, I have decided to resign my membership of the Congress and to tender my resignation of the Assembly membership at the meeting of the Party on the 15th. July."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, labour Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council in an interview in Bombay, observed : "What is wrong with the present politicians in India is their conception of majority rule. Just as the minority

has no right to veto the decision of the majority, so also the majority has no right to rule over the minority against its consent.

The Congress Working Committee had another sitting at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a Press interview said: "Whatever we do our desire and intention are clear—we do not wish to injure the cases of China or the defence of India. It is obvious that any step we may take against the British Government may be full of perils. The problem before the Congress is to take steps to increase the people's spirit of resistance."

The Bombay Government issued orders regarding the requisitioning and acquisition of properties for defence purposes, including A. R. P.—Collectors of districts and other requisitioning authorities were instructed to give, in consultation with the local defence authorities, as much notice as possible to persons who were to be evicted from their lands or buildings, and see that no person was evicted unnecessarily.

- 10th. The Congress Working Committee held further discussions at Sevagram in Mahatma Gandhi's hut on the draft resolution on the political situation prepared by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in a statement in Madras, said: "I am convinced that if the Congress accepts the principle of territorial self-determination that I have proposed in my A. I. C. C. resolution, we can make Mr. Jinnah and his League accept it and join the Congress in a united political front."

It was officially announced from Lahore that in response to the request made by *beoparis*, the Punjab Government decided to recuit the tax payable under the Punjab General Sales Tax Act for 1941-42.

Professor Reginald Coupland in a broadcast talk from London, said: "It is no longer a question of Britain giving India freedom. It is for India to take it." He added, "Sir Stafford Cripps gave Indian politics just what was needed, a dose of realism. For the first time Indian Nationalists believed that Britain's promise to give independence was genuine."

- 11th. The Congress Working Committee met at Sevagram. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented an alternative resolution which defined more clearly the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's demand for the British withdrawal and the stages by which the object was to be achieved.

The Congress Working Committee issued a series of instructions for the guidance of the people who were affected on account of evacuation or other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property, motor vehicles and boats.

The Government of India's attitude regarding Press reports about the behaviour of troops towards the civil population in some cases, was contained in a letter from Sir Frederick Puckle, Secretary to the Government of India Department of Information and Broadcasting to the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

The Government of Bengal issued an order under the Defence of India Rules directing wholesale dealers in the city dealing in essential commodities and foodstuffs as rice, wheat, flour, atta, salt, sugar, soft coke, matches, kerosene oil, mustard oil, dals and coconut oil not to withhold from sale any of the commodities to any retail dealer or other customer in quantities normally supplied by him, and also not to refuse to furnish cash memos or receipts for the commodities sold.

Mr. K. Santanam M.L.A. (Central) resigned his membership of the Congress and the Central Assembly.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the *Associated Press*, observed: "I have not yet taken any steps to give a practical shape to my idea of having a Progressive Muslim League, because I wish to make one final appeal to the Muslim League to render me justice."

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, replying to an address presented by the Municipal Board of Badli, made a strong criticism of "those defeatists and those destructive critics, of whom there are far too many in this country."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, replying to an address at Lahore, said that the Hindus in no circumstance were to permit the Pakistan Scheme to materialise. He would fight it tooth and nail.

- 12th. At the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha, further discus-

Gandhi's draft resolution, with particular reference to some of the objections raised against the draft took place.

In reply to General Wavell's message of greetings on the fifth anniversary of China's struggle against Japanese aggression, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek sent a message of appreciation. He said: "I deeply appreciate your greetings to me and our fighting forces on the fifth anniversary of our War of resistance. Such sentiments of friendship and words of encouragement as embodied in your message are all the more gratifying for the very reason that they come directly from comrades in arms bound by the ties of Common destiny and ideals.

To observe the All-India Detenu Release Day, a public meeting was held at Royapettah, Madras, under the auspices of the Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Madras Students' Organization, and the various Trade Unions in the city, Mr. F. N. Ganesan presided.

- 13th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, replying to addressees presented to him by the Southern India Millowners' Association and the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Coimbatore, said: "There was no doubt that at the end of this war India would rise to the full status of nationhood and citizenship and occupy that place in the comity of nations which was her due."

The Congress Working Committee spent another day discussing Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution without coming to any final conclusion.

A meeting of the Hindu-Muslim Women's Unity Committee was held at the residence of the Nawab Begum of Dacca at which the programme of work to be undertaken was discussed and decided upon.

- 14th. The Congress Working Committee released a 700 word resolution on the political situation. The resolution gave a brief resume of the stand taken by the Congress. It urged the withdrawal of the British power from India, pointing out that the Congress wished to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, as far as possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nation and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. If the appeal failed the Congress would then be reluctantly compelled to utilize all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.—After the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi, in a Press interview explained the implications of the resolution and answered a number of questions put to him by newspaper correspondents.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement in Bombay, referred to an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* in which Gandhiji asked: "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way?"

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealing with the Hur disturbances in Sindh, declared that considerable progress had been made towards bringing a very difficult and dangerous situation under control.

- 15th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "Those responsible for the Congress Working Committee's resolution are faulty of either practising colossal self-deception or of trying to fool the people."

At the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party (Madras), Mr. C. Rajagopalachari announced his decision to resign his membership of the Madras Legislative Party and of the Assembly.

The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti decided to tender his resignation of the office of Speaker of the Assembly as also of his seat in the House.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan dwelt on the international situation and on the Congress resolution, speaking at a function at Benares.

- 16th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in New Delhi explained the implications of the demand of the Congress for the withdrawal of British power from India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari communicated to the Governor of Madras his resignation of membership of the Madras Legislative Assembly, as also that of Dr. T. S. Rajen, Mr. S. Ramnathan, P. Rajaveluthayar, Mr. Subramaniam, Mr. R. S. V. Aiyar, Mr. V. T. Venkatachari and Mr. Abdul Kadir.

H. E. the Governor of Madras in his speech at Bellary observed: "I beg everybody to read my remarks in the newspaper and try to realise how little and petty our differences are as compared with the great things we have yet to do

to prevent the Axis domination of the world. We have got to think big and act quick."

- 17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in the course of an interview to the United Press in New Delhi, observed: "The Congress would not be satisfied with anything but the immediate declaration of independence and the transfer of full power to the hands of Indians."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in an interview at Jubbulpore, said: "The demand for the British withdrawal is not actuated by a desire to embarrass, but the motive behind it is to enable India to defend herself and to help the Allies in winning the war by bringing India's wholehearted support to the Allied"

- 18th. Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A., (Central) in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur, said: "We know and feel that unless the Allies succeed in defeating the Axis, India has no chance of becoming a free country. If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations and will receive consideration which has not been hitherto bestowed on it by the British Government. We all wish an Allied victory."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the Brihad Gujarat Hindu Yuvak Parishad Ahmedabad, declared: "The Hindu Mahasabha has never been, nor does it ever intend to be, a purely communal organization."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Meerut, declared: "The only course open to the country is to fight British Imperialism in order to increase India's power of resistance to Fascist aggression."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, addressing a joint session of the Travancore Legislature at Trivandrum, said: "I have perused and re-perused the resolutions arrived at Wardha, under the inspiration and stimulus of that very great man Mahatma Gandhi. I do not think I can say anything else than this, that I have failed to follow or understand those resolutions."

At Gujranwala, apprehending a breach of the peace, the police ordered the dispersal of a Conference arranged by Babu Kharak Singh to condemn the management and the Sikander-Baldev Pact.

- 19th. Mahatma Gandhi, answering the question "If *Harijan* is suppressed", wrote: "I would ask inquirers not to be agitated if *Harijan* is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The Manager has been instructed to stop the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is part of the movement to publish *Harijan* in defiance of orders. But though *Harijan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be so long as I live. Indeed the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions."

Sardar Patel addressed a meeting of local Congress Workers in Bombay and explained the implications of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee. He urged Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities and to follow the instruction of Mahatma Gandhi scrupulously. They should feel and act as freemen. Sardar Patel also briefly spoke on the proposed Civil Disobedience movement.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said at Peshwar: "The Congress resolution is clear. The British will be strengthening their position by acting on our advice. With an independent India, fighting whole-heartedly as an ally of the United Nations, the chances of effectively resisting and overpowering the Japanese will considerably increase."

Sir Bertram Stevens, who was Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council in New Delhi said in a speech at Sydney: "If Japan is defeated, a new Order in Asia is inevitable. The East will never return to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malaysians, and Javanese as friends of equal status. European prestige in the form in which it used to exist has been shattered."

- 20th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took over charge of the Labour portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, presiding over the Lyallpur District National War Front Conference held at Dasua, said: "If the British quit India, chaos will follow and ordered Government will not be possible."

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, speaking at a luncheon in Bombay, given by the Chamber in honour of Sir A. Ramaswami

Medallion, Commerce Member to the Government of India, observed: "There was general expectation that the industrialisation of the country would go on apace as a result of the war. Unfortunately, it has not been so, as the Government constituted as they are, have not considered it as their prime and fundamental duty to help forward the development of vital Indian industries and the business community feels that this is due partially if not wholly to the anxiety of the Government to maintain intact the foreign vested interests here."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview in New Delhi, answered the question, "Whether there was any basis for the impression prevailing in certain quarters after the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that there was hardly any room left for any negotiation with the Congress." "If," said the Maulana, "this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if the question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war, there is a clear procedure envisaged in the resolution of the Working Committee itself, and there is no reason to suggest that there is no room for negotiation. It is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiations."

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, commenting on the Wardha resolution of the Congress Working Committee in a press interview at Patna, said: "As practical men, our appeal is 'Quit non-violence, and take to disciplined militarisation' which will make India free and keep her independence safe against all wicked aggressors and enemies of human freedom."

21st. The labour newspaper, *Daily Herald*, in a leading article, addressed to the Indian National Congress party, said inter alia: "If you persist in demands which are at this moment impossible to grant, you will cripple your cause and humble the influence of us who are your proud and faithful advocates. You will do worse, you will convey to the world the impression that India's leaders are incapable of distinguishing between the ideal of the United Nations and the petty standards of nationalism: that you rate political strategy higher than the prospect of liberty, equality and fraternity with the progressive peoples of the earth."

The Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce discussed matters relating to customs throwing open smaller ports for traffic, and the working of trade marks and insurance regulations, with Mr. Slade, I.C.A., Member Central Board of Revenue, in charge of customs when he visited the Chamber in Madras.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealt with the situation in India at a private Parliamentary meeting of Members of Parliament at the House of Commons, and discussed in detail the position created by the Congress Party's resolutions and Mahatma Gandhi's possible campaign of Non-cooperation with the object of obtaining Indian Independence.

22nd. The Governor of Bengal, under the Defence of India Rules, cancelled the orders of the Government of Bengal passed early in 1941 on all printers, publishers and editors in the province of Bengal, prohibiting the printing or publishing of and the use of any press for the printing of the periodicals entitled *National Front* and *New Age* or any successor of these periodicals.

The National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party adopted a resolution containing an appeal to the Indian peoples to try and reach a settlement with the British Government.

Mr. B. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, in the course of a statement on the London *Daily Herald's* editorial on the Congress attitude, said: "We do not want to stand aside. We want to fight the enemy but we want the confidence that British Labour has, that victory in this war will mean among other things, complete freedom."

23rd. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments released from detention or restriction a number of individuals associated with the Communist Party who desired to assist in the war effort.

Sri Satish Chandra Das Gupta, founder of the Khadi Pratiष्ठan and a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangha was arrested at Feroz (Noakhali) under the Defence of India Rules.

H. E. the Governor of Madras, under the Defence of India Rules, promulgated the Madras Sugar Dealers Licensing Order which prohibited the carrying on of business in sugar except under and in accordance with a license issued by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said : "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country and it seems to me that the All-India Muslim League must consider, as soon as possible, the developments that have taken place. I therefore propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date."

24th. Mr. M. N. Roy sent a cable to the *Daily Herald*, London, stating : "The latest Congress resolution is the logical outcome of nationalism. Therefore, abandon the hope of the Congress changing its attitude. Congress is not India. Anti-Fascists who are eager to defend India as a sector of the international people's front claim the support of British democracy. There should be no more delay in reinforcing their hands with power and responsibility offered to Congress leaders whose unreasonableness and irresponsibility have finally shocked you."

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, Agent General for India in China said to the pressmen in Chungking : "If the Wardha resolution was accepted, and Britain agreed to act according to it, India would be occupied by Japan within a week after the British had withdrawn."

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated inter alia : "The existing arrangements for the production (of salt) are more than sufficient for the annual consumption, which is estimated at about 530 lakhs of maunds per annum. The total of the stocks in India on June 15, 1942, was 362 lakhs of maunds, and it is clear, therefore, that the stocks are ample for immediate demands."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the press in New Delhi, said that he and Mr. V. G. Deshpande toured Madras Presidency to counteract the Pro-Pakistan campaign. Everywhere they were accorded a hearty reception and huge meetings were held to protest against the partition scheme.

25th. Mr. Jammadas Mehta M.L.A. (Central), President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, expressed the view that every section of the people of India, except the Indian National Congress, was in favour of helping the British in their war effort not because it loved the British, but because it loved its own country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad observed at Lahore, "If the United Nations are prepared to respond to the appeal embodied in the Congress Working Committee's resolutions, then the details can be easily settled by means of negotiation."

26th. Mahatma Gandhi, under the caption, "To my critics", wrote in the *Harijan* : "It is no use damning me as a dictator like Hitler. He does not argue with his co-worker, if he may have said to have any. He merely issues order which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister and a member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview at Patna, said : "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded. This point is repeatedly made clear by the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in their statements."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan* entitled "To every Japanese", said : "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be easily disallusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity, we should have done it as soon as the war broke out nearly three years ago. I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill-will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China."

Sardar Prem Singh, a prominent Akali Leader, in a statement to the Press from Amritsar said : "The Congress campaign will be fatal to the Sikh cause, which has just gained a foothold in the politics of the country."

Sir K. V. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, in a note to the Press in Madras, said : "Withdrawal of British power from India

the war is finally won will be the greatest disaster that can ever befall this country."

The Punjab Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in a statement at Lahore, declared: "Sir Feroz Khan invites us to go out of the Congress and the Congress leaders provoke us to do the same, but we shall not leave the Congress, as it is our birthright to remain inside our patriotic organisation."

Sir Stafford Cripps in a broadcast to the United States made an appeal to the American people for their understanding, help and support in doing whatever was necessary to maintain intact the front of the United Nations in India and reopen the life line of the Chinese.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressing a crowded public meeting at Ahmedabad, declared: "Sir Stafford Cripps' visit disillusioned the Congress and drove Mahatma Gandhi to demand the withdrawal of the British power from India."

27th. Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message to the *Daily Herald*: "Amid universal bullying, the *Daily Herald's* is the unkindest cut. This bullying seems inspired for it has no foundation."

The *Daily Herald* wrote editorially: "Presumably he is hinting that we were asked by the Government to write the article. He is wrong. We are inspired only by the belief that we are rightly interpreting the outlook of Labour men and women which is our daily task."

Mr. C. P. Lawson, M. L. A. (Central) presiding at the annual General Meeting of the European Association (Central Administration) in Calcutta, said: "The Council of the European Association had accepted the goal of Self-Government for India and were convinced that His Majesty's Government would do everything possible to establish that self-government after the war."

The Hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in the course of a statement to the Press, said: "No one can expect consistency from Mr. Gandhi, but every body did and had a right to expect a sense of responsibility from him. It is difficult to understand why Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to enter upon so hazardous a plan of action at so perilous a time in the history of India."

The Dewan President Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, making a statement in the Sri Mulam Assembly at Trivandrum, observed: "At this juncture when everything is, so to say, in a nebulous state and when people's nerves are highly strung, I make an appeal to this house and through this house to the people at large, that any agitation should be confined to the solution of specific and immediate grievances."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview at Allahabad, observed: "We do not want to be passive spectators of a disaster in India or China that concerns us more intimately than it can concern any one else. Therefore, it becomes essential to create conditions here and now which will change the character of the war, especially in India, and give tremendous additional strength to the Allied cause. That can only be done by a complete change in India by recognising and giving effect to Independence and then by co-operation as Allies between India and the United Nations in the fight against aggression. It is perfectly clear that a free India will defend itself by armed force and every other way possible. But all this is dependent upon the present freedom and the vital enthusiasm that this creates among the masses."

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chairman of the Indian Medical Association, addressing the members of the Mysore University Union, advised the boys that their chief concern should be the acquisition of knowledge during their studentship. When they entered life, after leaving the portals of the colleges, Dr. Roy added, the knowledge they had gained must be utilised, in the conduct of their lives, in a manner worthy of their noble traditions and worthy of a good citizen.

28th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at a Press Conference at Ahmedabad, declared: "Anarchy is always preferable to slavery, as there is hope of independence arising out of anarchy. The movement will not collapse if the leaders are rounded up. The new situation will create new leaders. Peacetime leaders were replaced by new leaders in England on the declaration of war. Freedom's fight will never collapse for want of leaders in any country. Experience will make the new leader wiser."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in letter to the *Times of India*, wrote: "I am not one of those who have refrained from criticising—at times far too bluntly—the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government and particularly the mishandling

of the situation in India by Mr. Amery, and yet, I feel very strongly that nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, President of the Servants of India Society, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, sounded a warning that the launching of a mass civil disobedience movement would be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

Manikdas Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a statement made at a Press Conference in New-Delhi, referred to the various criticisms, both in Britain and America, of the Congress Working Committee's resolution, particularly the broadcast of Sir Stafford Cripps to the United States, and appealed to the United Nations to intervene on behalf of India.

Mr. M. S. Aney, in delivering the inaugural address to the National College at Nagpur said that the best solution of the deadlock was that all parties should meet and evolve a formula for presentation to the British Government. He added that neither Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan nor Mahatma Gandhi's slogan, "Quit India," would lead them to their goal. He believed that the Cripps' proposals should be accepted notwithstanding the fact that they were not perfect. But those proposals gave all parties the opportunity of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government.

A Press note from Bombay stated that both to ensure more equitable distribution of commodities among retailers and to protect the public from over-charging, the Government of Bombay decided that those shops which dealt in such commodities should be licensed and that retail trade in those commodities should be permitted without a license.

29th. The Hon'ble Mr. R. H. Parker, presiding at the annual meeting of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association in Bombay urged the importance of planning in all matter and particularly Road Development. He emphasised that Roads should be regarded as capital expenditure, as are Railways and Irrigation, and that Roads should be "our No. 1 post war job." Dealing with transport problems, Mr. Parker appealed to lorry owners to fit producer gas plants to their vehicles in their own interests as well as in those of the country.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Wardha, declared: "No guarantee to be given by anybody is contemplated by the Congress demand, because the present recognition of India's independence is the need of the hour not because of distrust about the future, but because India as an independent power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part on the side of the Allies."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a meeting of students at Ahmedabad, declared: "Mahatma Gandhi's last struggle will be short and swift, and will be finished within a week."

30th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, gave a warning in the House of Commons that the Government of India would not flinch from taking every possible step to meet any situation that might arise out of Congress action. The demand of the Congress for British withdrawal would, if conceded, completely disrupt the Governmental machinery in one of the most vital theatres of the war at a time when every energy was needed for the struggle against the common enemy. It was the earnest hope of the British Government that the people of India would not countenance a movement fought with such disastrous consequences for the Allied cause but on the contrary, throw their all into the struggle against the Axis. The British Government, Mr. Amery concluded, was unable to initiate further discussions on India. Nevertheless, it stood firmly by the broad intentions of the Cripps' offer irrespective of the immediate conduct of the Congress Party.

The Indian Central Jute Committee's Bulletin stated that exports of raw jute from India from July, 1941 to February 1942 came to 206,000 tons as against 142,000 tons and 387,500 tons during the corresponding period of the 1940-41 and 1939-40 seasons respectively.

31st. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, intended to resign his office owing to reasons of health and in order to enable some other leader of the Mahasabha to carry on the work of the organisation more energetically.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the foreign Press, said: "The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee on July 14, 1942, resolving to

launch a mass movement if the British do not withdraw immediately from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of Government and transfer power to that Government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress Raj".

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding over the first United Provinces Press Conference at Lucknow, paid a tribute to the work done by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

Mr. Jannadas Mehta presiding over the second session of the All-India Nationalist League at Poona, declared: "In my opinion, the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain and it was also a military disaster."

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement at Dehradun said: "Mr. Amery's statement in Parliament that the British Government stands firmly by the Cripps' offer is very timely."

August 1942

The attention of the whole country was riveted on the policy of the Government in arresting Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other members of the Congress Working Committee, immediately after the passing of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay.

The Governor-General in Council passed a resolution to the effect that it was incompatible with their responsibilities, that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy.

The "Tilak Day" was celebrated at Poona, Allahabad and other places to do honour to the memory of Lokmanya Tilak on the 1st August.

The death anniversary of Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism" was observed in Calcutta, on the 6th August.

Mahatma Gandhi, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. office at Allahabad, said: "Their action becomes more reprehensible, when they make, what I consider to be, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a statement, expressed the view: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to replan the life of India on a new basis."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in London: "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied cause from a grave disaster."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League adopted a resolution, in Bombay, on the political situation, indicating the

League's attitude to the questions of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

Dr. B. B. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, said in Delhi: "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India. I do not want you to remain servile to other communities but I want to place the reins of Government in your hands."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in an address to his countrymen, said: "You should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive."

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill, reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression.

The India Office issued a statement, in which it said that disturbances had been limited and sporadic in character and had in no way affected India's war effort and there were no indications of any widespread mass movement.

The Government of India decided that the Indian standard Time should be advanced by an hour from the midnight of the 31st August.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harizon*: "The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the working committees resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted, and the veiled or open threats which have been hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto, it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time."

The National Council of the Congress of Industrial organizations and Maritime Union resolved that both the C.I.O. and the Federation of labour should establish working relationship with the All India Trade Union Congress and issued a plea for greater freedom for British India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in celebration of "Tilak Day" at Allahabad, said: Struggle—eternal struggle! That is my reply to Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps."

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-premier of Bombay, expressed the view at Poona, that even after twenty-two years of the death of Lokamanya Tilak, his prophetic words that self-Government and defence of a country were inseparable and complementary to each other rang true and could justify the stand taken by the Congress.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas member of the Viceroy's Council, speaking at the 22nd. anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak at Poona, made an appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to take up the lead in the critical situation and to convene a conference of the leading political parties in the country with a view to presenting a united demand.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harizon*: "A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British Rulers. The present incumbents are sole creation of the Imperial Power."

Sir Homi Modi, President of the Democratic Union said in Bombay: "I appeal to you all to close up your ranks and be prepared to fight Mr. Gandhi's call to mass civil disobedience."

Sardar Patel addressing a public meeting at Surat declared: "Let Britain only transfer power to Indian hands whether it is to the Muslim League or any other party and the Congress is prepared to dissolve itself."

Dr. Syama Prasad Mukerjee, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta, held the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Young Muslim Association, made appeal to the Hindu and Muslim youths of Bengal to try earnestly to about a better understanding between the two communities in the province.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar declared at a Press Conference in Delhi: "

is no question of my serving under or as an adviser to the Secretary of State for India. I will attend all meetings of the British War Cabinet and Pacific War Council as a representative of British India appointed by the Government of India and not as in 1917, by the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, speaking at a largely attended meeting at Poona, said: "If the Congress made an unequivocal declaration, upholding the demands of the Hindu Mahasabha, namely, the indivisibility and integrity of India as a nation, representation of the various communities in the legislatures in proportion to the population, and allocation in respect of the services on grounds of merit alone, the Hindu Mahasabha would support the Congress in any movement that might be launched for the attainment of the freedom of the country."

3rd. Pandit Rameswar Misra, working President of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a meeting at Monghyr said: "We want our India to be one and indivisible. We want independence but not anarchy."

Mr. M. N. Roy in the course of a message to the Punjab Labour Defence Conference at Dehra Dun, said: "The time has come when we must fight and win. If we fail to do so, then nothing can save our country. Let a powerful call to the masses of the country be issued by your conference."

Mr. P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in a statement in Bombay, said: "Every progressive man and woman in Britain must realise that the root cause of deadlock in India, which threatens to burst up as a non-violent struggle by the Congress leadership, is the refusal of the British diehards to recognise Indian independence and implement it here and now in a changed practice. They think the people's war can be fought minus the people; they do not want Indian national mobilization."

4th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar issued separate appeals calling on leaders of all parties such as the Congress, the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha to move in the matter and call joint All-Parties Conference.—Failing such a Conference being called, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar suggested that the Viceroy and the Executive Councillors should take the responsibility for calling such a Conference.

5th. In a press interview, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. office of Allahabad on May 26th last, Mahatma Gandhi stated: "I want to make a remark or two about the manner in which the Government have got this document. I think that the procedure thus adopted of searching the A. I. C. C. office and seizing documents was itself reprehensible. The Congress is not an illegal organisation..... Their action becomes more reprehensible when they make, what I consider, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof. In spite of the effort of the Home Department to discredit the members of the Working Committee, the reading of the notes, unauthenticated as they are, will not make any difference, at least in India in the prestige which the Congress enjoys. There is nothing in it of which any member has any cause to be ashamed."

The Raja of Mahmudabad, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press at Allahabad said: The resolution of the Congress Working Committee envisages a Hindu Raj of the Savarkar type and added, we the Mussalmans make an offer to Mr. Gandhi. Let us have a laboratory wherein we could experiment on our own lines. The conflict of ideologies is proceeding with slaughter and carnage and the end is not in sight.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement to the Associated Press at Hyderabad, criticized Mr. Jinnah's attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi and called upon the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress and other parties to bring about an immediate revision of the Cripps' proposals such as might wean Mahatma Gandhi from his threatened cause.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution in Bombay, restating the National Demand in the light of the developments that had taken place since the adoption of the Wardha resolution. The resolution met the criticisms of Sir Stafford Cripps and others levelled against the Wardha resolution and laid down in clear terms that, on the

declaration of India's Independence, a Provincial Government would be formed and free India would become an ally of the United Nations. The resolution made it clear that the Provincial Government would be a composite one representing all important sections of India, charged with the definite duty of defending India against aggression. The resolution provided for the retention of foreign soldiers in India, armed defence by the people as well as resistance by non-violent methods.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Conference in a statement in support of Mahatma Gandhi's demand, observed in Calcutta: "The justice of the demand has won the overwhelming support of Muslims as well as Hindus in this vast sub-continent: only those who are blinded by self-interest or prejudice can deny that Mahatma Gandhi's call has thrilled the country from end to end and brought new hope and courage to millions of despondent hearts."

- 6th. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in a statement expressed his views on the developments which took place in India. He said: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to re-plan the life of India on a new basis." He also added: "The Secretary of State for India made a statement last week which makes it plain that His Majesty's Government stand firmly by broad intentions of their offer in the draft declaration which I took with me to India, and that they reiterate their resolve to give the fullest opportunity for the attainment by India of complete self-government". He concluded by saying: "Concerning the attitude of the British Government there can be no doubt".

Dr. Bynas Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism", stated: "We cannot afford to remain as idle spectators at this critical hour in the history of India. Our appeal must go forth to both parties to cry a halt and to consider before a plunge is finally taken whether any settlement is possible which will satisfy the legitimate anxiety on the part of the British Government to see to the welfare of India and at the same time fulfil the rights and aspirations of the Indian people."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London in an interview stated: "I do hope that India as a whole will take a realistic view of the present war and of our own problems and that every attempt will be made to settle our internal problems in the face of our external dangers. I therefore welcome the proposal of a roundtable discussion in India."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview in Bombay, answered a number of questions on the new resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

In the Cochin Legislative Council, several important questions connected with the administration of the Education Department were discussed.

- 7th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation, for, in that liberation is involved her ability to give effective assistance whether to China or to Russia or even to Great Britain or America".

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President in a letter to Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, declared that no restriction in the deliberations of the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, if they met, was envisaged.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in his first speech as Labour Member, opening the two-day session of the 4th Labour Conference in New Delhi, defined the main objects of the Conference as the promotion of uniformity in labour legislation, the laying down of a procedure for the settlement of industrial disputes and the discussion of all matters of All-India importance as between employer and employee.

The first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee commenced in Bombay. The proceedings began with the singing of the *Bande Mataram* by Dash Sevikas. The Congress Working Committee authorised the Congress President to write letters to President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and the Russian Ambassador in London.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, issued a statement from Bombay, saying: The recent Congress Resolution of its

Working Committee, although couched in different phrases is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939. In the resolution that was passed in September 1939, the demand was for a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India with a Provisional National Government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly, the right of the people to frame their own constitution through the Constituent Assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference, therefore, between the two resolutions, is that in the first resolution what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered under a different language by the adoption of the slogan "Quit India". Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said stands for complete independence of all the peoples of India. But we turned down the proposal of the Congress because the demand for a National Government to be set up immediately would have meant Hindu Raj or Hindu majority Government".

- 8th. The All-India Congress Committee passed the resolution as recommended by the Congress Working Committee, by a large majority, only 13 members voted against it. All the amendments to the resolution were either withdrawn or defeated by overwhelming majority. The meeting was addressed, amongst others, by Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, & Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his speech, clarified certain doubts the members entertained regarding the details of the Congress programme in the event of there being no settlement with the British Government and the beginning of mass struggle.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement in the All-India Congress Committee, before putting the Working Committee's resolution to vote, said that the Congress had been trying about unity, but every time an effort was made the door was closed from the other side. If the Muslim League was willing to negotiate he would persuade the Congress within twenty four hours to start negotiations. But everytime he had attempted a settlement, the door was closed and barred.

A resolution passed by the Governor-General-in-Council stated that the Government would regard it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally and would paralyse her effort in the common cause of human freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sadar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the members of the Congress Working Committee, the President and the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and twenty of the Congressmen were arrested in Bombay and taken by special train to Poona. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was arrested at Patna.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a press statement in Bombay, said : "I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement inspite of numerous warnings and advice from various individuals, parties and organizations in this country.

The A. I. C. C. office was locked up by the local police at Allahabad.

Mr. C. B. Gupta, M.L.A., President, Lucknow City Congress Committee and Mr. A. K. Roy, member of the Forward Bloc, were arrested at Aminabad.

- 9th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery said in London : "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied Cause from a grave disaster. There may yet be a certain measure of trouble. It is too early to speak with any assurance but I believe there will be no trouble that cannot be dealt with by the Government of India through the police and courts."

- 10th. The Madras Government, by a notification published in a Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary, declared as an unlawful Association under Sec. 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 the All India Congress Working Committee.

Mr. S. Satyamurti in an interview in Bombay observed : "The Congress President was arrested before he could write to President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and the Russian Ambassador, M. Maisky ; the United Nations should nevertheless take it that he has written the letter."

Mr. L. S. Amery, in a broadcast message to America, said : "What India is up against is nothing less than a deliberate campaign to sabotage her war

effort and the war effort of all Indians, British, Americans or Chinese who are in Indian soil and with the wholehearted support of the Government of India and of the loyal and responsible elements who form the vast majority of the people of India are today engaged in the struggle for human freedom. You need not fear that India is not fully capable of handling this trouble by herself. The campaign fail—it must fail, if our common cause is not to suffer irretrievable damage. But the misguided action of the Congress leader will not affect one way or the other the broad purpose alike of the British Government and of the Government of India that when victory is won, India shall without delay have the fullest opportunity to attain to complete control of her own destiny among the free nations of the British Commonwealth and of the world within a constitutional framework of her own devising. That is our pledge to India and to the world. By that pledge we stand."

- 11th. The working committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution placing on record its "protest against the policy of regression which has been launched by the Government of India in this crisis without exploring the possibilities of an honourable settlement between India and England although Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to approach the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt for this purpose before starting any movement."—Sir Mamatha Nath Mookerjee presided.

- 12th. The *Times* in a leading article on India, said: "Regression unaccompanied by any constructive policy is likely to prove as vain and ineffective in war as in peace—and far more dangerous."

Mr. S. Satyamurti was arrested at Arkonam Junction.

Mr. Tsiaing Fe, the Director of the Chinese Political Department, speaking of the attitude of the Chinese Government to the Indian situation, made a suggestion that a Pacific Charter giving assurances about the future of India, China, Burma and Korea might prove helpful. He said: "The Chinese Government is a friend and ally of Britain, while the Chinese people have the warmest friendship for the Indian people. Even at this late hour, I hope some method will be found to improve the situation in India. If there is anything China can do, she will be glad to do it."

Sir James Taylor, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, addressing the eighth annual general meeting of the shareholders of the Bank in Madras said: "The war has entered on a new and crucial phase with the entry of the United States and Japan and the developments following the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific in December last have brought the enemy to the borders of India. The all important problem before the country during the year has, therefore, been how to increase the tempo of her war effort to the maximum, while still providing her civil population with essential goods and services."

The India Office issued a statement based on the official reports from India. It said that disturbances had been sporadic and limited in character and had in no way affected India's war effort and there were no indications of any widespread mass movement.

A cable was received by Mr. Harry Pollitt for the Communist Party of Great Britain from the Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Mr. Joshi in these words:

"The newly legalized Communist Party of India, greets its British Comrades. In this grave hour in the life of freedom-loving humanity our policy is for Indian national unity for national resistance to Fascism and for a national Government for India. Our fellow patriots have been provoked to their present suicidal course by the imperialist rulers."

- 13th. The British Labour Party's statement on the Indian situation was jointly issued by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. It stated among other things:—"In the light of Labour's declarations of policy in favour of Indian self-government, the recent Cripps' discussions and the subsequent pronouncements of Indian parties and leaders and the grave perils which now threaten India as the result of Japanese aggression in Asia and throughout the Pacific, we feel it necessary to make an earnest appeal to the Indian peoples.....The Labour Movement believes that the establishment of a free India in the post-war world is secure and is not endangered by any possibility of evasion

or procrustation by the British Government. The world knows that there is new agreement on the principle of Indian freedom.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was arrested at Allahabad under the Defence of India Rules.

The State Department at Washington said that the American armed forces in India were there solely to prosecute the war against the Axis and had been warned to avoid taking any part in internal troubles. The presence of American forces in India was primarily to aid China. In the event of disturbances where they were stationed, they were authorized to resort to defensive measures only, should there be any personal safety or that of other American citizens be endangered.

- 14th. Mr. T. R. V. Sastri, ex-president of the National Liberal Federation, in a statement in Madras, said: "A solution must be found, and must be found without much delay, for the situation that has come about in India."

The Rt. Hon. Sir Fazlul, former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court and Privy Councillor in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the All-India Congress Working Committee have been arrested. This was not entirely unexpected, though it was thought that the Government of India would be wise in not taking such a step....." "There can be no doubt that Indians, high or low, realise the racial distinction between Europeans and Indians and feel that the Indians are treated as inferior persons. The Government have not so far taken steps to remove this grievance."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, being informed of the Indian developments and the arrest of Congress leaders, said at Cairo: "I deeply regret that the All-India Congress Committee lacked courage to turn down the Working Committee's resolution. The enormity of the Congress mistake is even more conspicuous here where thousands of our brave countrymen are risking their lives for the safety, honour and freedom of their country."

- 15th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse. Mr. Rajagopalachari observed: "To err is human and there can be no difficulty in finding out the faults of others or in condemning them in strong terms. It is much more difficult to find a way to compose differences, but therein alone lies hope for this country.....It is not only the Congress but Muslims too that continue in humiliation and danger. The Congress is in prison, with a feeling perhaps that it has done all it could. But the responsibility of the League, which is not in prison, is for that reason, all the greater."

Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary died of heart attack at Poona.

The executive Committee of the Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha met at Lucknow, under the presidentship of Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, M.L.A. and adopted a resolution "earnestly requesting Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, to withdraw his resignation in view of critical situation, and to continue to guide the nation."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "I have very carefully considered in the light of the past few days' happenings whether it will serve any useful purpose at this stage for any one not belonging to the two big political parties to act as an intermediary between them and the Government. I am not hopeful of a step like this leading to any fruitful results. No intermediary can succeed unless he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government."

- 16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met in Bombay at Mr. Jinnah's residence and adjourned after 2½ hours' discussion—The Committee was summoned for the purpose of considering the political situation in the country.

At an urgent meeting of the Andhra Mahasabha Working Committee, held at Bombay, under the presidentship of Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram, the following resolution was passed: "This Mahasabha views with deep concern the sad state of things that exist owing to the unwarranted and extreme repressive policy pursued by the Central Government and deplores that, whilst a majority of Indians are running the day-to-day administration of the country

it should be possible for the bureaucracy to resort to such tactics which indeed are a negation of the much advertised democracy."

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Labour Leader, in a broadcast to North America from London, said: "It is painful for me to say it, but Mahatma Gandhi appears to be utterly oblivious of the urgency and gravity of the world situation. With great respect to him, I must say that he has shirked major issues."

The Muslim daily "*Morning News*," in an editorial under the heading, "The Task ahead," observed: "We are satisfied that if the Congress had taken Muslims with it in the struggle it would have silenced visionary critics and interested opponents and brought not only the Privy Seal back to India but the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister to come to a settlement, not only on the altruistic grounds of democracy and liberty alone but to strengthen, fortify and harden the Indian wedge, which is likely to break to pieces the prongs of the Trans-Continental Berlin-Tokyo princer gradually tightening round it."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a special interview in Bombay, stated: "The Muslim League would join a provisional war-time Government if it had equal voice with Hindus and assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for a solution from any authoritative source."

- 17th. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, in the Madras Congress Ministry, and President of the All-India Trade Union Congress was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

A Nagpur Communique said: "The Provincial Government has imposed a fine of Rs 30,000 on Ramtek area in Nagpur District, where on August 13, tahsil and police station and other government buildings were burnt down by a mob of about 5,000 persons. The fine will be collected forthwith."

It added: "The Provincial Government is also considering the imposition of a fine on the town of Umred, also in Nagpur District and the village of Chimur in the adjoining district of Chanda."

More than 2,000 Transvaal Indians, at a meeting at Johannesburg, passed a resolution against the arrest of Indian leaders and calling upon the United Nations to urge the British Government to release the men and allow immediately the formation of a free National Provincial Government of India as demanded by the Indian Congress.

The Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha announced from Bombay that the Hindu Sabha members, including Dr. Bhamra Prasad Mookerjee, requested Mr. V. D. Savarkar to withdraw his resignation of the presidentship of the Sabha.—All the Provincial, District and State Hindu Mahasabhas also forwarded similar requests.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League issued a statement from Bombay: "The Working Committee discussed the present political situation and the developments which have taken place recently. The Committee appointed a sub-committee to draw up resolutions to be placed before the meeting on the 18th, for consideration."

- 18th. His Excellency the Chancellor of the Madras University appointed Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar, acting Vice-chancellor, to be the Vice-chancellor of the University from August 18.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in Bombay, had for discussion a draft resolution authorizing Mr. Jinnah, if he thought necessary, to establish contact with Mahatma Gandhi, first to ascertain if the Congress was prepared to agree to Pakistan and, secondly, if the Congress was prepared to join the League in forming a national government.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, sent an appeal to the Viceroy to be forwarded to Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, M. Stalin and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek stressing that "the permanent interests of world peace and freedom require an immediate settlement with India."

At a public meeting of Indians representing all sections and communities in London, the following resolution was adopted: "Firmly believing that the creation of a free democratic order of all peoples of the world is impossible without an independent India, we, Indians, assembled at this public meeting in London, reaffirm our demand for immediate independence only on the recognition of India's independent and sovereign status."

The Government of Madras in a Press Note, stated: "The Government of Madras are determined to use all the means at their disposal to put a stop to the various acts of hooliganism and rioting that have been taking place recently. Not only has extensive damage been done to Government buildings, to the Telegraph, Telephone services and to the Railways, but the loss by private individuals must also be very considerable. The Government have already called the attention of the District Magistrates to the various powers vested in them by recent war-time legislation and have instructed them to make the fullest use of these powers."

Mahatma Gandhi, referring to the Congress stand, in his reply to an English friend, wrote: "The movement is designed to help Britain in spite of herself. This is a very big, almost arrogant claim. I am not ashamed to advance it because it comes from an agonised heart. Time alone will show the truth or falsehood of the claim. I have no doubt as to the verdict. For, the testimony of the reason may be wrong, but of the heart never."

Mr. Cordell Hull told the Press Conference at Washington that the Government of the United States were naturally giving keen attention to the developments of the Indian situation and would continue to give it all attention feasible under the circumstances.

- 19th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League had another informal discussion in Bombay on the draft resolution suggesting contacts between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. After reiterating the League's stand the draft resolution emphasized that the Muslim League was prepared to join any party in the country in the formation of provisional national Government, provided the party or parties concerned agreed to concede the Muslim demand for Pakistan, if in a plebiscite the majority of Muslim voters of a particular zone, voted in favour of Pakistan.

The Central Council of the All-Bengal Muslim Students' League, which concluded its session in Calcutta, passed resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership, deploring the agitation indirectly released by the Congress and its supporters, and expressing the opinion that the negative action by the Government would worsen the situation.

The Transvaal Muslim League sent the following cable to Mr. Jinnah from Johannesburg: "The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Muslim League resolve that they whole-heartedly, unflinchingly and unanimously support the stand taken by the All-India Muslim League and the principles enunciated by it under the eminent leadership of the Quide-Azam, Jinnah, and pray that Pakistan will be an accomplished fact during their lifetime."

- 20th. His Excellency the Governor-General decided to nominate Sir Muhammad Usman, Sir J. P. Srivastava and Sir Jogendra Singh to the Council of State and Sir Edward Benthall, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to the Legislative Assembly. He also decided to transfer Sir Feroz Khan Noon to the Legislative Assembly and to appoint Sir Muhammad Usman to be the leader of the Council of State.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded its deliberations in Bombay after adopting a resolution on the political situation indicating the League's attitude to the question of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

In an interview, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the League, said: "I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution, whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made, we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a provisional Government for the mobilising of war effort, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the power that may be transferred to this Provisional Government."

Proprietors, Editors and Managers of the nationalist newspapers in Calcutta, who decided to suspend publication of their paper from the August 21st, met at a conference, at the Secretariat, in the room of the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, on his invitation.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, addressing the fifth batch of "Bevin Boys" (Indian technical trainees), said: "India can only be free if she is sufficiently united to be at peace within her borders and sufficiently strong to defend these borders against any aggression from without."

Stat. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Council, resigned and his resignation was accepted by the Viceroy.

The Navajivan Press, where Mahatma Gandhi's *Harigan* and allied weeklies were printed, was sealed, and, after a search, old copies of all the weeklies were seized by the police at Allahabad.

The *Leader* in an editorial comment on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said: "We deeply regret that Mr. Jinnah has failed this country and not seized the opportunity which the situation offered him of bringing peace to it."

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of Theosophical Society, in a statement in Madras, observed commenting "on the narrow and disruptive outlook of the All-India Muslim League which is no more really representative of the Muslims than the Congress is of India."

22nd. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, commenting on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said from Hyderabad (Dn): "Every sincere well-wisher of the Muslim League will deeply regret the resolution adopted by its Working Committee in Bombay. With the Congress off the scene the responsibility for leading the country had devolved on the League, the next largest party in the land. The task before that body was to generate an atmosphere conducive to an honourable compromise between the Congress and the League on the one hand and between these two and the British Government on the other."

A press note issued by the Information Officer, Baroda State, mentioned that on the morning of August 18, the Working Committee of the Baroda State Praja Mandal issued a resolution declaring their intention to obstruct all war efforts in the State. The Government therefore issued a notification declaring the Praja Mandal an illegal organisation.—Eight of their leaders were detained.

Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, who presided at a conference of proprietors, editors and managers of Calcutta newspapers, sent a message to Mr. K. B. Srinivasan, President of the All India Editors' Conference, New Delhi, urging withdrawal of new Regulation restricting the freedom of the Press.

The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India (Bombay) passed the following resolution: "The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India strongly disapproves of the restrictions recently placed on the Press. In view of the Defence of India Rules which are already onerous enough, these fresh restrictions are an unnecessary and unwarranted interference with the due discharge by the Press of its duty to the people and the State and some of them constitute an indefensible violation of universally recognised and fundamental principles of the journalistic profession."

23rd. Mr. Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, on his return from his visit to Britain, reiterated the demand for the creation of a supreme War Council of the United States, Britain, China, Russia and India "if and when Indians understand the situation." He said that regardless of India's future position in relation to the British Commonwealth of Nations, Indians should be represented on the Allied Supreme Council "because they comprise the major bloc of peoples."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Depressed Classes Welfare Association, Delhi, said: "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India. I want to place the reins of Government in your hands. You should share in the political power of the country, on terms of equality with the Mussalmans."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in a statement from Benares, under the caption "To my countrymen," said: "You should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive." He added: "Some of us are trying our best to persuade Mahatma Gandhi not to undertake a fast unto death. By avoiding and discouraging acts of violence, you will be helping to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi."

The United Press learnt that Sir Mohammad Saadulla was commissioned by H. E. the Governor of Assam to form a Ministry, following the Viceroy's concurrence to the revocation of the Proclamation under sec-98 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The United Press further learnt that Sir Muhammad recommended the

following persons for inclusion in his Cabinet. Maulavi Manawar Ali, Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty, Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur S. Rahman, Khan Sahib Mudabbir Hossain Chaudhuri, Mr. Rupnath Brahma, Mr. Mohendra Nath Saitiya, Miss Dunn, and Mr. Naba Kumar Datta.

At the annual general meeting of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Joshi, M. L. C. (Bombay), a resolution criticizing the policy of the Government in regard to the Congress was adopted.

At a meeting of the Poona Journalists' Association, held at Poona, a resolution expressing its profound regret that the Government of India should have thought fit to impose further restrictions on the Press in India by their order of August 10, over and above the comprehensive ones in the Defence of India Rules and recording its emphatic protest against such restrictions and urging the Government to withdraw the order forthwith, was passed.—Mr. J. S. Karandikar presided:

Eyed Rauf Shah, President of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League, in an interview, stated in Bombay that the League Executive had fulfilled its duty to the country and the Muslim community by passing the resolution sponsored by Mr. Jinnah.

The Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League was welcomed by the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Party, when it met at the residence of its leader, Sir K. Nazimuddin in Calcutta.

- 24th. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his speech in New-Delhi, opening the Central Food Advisory Council, said: "From the fund created by the levy of an additional duty on imports of raw cotton, the Government of India had made grants to four Provinces and three States in respect of lands diverted from cotton to food or fodder crops." He added that all applications for grants would receive favourable consideration up to the extent of funds available.

A manifesto issued over the signatures of prominent citizens of Nagpur, including Mr. P. K. Rao, Member, Servants of India Society, Mr. M. Y. Sheriff, ex-Minister and Mr. G. V. Deshmukh, said: "We fully support the Congress demand for immediate transfer of political power from Britain to India. It represents the demand of almost all progressive political parties in India which have a following. The immediate establishment of a National Government can alone make the war a people's war and inspire the people with zeal and enthusiasm for war effort on behalf of the United Nations and defeat the reactionary forces of Nazism and Fascism."

The Council of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, in Calcutta, demanded the declaration on behalf of the British Government "of India's free status." The Council thought that such a declaration "is essential for mobilizing the immense man power and resources of India against the Axis menace."

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill expressing the "concern of sections of opinion in this country over the Indian situation," reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression. The Congress resolution also threatened civil disobedience. "We deplore this threat of civil disobedience," said the letter, which was signed by Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the British Communist Party, "and believe that any such policy, inevitably leading to division and internal struggle in the face of Fascist aggression and thus playing into the hands of Fascism, would be suicidal from the standpoint of Indian freedom no less than that of the world cause of freedom against Fascism."

The inauguration of the newly constituted Legislative Council of the State of Cochin Behar was held at Lansdowne Hall.—His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur presided.

- 25th. H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, in a statement to the Press in Indore, declared: "The isolationism of Indian States is now a thing of the past, and I earnestly hope that they will associate themselves more directly with national aspirations, as their salvation lies in agreeing to enter without reservation the future Union of India and in whole-hearted co-operation with a National Government when it is set up."

Navabanda Murtaza Ali Khan, in a press statement in Bombay said: "Mr Jinnah is ignoring his own country and looks to Britain for the consummation

of Pakistan. If, there is no response to be made by Britain, as she has no time to side-track her war efforts, what is that the Muslim League and its President Mr. M. A. Jinnah proposes to do?"

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, Government of India, in a speech delivered at the Students' Union, Aligarh University, suggested the division of India into five Dominions which should send delegates to a Central authority to be created to control Defence, customs, Foreign relations and currency and should also have the power of secession and subsequent re-annexation.

A Press Note issued by the Madras Government stated: "The situation throughout the Presidency continues to improve".

The Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League adopted a resolution, endorsing the resolution of the Working Committee of the League in Bombay.

- 29th. Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. L. C., Member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Muslim Conference in a statement to the Press in Calcutta expressed the view that the resolution of the League Working Committee lead nowhere.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, interviewed at Cairo, regarding his meeting with Mr. Churchill, said: "It was a happy coincidence that I happened to be in Cairo, when Mr. Churchill arrived, which afforded me the opportunity of meeting him.....His visit to the Middle East apart from its wider implication in connection with the war effort of the United Nations, was a source of encouragement and inspiration to forces in the Middle East".

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement commenting on the Bombay resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee, observed: "The Muslim League Working Committee resolution makes it possible for the Viceroy to set up a Government which will be able legitimately to claim to represent a majority of the Indian people. This possibility has always been there. But a false notion of democratic practice prevented its becoming a reality".

- 27th. The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett, said at a meeting of the India League in London, that the political situation in India had been brought about by faults on both sides, "although I do not agree with the policy of my friend Mr. Gandhi".—The meeting was called to urge Government to reopen negotiations with the Congress.

A Bengal Government communique stated: "With a view to facilitating the movement of food grain over the Railways, the Government of India have issued specific instructions to the General Managers of Railways, that up to Saturday August 29, 1942, they should concentrate on the movement of foodgrains, sugar and salt for internal consumption, by shutting down other kinds of railway traffic, if necessary. It is hoped that local merchants and dealers will try to take maximum advantage of this concession during this limited period".

The question of price control was among the subjects discussed by the Central Food Advisory Council.

The Indian Overseas Department of the Government of India set up a special fund known as the Indian Overseas Evacuees Relief Fund.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who returned to Peshawar from his tour of the Southern Districts, conferred with prominent Khudai Khidmatgars at the Saradaya Centre. He told the Press that the discussions related to the future plan of the Khudai Khidmatgars vis-a-vis the general situation in the country.

Mr. Indulal Yagnik, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, in a statement to the Press in Bombay, made an appeal to the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, K. C. I. E. a premier nobleman of Bengal, died at Benares.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, representative of the Government of India, on the British War Cabinet, said at Karachi: "It will be open to me to say anything that will further the war efforts".

- 28th. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar took charge of the Dewanship of Travancore.

Mr. Abdul Latif Farukhi, EX-M.L.A., (central) and Secretary, the Madras Presidency Muslim League, in the course of a statement regarding the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, said: "It has to be regretfully admitted that the policy hitherto pursued by the Congress has not given a correct lead to the country in the matter of securing transfer of power into Indian hands".

Under the collective fines Ordinance, 1942 the Governor of Orissa imposed collective fines amounting to Rs. 6000/- on twelve villages in Balasore District, according to a Gazette Extraordinary.

The Government also imposed collective fines of Rs. 5000/- on the inhabitants of four villages in Cuttack District. Muslim inhabitants of these places were exempted.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League gave direction to the Muslims in the Province to follow the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Bombay in all its indications and to guide themselves vis-a-vis the movement initiated by the Congress in accordance with the instructions contained in it.

A Press Note stated that the Government of India decided to relax with effect from September, 1942, their prohibition of the emigrations of unskilled labourers to Ceylon so far as it affected labourers in Ceylon.

The Madras Government decided to introduce a revised scheme of dearness allowance to Government servants.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Travancore, replying to felicitations on his assumption of office, observed: "To me it is a matter of intense sorrow that on this occasion the greatest and most organised political party in India should have chosen what to me appears to be not only a difficult but barren path—a path of opposition."

29th. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Managing Editor, Mr. Devi Prasad Sharma, Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan Times*, and Mukut Behari Lal, Editor of the *Hindi Hindustan*, were discharged by the Addl. District Magistrate, New Delhi.

At a meeting of the Proprietors and Editors of the fifteen Indian owned newspapers of Calcutta, English and Vernacular, which had suspended publication on August 21, as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government, it was decided that they would resume their publication on the morning of August 31.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha began its session with Mr. V. D. Savarkar in the chair.

Srimati Rameshwari Nehru, Vice President of the All India Harijan Sewak Sangh and ex-President of the All India Women's Conference, was arrested at Lahore, under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Syed Mohammed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State and a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, issued the following statement to the Press from Allahabad: "The decision reached by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League after four day's deliberation at Bombay has failed to give any lead to the Muslims at a juncture when it was so urgently needed."

30th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier who had a long talk with Mr. Churchill in Cairo, said that the British Premier was full of appreciation of the magnificent work done by Indian soldiers in the various theatres of war. While Mr. Churchill greatly regretted the unfortunate attitude taken by the Congress, he had nothing but praise and admiration for the war effort of India. Sir Sikander left Mr. Churchill fully satisfied that India would get a square deal.

In the vacancies caused by the resignations of Sir Muhammad Usman, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir J. P. Srivastava, consequent on their appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Sir K. V. Reddy, Mr. R. P. Masani and Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, respectively, were appointed Members of the National Defence Council.

The Central Government cancelled its order of August 8 so far as it applied to editors, printers and publishers in the province of Delhi. The order of August 8 prohibited the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor of any factual news relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the A. I. C. C. or measures taken by the Government against that movement, except news derived from official sources or the news agencies or a correspondent registered with the District Magistrate.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, held a discussion in New Delhi, initiated by Dr. Bhanu Prasad Mukherjee, on the political situation, and eventually appointed a Sub-Committee to draft a resolution embodying the greatest common measure of agreement revealed in the course of the discussion.

Mr. Abbas Ali Kamal, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P., in the course of an interview at Nagpur, said: "In the present hour of crisis, we in India must close our ranks and reserve all our differences for the future. After the present Congress movement started, all the Congress leaders are in jail and some one must take the initiative in solving the political deadlock. I appeal to Mr. Jinnah, leader of the next biggest political party in the country, to encourage selfless leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to take the initiative in bringing about an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League without which the freedom of the country will be greatly jeopardised."

Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, President and six other members of the Working Committee of the Anjuman-e-Vatan of Baluchistan were arrested in Baluchistan under the Defence of India Rules.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which met in New Delhi, adopted a resolution which demanded an immediate declaration of India's independent status and immediate negotiations by the British Government with principal parties in India in order to solve the political deadlock. The resolution further demanded the formation of an Indian National Government, which, it asserted, would declare its determination to fight the common enemy. The Committee asserted that if the British Government did not respond to its demand, the Mahasabha would be compelled to revise its programme and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed."

In accordance with the decision of the Government of India, the Indian Standard Time was advanced by an hour.—(The New Standard Time being 6½ hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time, instead of 5½ hours as hitherto).

Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a Press statement at Moradabad, criticized Sir Ferore Khan Noon's scheme for dividing India into five dominions.

Eleven of the fifteen Indian-owned newspapers of Calcutta, which had suspended publication on August 21 as a protest against the restriction imposed on the Press by the Government, reappeared.

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Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay, instructing the Hindu Sabhaites who happened to be members of municipalities and local bodies, legislatures or committees or those who might be serving the army, navy, air-force or working in the ammunition factories to stick to their posts and continue to perform their regular duties.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress.

Mr. Churchill made a statement about India, in the House of Commons. He said that the course of events in India had been improving. The principles of the declarations made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, said in the House of Commons: "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible government would take in the circumstances."

A meeting of the Indian Christians, in Calcutta, resolved that Britain should recognize and declare the independence of India immediately.

A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr.

Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in reply to questions in New Delhi, declared : "My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and other members of the Hindu Mahasabha in a statement demanded an immediate consultation with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the situation in the country, declared : "On the basis of all the information at present available, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement in London said that the new movement proposed the reopening of negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

In the Central Assembly, in reply to Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya's questions about the health of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Home Member said that Mr. Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons could never be satisfactory.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, in a statement from Lucknow said : "It appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose.

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a manifesto from Bombay, asking the Government to give up its repressive policy, to release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

The Central Legislative Assembly discussed the Muslim League resolution on Khaksars and finally passed it without any division.

A resolution adopted by the All-India Akali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign state and the formation of provisional National Government should be accepted.—Master Tara Singh presided.

At a meeting in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America, it was urged that President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek should "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences."

1st. Mr. Abdul Latif Farooqui, Secretary, Madras Presidency Muslim League and Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a

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statement in Madras, said: "Though the Muslims are solidly resolved of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regarding Constitutional deadlock and cannot agree with all that the Hon. Mr. Syed Mohamed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State has said in his recent statement criticising the resolution of the Working Committee of the League, there is a general feeling among the Muslims that a way should still be found to end the present deplorable state of affairs.—As the situation is daily deteriorating and as the Congress leaders are unable to act on account of their being behind prison bars, it will be regarded as an act of generosity and not a climb-down on the part of the Qaid-e-Azam if he proposes to see Mr. Gandhi for a settlement".

Dr. B. P. Mukharjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said: "In this supreme crisis in the history of India, the Hindu Mahasabha has given a lead for the solution of the Indian deadlock, which is not actuated by any party or sectarian consideration. "The main demand of the Hindu Mahasabha is that India cannot be governed today by a mere policy of repression; that the initiative for ending the present deadlock should come from the British Government itself; that the deadlock can be ended only if the British Government decides to part with in accordance with a well-adjusted scheme for fighting the enemy; and that a representative National Government must be established without delay, so that the man-power and the vast resources of India can be effectively organized under its auspices".

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the Students' Union of the Agricultural College at Coimbatore, referred to two of his disillusionments. The first, he said, came in 1921 after the Versailles Peace Treaty and the second came after the second Round Table Conference, which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress.

3rd. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore addressing a Press Conference at Trivandrum, said that he regarded the entry of students into the agitation that was taking place, the most unfortunate thing that happened in Indian history for the last 50 or 60 years.

The Committee of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry at a meeting in Bombay, under the presidency of Sir Sultan Chinoy, passed a resolution, stating *inter alia*: "While realising the necessity of checking all irresponsible and subversive activities, the Committee strongly feels that public confidence cannot be restored by the adoption or continuance of repressive measures, and earnestly urge upon the Government the need for a generous gesture by opening negotiations with the main political parties in India with a view to ending the present deadlock and renewing and strengthening the country's war effort."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, returned to Lahore from his visit to the Middle East.

4th. As a first step in their plan to enter into negotiation with the principal political parties in the country, the committee of seven members appointed by the All India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee addressed a letter to the leaders of various parties, including the Depressed Classes, Moslem League, Sikhs and Indian Christians, and sent each of them a copy of the Mahasabha resolution passed in Delhi and inviting their support for the demands made in it.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, in a broadcast from New Delhi, declared: "Taking it all round, we begin the fourth year of this war with much better prospects than we did the fourth year of the last war."

Mr. Arthur Moore, broadcasting a talk from Calcutta observed: "There is only one way of answering and defeating the challenge of Hitler; and it is by super-patriotism; by realising the brotherhood of man, and claiming the earth as our mother country."

At the meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P. and Berar, with Mr. Rani Shah in the chair, at Nagpur, it was unanimously resolved to support the Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee.

5th. "Zam zam," the leading Muslim paper of Lahore, wrote: "We are very sorry to note that the Muslim League resolution contains more an indictment of the Congress Party, when most of its leaders are in jail, and as such

cannot reply to the charges. The resolution says that the League is prepared to open negotiations with any party on the basis of equality, provided the demand of Pakistan is accepted in advance. We are constrained to say that the whole policy of the League is that there should be no settlement during the war and the status quo is to be maintained and that is the reason why it adopts all sorts of dilatory tactics."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay. He said: "I issue this definite instruction to all Hindu Sabhaites in particular and all Hindu Sanghathanists in general who happen to be members of the municipalities and local bodies, legislatures, or Committees or those who may be serving in the army, navy, air force or working in ammunition factories or holding any post or position of vantage in Government service that they should stick to the posts and continue to perform their regular duties in the various capacities."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, declared: "In this tragic hour when the enemy forces are standing on the frontiers of India, in a menacing attitude, it is the duty of all patriotic sons of India to close their ranks and to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the country's emancipation."—Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna were also present at the Conference.

The Government of Madras issued the following Press Note: "This province is short of many essential commodities such as rice, millets, pulses, sugar and wheat. If the requirements of this Province are to be adequately satisfied, it is essential that the limited transport facilities now available in the prevailing war conditions should be put to the maximum possible use."

Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadir, President of the Peshawar Congress Committee, in a statement at Peshawar, expressed the view that the Congress would have no objection to accepting any scheme for the future Government of India, provided it had the approval of both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

- 5th. A Conference held by the India League in London, urged the Government to negotiate with Indian leaders on the basis of recognition of India's independence and transfer of power to a Provisional Government of National Unity, formed by Indians themselves. This would enable India to organise herself fully and effectively for her own defence and to become a powerful ally of the United Nations.

A meeting of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Nagpur, with Mr. V. R. Kalappa in the Chair.—The Council passed a resolution urging the Government to carry on negotiations with the political organizations to secure the early establishment of a National Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces, thus enabling free India to organise complete and effective defence of the country.

- 16th. Mr. Jinnah, in a statement issued from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress, and said: "I wish to impress upon Muslims to carry out the Muslim League's instruction and pursue their normal life peacefully, and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move."

Sir Nalini Ranjan Chatterjee, former Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court died at Panchra in the Birbhum District, Bengal.

Mr. Clement Attle, Deputy Prime Minister, in a speech at Aberdeen, said: "We had made many mistakes in our treatment of the Indian problem, but we had given India more than a century of internal peace and good Government and had in the last 25 years made immense progress towards Indian self-Government. Further progress was held back by disagreement among Indians and by difficulties of introducing democracy into a country of 300 million people, "at all stages of civilisation."

- 17th. Mr. N. E. Barker, Commerce Member, Government of India, in his speech at the opening of the Sixth Price Control Conference in New Delhi, discussed factors governing the successful administration of Price Control.

Sir Mohamed Umam, in unveiling the portrait of Mr. G. H. Hodgson, the Vice-President of the Anjuman, said in Madras: "The present political deadlock in the country cannot be solved unless the importance of the Muslim League and the just claims of the Muslim League are recognised".

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was arrested at Basavangudi at Bangalore, under Sec. 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

- 8th. Dr. Bhyama Prasad Mukherjee had an hour's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in New Delhi. The discussions, so far as their main heads came to public knowledge, ranged over a wide field, and the main features of the demands were : 1. India to be declared independent. 2. The British Government to initiate negotiation for the formation of an Indian National Government to which power should be transferred. 3. The Indian National Government to be composite in character, including representatives of important parties. 4. Abolition of the India Office as a corollary to such transference of power. 5. Provincial Governments to be set up on a similar basis. 6. The Indian National Government to declare its resolve to fight the Axis power and not to conclude a separate peace with these Powers. 7. The Indian National Government to have a common war policy with the United Nations. 8. The Commander-in-Chief to continue to have operational control. 9. The Indian National Government to pursue a policy of militarization and industrialization of India. 10. The future Government of India to be determined by a constituent assembly to be set up by the National Government. Any minorities which so desire will have the right to refer disputed power to international arbitration.

A number of girl students picketing the houses of Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, were arrested in New Delhi.

- 9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Indore, pleading for communal goodwill and understanding, in the course of a statement in Bombay, warned that if the different groups persisted in their attitude, the result could only be civil war. The Maharaja said : "I have followed with keen interest the deliberations of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the resolutions passed by their Working Committees from time to time. These have filled me with dismay and grave apprehensions ; if these groups persist in their attitude, they are heading for a civil war".

- 10th. Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu, K.C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University died at Thyagarayanagar, Madras.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press from Bombay, made an earnest appeal to all patriotic parties and all prominent leaders in India to join hands with Dr. Bhyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Savarkar said : "It has ever been the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring together all those parties and prominent leaders who stand for a genuinely National and democratic Government, irrespective of taste, creed or class and get themselves consolidated on a common platform. It was with this intention that the majority of the Hindu Sabha leaders participated, although in their individual capacity, in the Non-Party Leaders' Conference which was expected later on to have the way to an All-Parties Conference".

A demand that the British Prime Minister should settle the Indian problem was made in a joint statement issued by the leaders who were engaged in the Delhi political talks. The appeal asked for a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands postponing all controversial issues. Copies of the leaders' statement were cabled to Mr. Churchill and forwarded to the Viceroy.

Mr. Churchill made a statement in the House of Commons about India. He said that the course of events in India had been improving and this on the whole was reassuring. The principles of the declaration made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament.

The Secretary of State of India, Mr. L. S. Amery gave, in the House of Commons, an account of 'the whipping order' issued in India. Mr. Amery said : "In India the penalty of whipping or rather caning—it is administered by a light rattan cane and not by a 'cat'—has long been authorised, as in this country, for such crimes as robbery with violence.....I see no reason to interfere with the discretion of the India authorities in this matter."

- 11th. The House of Commons held a debate on India. Mr. Arthur Greenwood, of the Labour Party, in opening the debate said : "We urge the

Government to make it clear that free and friendly discussions will be resumed on the abandonment of Civil disobedience." Replying to the debate, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India said: "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible Government would take in the circumstances. Its action had saved India from a great disaster. The Congress scheme of sabotage was a carefully planned scheme of attack. It wanted to paralyse India's war effort and make it impossible to defend India". The Secretary of State reiterated in the Commons that the Government would welcome any effort to establish Indian national unity.

A meeting of the Indian Christians, held in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, President of the Indian Christian Association, resolved that Britain should recognise and declare the independence of India immediately.

Mr. Samuel Grafton wrote in a New York journal on India: "We are talking about freedom, but we should perform some concrete acts like letting Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru out of jail and quit appeasing the Spanish Dictator, General Franco."

The Raja of Mahmudabad, member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, addressing a meeting at Peshawar said: "If Mr. Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah conceding to the Musalmans the right to have their own independent sovereign States in the areas where they were in a majority, the Muslim League would at once join hands with the Congress in presenting a joint demand to the British Government."

A statement issued by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. Moonje, Raja Maheswar Dayal, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rao Bahadur Mohibchand Khanna, Member of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, said: "The statement of Mr. Churchill betrays commendable lack of statesmanship and will cause deep resentment throughout India. The British Government has obviously failed to appreciate the grave realities of the present situation".

A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, speaking on India at the T. U. C. Conference at Blackpool, said that it seemed easy for some people to hoodwink themselves and assume a unity that did not exist in India. "There is not even trade union unity," he said. "One federation supports the Government and the other denounces it. What about the 40 million Muslims? What about the 70 million untouchables? These are people who needed thinking about. To say that they would be content to have their destiny placed in the hands of the Congress is utter nonsense."

Mr. Edward Hunter, writing in "World Telegram" New York, urged the United Nations to formulate some proposals for solving the Indian problem.

An important meeting of Labour Members was called in London, to discuss the line that the Party should take in the debate opened on Mr. Churchill's statement on India by Mr. Greenwood, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

- 12th. Khan Bahadur Asaf Baksh, Sind Premier, and President, Azad Moslem Board, in a statement, said: "Mr. Churchill's juggling with figures and attempt to minimize the widespread discontent in this country may deceive the British public, but it will surely not deceive those who know the real situation in India."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, met Mr. Jinnah in New Delhi and had a talk with him on the political situation in the country.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press on Mr. Churchill's statement said: "There was nothing unexpected in the speech delivered by Mr. Churchill in the British Parliament. It could have been written for Mr. Churchill some weeks ago by any one conversant with Britain's political psychology. Mr. Churchill assured the members of the British Parliament that there was nothing serious about the Indian situation to cause them any worry. Thrice blessed be they if they all retired pleased with the sense of self-complacency and security."

12th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in a statement in Bombay, said: "The statement made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons is extremely reactionary and has created a feeling of great disappointment and resentment among all classes of people. Such statements are not likely to bring India and England nearer."

Dr. George S. Arundale observed in a statement in Madras that Mr. Churchill came out very badly from his speech in the House of Commons which was "not only in the worst possible taste, but highly dangerous both to the internal situation in India and to that comradeship between India and Britain which is so essential to the successful prosecution of the war."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mohrechand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal, in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said: "We feel that our efforts have now reached a stage which demand an immediate consultation with Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian National Congress."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to questions at a Press Conference in New Delhi, declared: "My fundamental point is this that we do not want, under the stress of the war emergency, to be stamped into forming a Provincial Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

At a Press Conference in New Delhi, a number of points about the strength of Moslems not belonging to the Moslem League were elucidated by Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind and President, Azad Moslem Conference, Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari, Secretary of the Conference and Mr. Mohamed Zahiruddin, President, All-India Momin Conference. On the issue of Pakistan, the Sind Premier said: "No one among the Moslems is opposed to independence, but large numbers of them are certainly opposed to Pakistan."

The jute position as well as the food situation in Bengal were discussed at a meeting, in Calcutta, of the Working Committee of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mohrechand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal issued a statement in New Delhi, saying on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee: "The definite momentum that the Hindu Mahasabha demand has received from various political parties emboldens us again to call upon the British Government to take the initiative without any further delay."

The Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in a statement in New Delhi, on the political situation, expressed grave concern and anxiety at the situation as it developed after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressed a joint session of the Provincial Legislature at the Assembly House, Calcutta. His Excellency in his speech said: "The legislature has been convened for this short session mainly to enable honourable members to consider the present situation in the Province and the measures which have been taken by Government for its security and well-being."

The Government of Bombay notified the raising of a loan of Rs. 3,50,00,000 at three per cent maturing on September 18, 1935. The object of the loan was to repay a part of the loans taken from the Central Government.

The Central Assembly began its session in New Delhi, with Sir Abdul Rahim, President, in the chair.—A vigorous denunciation of the Government of India's policy in the matter of the development of India's geological resources was made by Mr. K. C. Neogy on a motion made by Dr. B. E. Ambedkar for election to the Advisory Committee attached to the Utilization Branch of Geological Survey of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement from Madras, in which he said: "It is a matter for regret that Sir Stafford Cripps has again made the allegation that Mahatma Gandhi intervened and made the Working Committee break off from negotiation while the latter had been agreeable to a settlement. Gandhi is in prison and cannot again contradict this baseless story that will go into history. I was present from beginning to end during these talks and I can say authoritatively that Mahatmaji who was absent from Delhi during the latter stages, was not responsible for anything that took place."

15th. In the Central Assembly Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion on the situation in the country, declared: "On the basis of all the informations at present available we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

A Conference of Indian-owned newspapers, which suspended publication, following the imposition of certain restrictive order by the Provincial Government consequent on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, was held in Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. Ramnath Goenka, Editor of the *Indian Express*. About 50 representatives of suspended newspapers attended the Conference.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier made a statement on the political situation in the province.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, three attempts were made on behalf of the Muslim League Party to have the House adjourned. All the adjournment motions were, however, disallowed by the President.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., speaking in London, at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement said that the new movement proposed the reopening of the negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan accompanied by Mr. Arbab Abdur Rahman, M.L.A., and Khan Amir Mohd. Khan, M.L.A., left for Abbottabad. Khan Ailgul Khan, President of the F. P. C. C. also proceeded to Abbottabad from Peshawar.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Vice-President of the Harijan Sewak Sangha and three other lady Congress workers were arrested at Lahore, under the Defence of India Rules.

Raja Maheswar Dayal, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference at Lucknow, said: "The essence of the demand of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is firstly, the grant to India of the status of an independent country now, with necessary adjustments during the war for the defence of India and not after the war, and secondly, initiation of negotiation by the British Government with the principal political parties in India for the immediate formation of an Indian National Government."

16th. His Excellency the Viceroy refused the Hindu Mahasabha Committee's application that they might be allowed to discuss the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders in detention.

The Orissa Ministerialist Party at a meeting at Cuttack, presided over by the Maharaja of Paralakimedi (Premier), unanimously passed a resolution supporting the efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring about a solution of the political deadlock in India.

The Central Assembly resumed the discussion on the political situation. The speakers were Mr. N. M. Joshi, Maulana Zafar Ali, Mr. N. M. Dumas, Mr. C. P. Lawson, Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. Jannadas Mehta. Mr. Joshi and Sardar Sant Singh pleaded for the setting up of a National Government, while Mr. Lawson (European group) gave reasons which in his view stood in the way of forming such a Government.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar in the course of a joint statement from Indore, expressed "much concern and great disappointment" at Mr. Churchill's speech on the Indian situation.

In a written reply to Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya's questions about the health of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, the Home Member said that Mr. Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons could never be entirely satisfactory.

Sri Hirendra Nath Dutta, a leading figure in the literary and cultural life of Bengal, died in Calcutta. He was the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society and was the senior-most member of the Incorporated Law Society of the Calcutta High Court.

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, discussions on the political situation were resumed.—Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, who opened the debate, declared that the Congress and the Moslem League did not differ on the main issue of independence and National Government. The difference was in regard to the composition of the National Government; the Moslem League demanded equal partnership and the right of self-determination, while the Congress demanded majority rule.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the whole of its sitting to the first reading of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, 1941.

The opposition moved two amendments, one for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion and the other for referring it to a Select Committee.—Both the amendments were lost by large majorities.

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, made a statement giving a short resume of the events that had taken place in the administration of the province since the Council last met for the Budget discussion.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Lucknow, which said: "From press reports it appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. He further informed the House that several representation were also made to the Central Government on his and his colleague's behalf to get Mr. Bose repatriated to Bengal or to some other healthy station near Bengal suited to him and also to his family and to secure for his family an adequate allowance.

Syed Sakawat Hussain, Convener, Lucknow Azad Muslim Board, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow said: "Mr. Churchill's statement on India has caused general disappointment throughout India. Mr. Churchill harps on lack of unity among us. It is evident to-day that India is united so far as the demand for the transfer of power from British hands is concerned. Progressive sections in Britain and America are also agitating for India's right to independence as a part of the United Nations' war efforts."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, three members of the Government and four party spokesmen took part during the final stages of the debate on the political situation. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member declared: "I have never regretted the decision which, I along with all my colleagues, took on August 8, because, placed as we were, we had to choose between complete abdication of our responsibilities as a Government and surrender to the challenge thrown out to us. And now, after all that has happened, we feel convinced that our decision was right."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the necessity of controlling the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities was stressed.

Mr. Arthur Moore, in a statement in Calcutta, said: "Throughout the Allied world there is a passionate desire that internal strife in India shall cease, the quarrel with Britain be ended and the energy of the country directed against the common enemies of India and China—the Japanese and Germans. This can be done.....All that is required is that the British Government shall say that it is willing to transfer to such a Government, if it can be formed, the same powers as the Canadian and Australian Governments enjoy and shall then invite Mr. Jinnah to form such a Government."

The Bengal Legislative Council adopted a non-official resolution expressing the opinion that the Government of Bengal should take possible steps to secure the release of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in detention, in the Trichinopoly Jail.

Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, the Indian Agent, lectured on India under the auspices of the Sino-British Cultural Association in Chungking.—He surveyed the Indian situation giving both the Hindu and Muslim views.

10th. At a meeting of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, a resolution was adopted, requesting the Government of India to call "a conference of all the recognised parties with a view to exploring possible avenues of ending the existing political deadlock".—The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan presided.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, President of the All India Depressed Classes Association, in a statement on Mr. Churchill's speech, said: "Mr. Churchill has given a photographic survey of the situation in India arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement, saying nothing more than is true, not less than is necessary. I am not able to see anything in the reported speech which is offensive or in bad taste."

20th. Raja Mahaswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, said: "The Sub-Committee of the

Hindu Mahasabha which has been exploring the possibilities of bringing about a rapprochement among the various parties in order to end the deadlock in the country, will continue its task irrespective of the setback it received by the Government of India's refusal to grant the Committee permission to see the Congress leaders in prison."

The two Indian members of the War Cabinet broadcast about the Indian war efforts, from London. The Jam Sahib of Nawagar said that over 50,000 Indians were enlisting each month. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said that India's factories were working to their maximum capacity. The textile industry not only clothed the Indian troops but supplied much for the Middle East Army and Australia. Ordnance factories had also expanded greatly.

Sir M. Visweswaraya, presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All India Manufacturers' Organization in Bombay, stressed the need for constituting a post-war reconstruction board to make adequate preparations for reconstruction work after the war.

The Working Committee of the All India Nationalist League, adopted a resolution in New Delhi, viewing with concern the growing deterioration in the internal situation of the country, particularly since the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7 and 8.

The death occurred at Chandpur of Mr. Hridayal Nax. He was 90 years of age.

- 21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President ruled out of order an adjournment motion tabled by Sardar Sant Singh to discuss the alleged merciless beating "of a businessman of Delhi named S. N. Janhar in the Connaught Circus, Delhi, on the 21st September, by the police, who arrested him and who the motion alleged, also administered a beating to Mr. Janhar's wife and his driver when they tried to intervene."

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. Sir David Devadas presided.

In a manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India from Bombay, an appeal was made to the Government to give up its repressive policy, to lift the ban on the Congress organizations and open negotiations with the Congress and other parties in India, especially the Muslim League for the establishment of a provincial national Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, several members including three former Ministers and the leader of the European party, participated in the general discussion on the statement made on the opening day of the session by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, regarding the political situation in the province.

The Government of India issued instructions to the Regional Controller of Railway Priorities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and to the Railway Administration concerned, desiring them to continue to give special attention to the movement of foodstuffs during the month of September.

- 22nd. In the Council of State a debate on the political situation in the country was initiated by Sir Mahomed Usman Member for Ports and Air.—Sir Mahomed referred to the serious acts of sabotage, violence and looting and the destruction of Government and private property during the disturbances following upon the passing of A. I. C. C. resolution at Bombay. Sir Mahomed Usman said, the Government had to take stern measures.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Madras, said: "There is nothing to equal Mr. Moore's recent statements in bringing out the salient features of the present situation, examined from the point of view of politics as well as Allied strategy.....It is the universal feeling in India, and all that has recently happened confirmed it, that at the present moment the British Government at home and the Viceroy in India have decided to take whatever risks are involved in carrying on till the end of the war under an autocratic system without the help of a popular Government".

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 11 votes to 19 the adjournment motion moved by Mr. Jambadas Mehta to discuss "the anxiety created in the public mind by the unsatisfactory reply given by the Finance Member to the request to give an opportunity to this House for influencing the decision of the Government of India on matters arising out of his recent financial mission to England".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the alleged grievances of the Muslim community in respect of appointments in the A. R. P. Service were mentioned by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy (Muslim League).

23rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President took up an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Govind Deshmukh to discuss "the move of the Durban City Council to expropriate Indian lands in Durban to be allocated to European or coloured housing schemes to be sanctioned by the Union Government".

The Assembly devoted the whole of the day's sitting to a further debate on the Muslim League resolution on Khakhsars moved by Raza Ali and finally passed it without any division.

The Council of State continued the discussion on Sir Mahomed Usman's motion to consider the political situation in the country. Rai Bahadur Ramcharan Das, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mohita, Sardar Bahadur Sobhan Singh, Sir K. E. Menon, Mr. Mohammed Husein, Mr. R. E. Hadow and Saiyad Md. Padabah participated in the discussion.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly by 108 to 45 votes rejected the special motion tabled by the Muslim League Party disapproving the "non-application by the Government of the Communal Ratio rules to the appointments made in the various A. E. P. Services and the Fire Fighting Services, resulting in the complete exclusion of Moslems and the Scheduled Castes from those Services". The European party did not take part in the voting.

Mr. J. N. Sahnai, Convener of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement to the Press from New Delhi: "Statements have been made by the Home Member in the Central Assembly and by Sir Mahomed Usman in the Council of State calculated to create the impression that an agreement had been reached between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government.....I wish to make it clear that no agreement has hitherto been reached or accepted by the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference or the Central Press Advisory Committee acting in its behalf".

A Conference with his co-workers was held by Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan at Peeshawar. Talks which were held at the residence of Mr. Mohammed Yunus, related to the political situation in the country and the Khudai Khidmatgar programme. Several Congressmen, including Mr. Bhanjuram Gandhi, ex-Finance Minister, met him individually and had talks with him.

24th. The Council of State continued the discussion on the political situation. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands said: "I have listened to the debate with deep concern and a feeling of frustration.....No Government can rejoice in these fateful days if it is compelled to maintain law and order, when all its energies should be directed in preparation to meet the perils, which it may be, at any moment, called upon to face."

The Central Assembly took up discussion of Mr. K. C. Neogy's resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into allegations of "excuses committed by the police and the military" in dealing with the disturbances in the country.—"The debate had not concluded when the House was adjourned *sine die*."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill was the main subject for consideration.—The measure sought to remedy certain defects which came to light in the course of the working of the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930.

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow, said: "I can now confidently assert that there is absolute unanimity in India on the demand for the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of free power here and now to India subject to the necessary adjustments for efficiently fighting the war. Further detailed discussion between the Indian parties can be fruitful only then and I am certain that in that event all the parties will agree to join in the formation of a National Government."

25th. The Council of State passed five official, and one non-official Bill as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly. It also rejected by 20 votes to 11, Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution urging that "for the present agreement for the apportionment of war expenditure between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, a new basis be framed in consultation with the representatives of the parties in the Central Legislature." The official Bills included two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code,

a bill to amend the Rubber Control Act, another bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and the Repealing and Amending Bill.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly, by 97 votes to 48, rejected a resolution moved by Mr. A. R. Siddiqi (Muslim League) expressing the view that "the Government have failed in their duty to the cultivators of Bengal by not taking any steps to secure a fair and reasonable price for jute."

The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official Bills. One of these, the Advocate's Robes Bill, sponsored by Rai Brojendra Mohan Maitra Bahadur (Progressive Coalition) aimed at achieving uniformity in robes for Advocates of the High Court.

- 20th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, expressed the view that the special committee appointed by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in "producing a national demand on some of the most crucial and fundamental issues which cannot but convince everyone that India as a nation demands with a united will and voice a declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognized here and now as an independent nation."

Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind renounced his titles of "Khan Bahadur" and "O. B. E." as a protest against the British Government's policy. The Sind Premier, when asked whether the renunciation of his titles, "Khan Bahadur" and "O. B. E." was a direct result of Mr. Churchill's speech, said: "It is the cumulative result of the feeling that the British Government does not want to part with power. Mr. Churchill's speech shattered all hopes."

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a resolution passed in New Delhi, "condemned the disturbances that have taken place in the country particularly when the enemy is knocking at the doors of India."

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in his presidential speech at the third All-India Akali Conference at Wahela Kalan in Lyallpur District uttered strong condemnations of acts of violence,—characterising an "armed rebellion" as idiotic with not the slightest chance of success. Master Tara Singh said: "I do not believe in the funny doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but I am not a fool to ask you to commit the violence of piercing your own heart. I, therefore, advise you in your own interest and in the interest of your country not to be fools to be carried away by momentary enthusiasm".

- 21st. India's cultural contact with China from the past was recalled by several speakers when a portrait of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore was unveiled at the Darbhanga Library Hall of the Calcutta University and formally presented to China through Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul-General for China, by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee presided.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution calling upon its branches to implement the lead given by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and appealing to all political parties in India to support the demand of the Mahasabha for the recognition of India's independent status and for the immediate formation of an interim national Government.

An appeal to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, "to exert the tremendous influence that he wields in solving the present dangerous deadlock", also the urgency for immediate Congress League unity and the formation of a provisional National Government to defend India against foreign aggression was made by a memorandum submitted to him by a large number of local members of the Muslim League (Bombay) and other prominent members of the Muslim League.

The Central Kisan Council, in a resolution in Bombay, demanded the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the formation of a provisional National Government to fight the Axis menace. The Council also deplored the prevalence of mob violence and appealed to the Ksians and the people to turn away from the path of sabotage and terrorist and disruptive activities "which lead not to the weakening of the bureaucracy but to the ruin of our own people."

- 22nd. In the Council of State, Mr. C. C. Jones, in reply to Raja Yuvaraja Datta Singh, said that the expenditure on defence and on supply brought to account

in the books of the Military Accountant General was of the order of Rs. 14 crores a day. How much of this would be charged to India and how much to His Majesty's Government, could not be estimated until the revised estimates for the current year were drawn up. It was not possible to say what portion of the one and half crores mentioned above related to the American and Chinese forces in India. There was no Australian army in India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, two special motions relating to the incidents in Dacca and Behrampore jails were discussed. The motions were in connexion with the Chief Minister's statement on the political situation in the province.

A resolution adopted by the All India Akali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign State and the formation of a provisional National Government should be accepted.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in a letter to the Mahar Recruitment Board, said: "If but the spirit that enthuses the militarization movement is the spirit actuated by the motive of defending our motherland and our people from threatened alien aggression, the first duty of every Indian now is to enter the Army Navy and the Air Force."

M. Frank R. Anthony, President-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of India, addressing the annual general meeting of the Bombay branch of the Association, emphasised the loyalty and love of the Anglo-Indian Community towards India as their mother country. He affirmed that though the Community would not subscribe to any political stunt or any big hegemony of any particular party, their desire was to see India ruled by a real National Government.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in reply to a Press representative, said: "If Britain came forward with an irrevocable declaration transferring power here and now to the Indian people, I can say this much that Mahatma Gandhi would call off the Satyagraha Campaign."

29th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a war commentary in London, said that the problem of India's future was one of difficulty, but it could be solved, and he believed it would be solved. He said that a constitution imposed on India by any one element could not live, but that was precisely the aim which Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who controlled the Congress machine had set before themselves. He added: "It is to enforce that aim that they recently decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage intended, by its paralysing effect, to bring the Government of India to its knees. That would spell disaster not only for the immediate war effort, but for any great formation for India's future freedom and unity. Defeat of the present attempt to seize control of India in the interests of a party is an essential part of any attempt at a solution. That a solution will be found I have no doubt."

In the *New York Times*, prominent Americans stressed to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek that "they recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and that they use their good offices to ask the British Government and the Indian National Congress and other leaders to open a new Conference with a mutual determination to find a way of action which will most speedily bring India into the ranks of our Allies by beginning now a programme of her independence."

The Council of State rejected by 23 votes to 9, Pandit Kunzru's resolution asking that the restriction imposed on the Press should be modified so as to take a fuller account of the rights of the Press and the public, and that, in particular, pre-censorship of news reports and statements should be abolished except in so far as it might be necessary for military purposes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Chief Minister, made the announcement that the Government were going to appoint a Committee, consisting of men who enjoyed public confidence, to make a thorough enquiry into the Dacca jail incident in which several persons lost their lives and a number of others were injured.

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, endorsed the proposal from Mahatma Gandhi that President Roosevelt should intervene in the British-India dispute.

30th. A meeting was held in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America. The meeting urged President Roosevelt and Marshal

Chiang Kai-shek to "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences with a determination to find a way of action which will speedily bring India a programme for her independence".

Mr. Riley (Labour) asked Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, if in view of the rejection by the leading parties in India of the British Government's proposals the Government was prepared to consider a modification of those proposals with a view to furthering a possible settlement of Indian problem.

Mr. Amery in a written answer said : "The British Government remain most anxious to further a settlement of the Indian problem. In the absence, however, of a sufficient common measure of agreement among Indians themselves, which is the real obstacle of a settlement, they do not consider that any modification of their proposals would contribute to the desired result."

Under the auspices of the Bengali Muslim Samiti, at a public meeting in Calcutta, a resolution urging immediate declaration of independence for India by the British Government, establishment of provincial National Government in the Centre and Provinces, creation of an Indian people's National War Front, was passed. Mr. Humayan Kabir, M. L. A. presided.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*. The time of the Bengal Legislative Council was mainly taken up with the consideration of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly).

At a special general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, held in Bombay, a resolution was adopted urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and the establishment of a "real representative National Government at the Centre."

October 1942

Mr. Otman Woo, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China observed that Muslims in China had full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though it was to be regretted that at a time when China wanted help to see through the war there should be a conflict between the people and the Government.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Agent-General to the Government of India at Chungking, in an interview said that during his stay in China, he tried to the best of his ability to interpret India to China.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expressed the opinion that the British Government had no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India.

Mr. C. B. Atiles, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism.

Mr. Allah Baksh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.

Mr. Allah Baksh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi, said : "Under the Constitution, as it stands, the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the Governor, and not merely if he has the confidence of the Legislature".

A unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony

was held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all communities.

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was proposed to complete the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, to which the Secretary of State replied that no such change was contemplated.

Mr. M. Bathnaswami, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar at Rawalpindi, paid a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and continuing steadily with the war effort.

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and Burma (temporary and miscellaneous) Bill, replied to the "political agitation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of Government's Indian policy.—He reiterated the British Government's attitude and said that the next move must come from India.

Mr. L. S. Amery denied in a broadcast to America that Sir Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National Government but was overruled from London.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons, regarding the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention of the three European members was not due to race.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the addresses of welcome at Quetta, said: "Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the province is making to the prosecution of the war".

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question regarding the Viceroy's refusal to allow Dr. S. P. Mukherjee to see Mahatma Gandhi, said that he was not prepared to ask the Viceroy to permit interviews with the Congress Leader".

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, stated at Amritsar that he was in full sympathy with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari "in his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people".

The Seventh Session of the Orissa Assembly commenced in Cuttack.—Swami Bichitrananda Das made a statement why the Congress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement in New Delhi, said: "To the Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India, it is an article of faith.....Unless fundamentals are agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of the deadlock".

1st. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked as to what representation he had received from influential persons or organizations in India respecting facilities for legitimate communication with Congress prisoners, the whereabouts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and if Pandit Nehru could receive correspondence.—Mr. Amery replied: "I have received no such representation. Pandit Nehru is permitted to correspond with his family on family matters. I am not prepared to say his present whereabouts."

The Bengal Legislative Council resumed further discussion on a motion tabled by the opposition criticizing the statement of the Chief Minister on the political situation in the province.—The motion which was introduced by Khan Bahadur Saïyed Muzzamuddin Hussain (Moslem League) was to the effect that, in the opinion of the Council, the Chief Minister's statement so far as it related to the question of the supply of foodstuffs and of the essential commodities was disappointing.

Mr. Rajgopalachari, in a statement on the deadlock in India, declared : "Let the British Parliament act on the moral responsibility that has been so often claimed, and direct the Viceroy to scrap his fear and prejudice and choose men well-known to command the allegiance of vast bodies of men of various communities in India, whether they be in prison or not, and declare that they form his cabinet for governing India during the period of the war."

A number of Muslim members of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly formed themselves into a new party to be known as the "Independent Muslim Assembly Party," within the Coalition Party itself.

Mr. L. S. Amery, asked for information regarding machine-gunning of disorderly crowds in India from aircraft and invited to order cessation of such methods, said in the House of Commons : ".....During the recent disturbances mobs were five times machine-gunned from the air and after an aeroplane crash, which occurred on September 18 in Bihar, in which the pilot was killed and the crew of the aircraft were murdered by a mob, it was found necessary to use aircraft to check sabotage by mobs.....The measures taken by the Government of India to restore order in the circumstances, the seriousness of which is, I think, still imperfectly appreciated in this country, have my full support. I am not prepared to interfere with the Viceroy's discretion in the matter."

Mr. Osman Wao, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China, said : "Muslims in China have full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though they consider it very unfortunate that conflict had arisen between the people and the Government at a time when China wants help to see through the war."

A message from Sir P. C. Roy asking Indians to achieve permanent unity among the different communities was read at a meeting in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim Samiti. Sir P. C. Roy said : "We shall be failing in our duty if we do not try to solve the burning problem of the hour—the sinking of communal differences."

2nd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Nawab Bahadur of Faora explained on behalf of the Government, the position regarding the supply of foodstuffs and other essential commodities in Bengal.

3rd. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met at the Cama Institute, in Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. K. M. Sinivasan, Editor of the "Hindu."

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, replying to a joint address of welcome at Ferozepore, said : "If Muslims demand the right of self-determination it is not wise for any party to hold up the political progress of the whole of India by resisting that demand."

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha with Mr. V. D. Savarkar in the chair held a discussion on the political situation with special reference to the resolution passed by it on August 31.—The General Secretary of the Mahasabha, in a statement, referred to hints in certain quarters suggesting failure of the negotiations and said that such was not the case.

Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Agent General to the Government of India at Chungking, arrived in Calcutta from Chungking and in an interview said : "During my stay in China, I tried to the best of my ability to interpret brief to China. Now that I have returned to India, my stay there though brief might enable me to interpret to some extent China to India. I shall count myself very fortunate indeed if I can make any contribution to that end."

4th. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference resumed its deliberation in Bombay.—The main resolution before the Committee was one dealing with the difficulties arising from the imposition of the recent

restrictions both by Provincial Governments and the Central Government and demanding their withdrawal, and the withdrawal of pre-censorship envisaged in the last meeting in Delhi.

- 8th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, presiding over the second session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay declared: "There is no question of our willing submission to any proposal which, in our opinion, is derogatory to the dignity of the profession or in any way prevents us from functioning as responsible newspapers."—A resolution taking "strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press" was passed.—The resolution was moved by Mr. S. A. Brelvi (*"Bombay Chronicle"*) and seconded by Mr. I. M. Stephens (Calcutta *"Statesman"*).

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, at its meeting in New Delhi set up a sub-committee of five to draft its main political resolution. The Committee recorded its warm appreciation of the services rendered by the Working President and other members of the special committee, particularly on their "success in producing a common demand for a National Government."

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement at Hyderabad, said: "Mr. Amery's Caxton Hall speech on India's future should serve as an eye-opener to the Muslim League, particularly because Mr. Amery is looked upon by its executive as its friend and guide."

- 9th. The *"Times"* in a leading article strongly urged the immediate and complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, expressed the opinion, "that the statement of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the Special Committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a statement issued to the Press in Calcutta, said: "India's defence today is an integral part of the strategy of the United Nations and the financial responsibility involved in this strategy must rest on Britain and her independent Allies".

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference concluded its session in Bombay, after adopting the new constitution of the Conference, electing a new standing committee and passing a number of resolutions protesting against the way in which censorship worked and the telegraphic delay in the transmission of press messages and the arrests and detention of working journalists.

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representatives on the war Cabinet, addressed members of the Empire Parliamentary Association at the House of Commons, on "India to-day and to-morrow". The Secretary of State for India and Burma, Mr. Amery presided.

Rajkumari Amrit Kuar was arrested at Kalkan (Lahore.)

- 7th. A message from His Majesty the King-Emperor carrying his deep appreciation of the Council's sympathy in the bereavement His Majesty had sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was read by the Deputy President (Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Chaudhury) at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Azad Muslims' plan for India's future constitution was disclosed by Premier Allah Bux, President of the Azad Muslim Conference, at a Press Conference in Delhi, as envisaging linguistic provinces with the right of self-determination to the point of secession but "in the context of Indian freedom."

Dr. Bhyama Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee made an appeal to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek to intervene and help in the formation of a National Government for India and in the declaration of Indian Independence, in a cable sent to the two leaders of the United Nations.

- 8th. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, reiterated Britain's pledge of freedom to India. Mr. Amery declared: "There could be no question of the Government of India negotiating with the Congress or allowing others to do so until the Congress abandoned its present policy." Mr. Amery's statement was made on the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill.—The amendment proposed by the Independent Labour Party rejecting the Bill was defeated by 360 to 17 votes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Bombay said : "If Britain makes up her mind today she could give a most satisfactory provisional National Government to India without incurring the least risk to defence. In this sense the British Government is responsible for the continuance of the present deadlock. It is unnecessary to examine the question historically, for that is not the present issue."

- 9th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a telegram to Mr. Churchill, said: "The Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in producing national demand on fundamental points, namely the immediate recognition by the British Parliament of India as an independent nation, National Coalition Government during war time leaving the Commander-in-chief free in military operational matters as the Allied War Council dictates and all constitutional and controversial details to be decided by a post-war All Party Conference."

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism. He said : "The British Government stood by the whole of their offer but you could not break up an organization like the Government of India in the middle of a struggle as grave as that of the present war and throw it over to some body else."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, inaugurating the new Council of the Trivandrum Corporation, observed : "I wish to assure the Mayor and the Corporators of Trivandrum and through them the wider public composing the members of the local bodies throughout the State, that as far as possible, even when the government comes to the conclusion that a particular resolution, financial or otherwise of a local body is not very wise or very expedient in its own interest, Government would not normally interfere."

Prof Tan Yun-Shan, Director of Visva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, addressing "the great Ally, the British authorities, in the course of a statement from Santi Niketan, observed : "For everybody's sake and for many reasons you must first declare India independent and free immediately, then form an Indian National Government as soon as possible. This is the aspiration not only of the Indian people, but also of the peoples of the United Nations. Even your own British people, most of them, I dare say, have the same desire too."

- 10th. Mr. Allah Bakh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.—The Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Home Minister, to form a Cabinet and he accepted His Excellency's invitation.

Mr. Allah Bakh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi said : "There is no point in not recognizing under the constitution, as it stands, that the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the Governor, and not merely if he has the confidence of the legislature."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, in a statement in New Delhi, said : "There is hardly any prospect of an immediate change in the stubborn attitude taken up by the Government."

The determination of the Chinese people to preserve their national freedom and to defeat the forces of Axis aggression found expression at a public meeting held in Calcutta, to celebrate the 31st. anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at a reception given by the East India Association in honour of him and the Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, the two Indian representatives on the War Cabinet said : "I want India to know that no secrets are kept from us at the War Cabinet."

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, in a public speech at Peshawar, said : "I have no doubt in my mind that complete self-government is ours for the asking. I know that the offer made through Sir Stafford Cripps by His Majesty's Government was genuine. I assure you that after my six-year's stay in England I know of nobody there including members of Parliament who would not like to see India achieve full Dominion Status."

11th. H. E. H. the Nizam, in an appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity, which was issued unofficially, said: "This is a fit occasion for all people of different creeds and communities who have been living together in amity and peace, in the State for centuries, to establish world-wide reputation for toleration, mutual love, to bury differences and stand together once more and present a united front for the defence of their country, and thus ensure an even brighter future."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, issued a message from New Delhi to the Muslims on the occasion of the Ramzan Id: "I wish Mussalmans a happy and prosperous Id, Ramzan and Idul-Fitar, as all other Muslim festivals are the Universal festivals of Islam. "Idul-Fitar" is a symbol of unity and brotherhood—divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present, and also in the future order of the world, according to the light of our Islamic heritage."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, addressing the staff and students of Islamia College, Peshawar, made an appeal to the Muslims of the Frontier Province to unite politically with the Muslims of the rest of India.

12th. H. H. the Maharaja of Nawanganagar, in an interview with Mr. George Slocumbe, in London suggested the creation of a completely Indianised and fully Executive Viceroy's Council, with Whitehall not interfering in home and financial affairs.

An unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony was held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all communities. The function, which was organised by the Muslim Club, was attended by the Governor, the Ministers, the District Commander and prominent members of all communities. A feature of the gathering was the presence of a large number of servicemen.

13th. The House of Commons passed through the Committee Stage and gave the third reading to the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. The Bill was then sent to the House of Lords.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, in an open letter to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, said: "For the Hindu Mahasabha to align itself with the Congress in regard to the Communal Award and the Poona Pact would be a betrayal of India."

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in a radio debate in New York, advocated the setting up of a four-man Commission representing respectively the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China to negotiate with the various Indian parties for a settlement of the Indian problem.

14th. A communique from Government House, (Karachi) said: "His Excellency the Governor this morning accepted the resignations of Mr. Nicholas, Vazirani, Rao Sahib Gokuldas Newaldas, Pir Illahi Bux Nazali and Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada from his Council of Ministers. Later, Pir Illahi Bux was sworn in as a member of the Cabinet of Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah, whom His Excellency entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry.

The Dumasra session of the Representative Assembly (Mysore) commenced at the Jagannathan Palace, with Pradhana Shiromoni N. Madhava Rao, Dewan President, in the chair: The Congress Party was conspicuous by its absence with the exception of two members.

15th. Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons regarding the displacement of the Moslem Premier of Sind, Mr. Allah Bakh recalled the Communique issued by the Governor of Sind on October 10. Mr Amery added: "I had of course, been consulted on the situation created by the Premier's publication made in September of his letter to the Viceroy and had agreed as to the impropriety, in the light of it, of his continuing in office, but the final decision to dismiss him was taken by the Governor only after a personal discussion which, owing to the Premier's absence from Sind, could not take place until October 10."

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was proposed to complete the Indianization of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of Indians to the three portfolios still held by Englishmen.

Mr. Amery: "No such change is at present contemplated."

The India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, which was passed by the House of Commons was introduced in the House of Lords and given its formal first reading.

Speaking at a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society in London, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stressed the need for a much greater study of the Eastern Languages, particularly those of India. Whether from the trade point of view or the more important aspect, namely, international understanding, a study of these languages was important, Mr. Amery added: "I hope that after this war, we shall think of these matters in a different spirit from that of the rather materialistic 19th. century."

A Gazette notification was issued at Karachi, stating: "The Governor, having found it necessary to do so, has terminated with effect from the forenoon of October 10, the tenure of office of members of the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Allah Baksh."

- 16th. It was officially stated that the Government of India decided to continue giving special attention to movements of foodstuffs, sugar and salt for internal consumption during the month of October, as was done during the month of September.

In the Representative Assembly, Mysore, eleven official bills were passed. Of these, four related to disqualifications of legal practitioners whose Sannads were suspended or dismissed by the High Court, from being members of the District Boards, City, Minor and Town Municipalities.

- 17th. Mr. M. Rethinaswamy, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

The Mysore Representative Assembly passed the Mysore Prisons Bill, after a full dress debate.—The Dewan-President presided.

- 18th. Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy, addressing a Press Conference in Madras, said: "I am glad to be able to say that our losses in ships are being more than met by new construction in America and the United Kingdom. We are on the right side." He expressed the hope that India would one day have a navy sufficiently strong to defend her vast coast line.

Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava, Civil Defense Member of the Viceroy's Council, at a Press Conference at Cuttack, said: "My own view is that there is no danger of a Japanese invasion, but bombing is quite easy. They may do it to paralyse production and imperil the morale of the people."

- 19th. Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Mr. M. A. Guzdar, League nominees, were sworn in as Ministers in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry (Sind).—Twenty-nine out of the total strength of 34 Muslim members of the Assembly joined Sir Ghulam Hussain.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar in Rawalpindi, paid a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and continuing steadily with the war effort. His Excellency said that, by their steadfastness and commonsense, Punjabers were helping to bring nearer victory and the day that India would enter her promised day.—His Excellency said: "In every battlefield where forces are fighting Punjabers have won laurels, and foremost among them are the martial classes of Rawalpindi".

Mr. B. G. Horniman in an address to the Progressive Group in Bombay made an appeal to all educated people in the country to stand by the Press in its efforts to secure and maintain the freedom of the Press.

Press Censorship in India was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Council of the Empire Press Union under the presidency of Col. J. J. Astor, in London.—The Council considered a communication from Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stating that it was not practicable to inform the senders of press cables from Britain on every occasion when messages were cut and suppressed in India by the Government of India.

Sir Robert Reid, China Relation Officer of the Government of India, was received by Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek at Chungking.

- 20th. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, in an interview at Karachi said that he had not signed the Moslem League pledge and had not agreed to any conditions. He declared: "I am an Indian first and a Moslem afterwards."

A Press Note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, stated: "The most important work done by the Bombay Provincial Board of Primary Education in 1941-42, according to the annual report, was a detailed scheme submitted to the Government, for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in the Province."

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and Burma (temporary and miscellaneous) Bill, which was given a second reading, replied to the "political agitation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of Government's Indian policy. He reiterated the British Government's attitude and said that the next move must come from India.

- 21st. Mr. Bertrand Russell, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* from New York, pointed out the excitement existing in wide circles in the United States in regard to the Indian problem and reiterated his suggestion—a four-man Commission representing Britain, United States, China and Russia, to negotiate with Indian leaders.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in the course of a talk to Press representatives at Delhi, urged the British Government to establish a provisional national Government in India immediately. He outlined a fresh scheme for the formation of such a Government and expressed the opinion that neither the Congress nor the Moslem League would reject an offer based on his scheme. He would put forward his scheme in reply to the Duke of Devonshire's statement in the House of Lords that no specific proposals had been advanced.

Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his Vijaya Dashami Day message to the Hindus said: "A glorious future awaits you. Only betray not yourselves."

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, in an interview in Calcutta, made a suggestion to spread all civil demands for the movement of main export crops, such as jute and tea, over a longer period than usual and not to make any extraordinary new demands upon transport services, in order to enable the authorities to meet all requirements in due course.

Mr. Lalji Mahotra (an ex-Mayor of Karachi and President of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association), Seth Haridas Lalji (Secretary of the Karachi Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber) and Seth Sukhlal (Member of the Karachi Cotton Association and ex-Member of the Karachi Port Trust) were arrested under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, denied in a broadcast to America, the allegation that Sir Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National Government, but was overruled from London.

- 22nd. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry was completed in Sind, with the appointment of two Hindus, namely, Dr. Hemandas Wadhvani and Rai Sahab Gokaldas Mewaldas.

Khan Abdul Ghaflar Khan, addressing a public meeting at Peshawar declared: "The Congress has no wish or desire to help or assist Japan and Germany. On the other hand, we want to fight them. For three years we scrupulously avoided embarrassing the British, but the experience of this war has shown that it is only the people of a land who can effectively resist modern aggressors. We, therefore, want that the defence of our country should be given to the charge of the people of India."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in the House of Commons, regarding the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention of the three European members was not due to race. The Viceroy had been concerned to secure efficiency and continuity and was satisfied that the existing Council contained those best qualified to fulfil their respective offices. No particular appointment was held on account of race.

Mr. Edgar Granville asked in the House of Commons, if the Government would consider the setting up an Allied War Council in India inviting representatives of the United States, Russia and China to serve with those of Britain and China to secure full strategic co-operation, under an unified command of General Wavell, of those powers concerned in India's defence.—The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee replied in the negative.

His Excellency the Viceroy, concluding his reply to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta, said: "My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now, I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war."

22nd. The letter sent by Mahatma Gandhi to General Chiang Kai-Shek before launching the Civil Disobedience movement was published by Mr. Louis Fischer in the *Nation* in New York. Mahatma Gandhi wrote : "Because of the feeling I have towards China and my earnest desire that our two great countries should come closer to one another and co-operate to their mutual advantage, I am anxious to explain to you that my appeal to the British Power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or embarrass in your struggle. I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the loss of your country's freedom..... Whatever action I may recommend will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China".

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League met at Patna, under the presidency of Khau Bahadur Ismail.—While unequivocally endorsing the Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, the Committee reiterated its confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership and assured him that the Muslims of Bihar would stand united for the achievement of their cherished goal of Pakistan. The Committee, in another resolution, urged His Majesty's Government to be more precise and definite in the declaration of their policy towards Indian Muslims.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Amery, in reply to a question regarding the Viceroy's refusal to allow Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, Working President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha to see Mahatma Gandhi, said : "I am not prepared in the present circumstances (to ask him) to permit interview with the Congress Leader".

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, announced that he had joined the Muslim League.

H. E. the Commander-in-Chief paid a visit to the training base of the Chinese forces in India.

Manjavi Motabari Hussain Chowdhury, interviewed at Shillong, said : Any Japanese attempt to invade India is bound to fail".

23rd. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, in a statement to the Press at Amritsar, commenting on Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan for ending the Indian deadlock, said : "I am in full sympathy with Mr. Rajagopalachari in his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people. We have an opportunity, which we can not afford to lose. Now is the time to get united and attain Independence. I feel we cannot solve the communal problem without the active and sincere help of the British, nor can the British ignore our support in the Total War. Mutual agreement is the best thing for every body."

The Maharaja of Bharatpur announced certain constitutional reforms in the Bharatpur State including the formation of a Representative Assembly to be known as the "Brij-jays Prithindhi Samiti".

23rd. His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Bertrand Gnaney, addressing a durbar at Mianwali, paid a tribute to the districts' contribution to the war effort.

Mr. D. Khatri, presiding at the tenth annual general meeting of the Indian Sugar Mills Association at Cawnpore, said that the Sugar Control Scheme of the Government of India was a failure as neither had the price of sugar been controlled nor its distribution regulated.

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, Minister for Law, stated that the Government of Mysore were not at all anxious to keep any students in jail. But some guarantee was necessary if the students were to be released.

24th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement from Madras. "The immediate reactions to my proposal are encouraging. I hope we shall not fall into the trap of controversy over little details and the petty anxieties of particular interests. This is just what the British Government hope may happen before they are called upon to say anything. They are watching and waiting just for this. We should beware."

The Maharaja of Kashmir promulgated an Ordinance providing for the imposition of collective fines when it appeared that inhabitants of the affected

area were concerned in offences prejudicially affecting the defence of the State, public safety, or the efficiency of the prosecution of the war.

Sir G. B. Hidayatullah and the other Muslim Ministers in the Sind Cabinet, gave the Hindu Ministers a solemn assurance that they would not do anything affecting minority interests without consultation with their Hindu colleagues.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, addressing the eighth annual Marketing Officers' Conference in New Delhi, said that it was generally hunger of the body and the mind which changed ones will to live at peace into will to war. Short stomachs made short devotion. By increasing production and securing even distribution of their products, they served their soldiers, sailors and airmen, who were giving away their lives in far-flung battle fields. It was they who gave them sheltered security. They were truly the maker of the New India; they claimed no sectional or communal privileges. They only knew how to do and die.

Under the auspices of the Bengal Muslim students' Anti-Fascist Conference, an All-Bengal Muslim League Students' Anti-Fascist Conference was held at Faridpur. Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, former Bengal Minister, opened the Conference. Mr. Abdus Saleem, Chairman of the Reception Committee exhorted Bengali Muslim students to present a united front against the menace of Japanese attack on their province.

27th. Sir Robert Reid, China Relations officer of the Government of India, in an interview in Calcutta, paid a tribute to the excellent morale of the Chinese people. Sir Robert described his experiences and the conditions he found in China's war-time capital.

Mr. Balyendra Chandra Mitra, President of the Bengal Legislative Council died at his residence in Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in Peshawar for attempting to enter Mardan District in defiance of an order prohibiting him from doing so.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Canada) urged the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King to take steps through the United Nations to reopen negotiations for "Self-Government for India now as well as after the war".

28th. Mr. Churchill replied to Mr. Savarkar's message urging the acceptance of India's national demand as expressed in the resolution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee. The reply, which was communicated through the Viceroy, expressed Mr. Churchill's appreciation of the Hindu Mahasabha's endeavours to promote unity among the various elements in India.

The eighth annual conference of marketing officers, which concluded its session in New Delhi, made a number of recommendations regarding the control and distribution of foodstuffs. It recommended the setting up of a representative control body with power to make recommendation to the provinces which could arrange priority for the transport of foodstuffs from one area to another. A unified organization for the purchase of civil and military requirements was also suggested in a resolution.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, commenting on Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan for ending the Indian deadlock, said, in a statement to the Press at Amritsar: I am in full sympathy with Mr. Rajagopalachari for his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people. We have an opportunity which we cannot afford to lose. Now is the time to get united and attain independence. I feel we cannot solve the communal problem without the help of the British nor can the British ignore our support, in this total war. Mutual agreement is the best thing for every body".

The seventh session of the Orissa Assembly commenced. Only three Congress members out of a total strength of 29 attended, namely, Swami Bichitrananda Das, Deputy Leader, Mr. Jagannath Misra, Secretary of the Party and Srimati Sarala Devi.—Mr. Das made a statement why the Congress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie in the course of a broadcast to the American people, declared: "India is our problem. If Japan should conquer that vast sub-continent we will be the losers. In the same sense, the Philippines is the British problem. If we fail to deliver by force of arms the independence we have promised the Filipinos, the whole Pacific world will be the loser."

Mr. Wilkie's reference to India in his broadcast was the subject of a number of questions : Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, was asked at a Press Conference in Washington. Mr. Hull said that the United States Government was, of course, interested in the Indian situation which it was closely observing and watching for opportunities to give full attention feasible under the circumstances.

29th. The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting in Calcutta, reached a decision to start work immediately in Midnapore for the relief of distress.

A new plea to President Roosevelt "to attempt to bring about conciliation between British and Indians" was made by a new National organization called "The American Round Table" which was headed by Mr. Guy Emery Shipier, Editor of the leading Protestant publication 'Churchman'.

Bertrand Russell and his wife, writing to the *Manchester Guardian*, said that they doubted whether the English people sufficiently realised the excitement in the United States over the Indian deadlock. They declared that something should be done to reassure not only India but the United States and other Allies of Britain.

Sir M. Asizul Haque, Indian High Commissioner in London, in a speech to the East India Association said that he looked forward to the time when Indians would be most valued partners, workers and collaborators in the British Commonwealth.

29th. At a Press Conference in New Delhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, explained the Labour policy of the Government of India. He said that, besides undertaking direct responsibility for labour welfare and providing facilities for training a great number of technicians, the Government of India were introducing certain new beneficial principles. This included compulsory arbitration between employees and labour and enforcement of their wages and conditions of service.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Home Minister, Bombay, in a press statement, declared : "Japan can be fought by Britain only with India as an interested partner and not as an unwilling serf."

A number of influential Muslims of Tellicherry sent a signed memorandum to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, appealing to him to solve the political deadlock in the country.

With reference to Mr. Vernon Bartlett's scheme suggesting complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said : "We should discover effective means to make the war an Indian people's war, and for this something more positive is required than the mere principle of no taxation without representation, or the trusting of a few respectable Indians. What Mr. Bartlett wants guaranteed is India's full co-operation against the common enemy. This can and must be achieved by trusting the people rather than by an elaborate mechanism of distrust."

31st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said : "The All-India Muslim League has made its position abundantly clear more than once. The position to-day, however, is that to the Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India it is an article of faith, and it concedes equal freedom and independence to Hindu India, where the Hindus are in a majority, and unless fundamentals are agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of the deadlock."

November 1942

A Gazette Extraordinary issued from New Delhi announced "the cancellation of the Home Department Notification of August, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three news agencies or a registered correspondent."

The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked re. the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replied that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions.

In connexion with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly, re: Khaksar movement, Allama Mashriq, the Khaksar leader, in a press statement, said *inter alia*: "For duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols."

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization.

Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with Chinese Educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a provisional Central Government.

The Azad Muslim Board congratulated its President, Mr. Allah Bux for renunciation of his titles.

A notification in the Orissa Gazette Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at a press conference, said: "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me to see Gandhiji."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim students' Conference, at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government to which real power should be transferred.

In the Assam Assembly, Maulavi Abdul Rahman asked a number of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities.

Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons, if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India.

Mr. Amery, in a written reply said, *inter alia*: "The Government see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country.....The Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days."

The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee tendered his resignation of office as a Minister of the Government of Bengal.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, in a statement, said: "That Ministers while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature, have very little powers, especially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people."

The Rural Primary Education Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Legislative Council.

Sir C. V. Raman, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University, said : "The true wealth of a nation does not consist in the stored up gold in its coffers and the banks..... but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

1st. Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, issued a statement on the question of the solution of India's political deadlock. Dr. Ambedkar deprecated the tendency on the part of certain politicians to appeal to statesmen from outside to intervene to solve the constitutional impasse. He said he preferred Indians making their own settlement which was their own responsibility.

Dr. G. S. Arundale, in an interview on Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme for solving the political deadlock, said : "So long as there exists the separate nation theory in Muslim League circles there can be little prospect of forming a National Government."

Sir G. Hussien Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, gave an assurance that fair treatment would be meted out to all parties in the province.

A "Gazette" Extraordinary issued from New Delhi, announced "the cancellation of the Home Department notification of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three new agencies, or a registered correspondent. This notification applied to printers, publishers and editors in Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Orissa. In other provinces and centrally administered areas the notification has already been cancelled".

2nd. A Bengal Government Press note, issued in connexion with the havoc caused by the cyclone which swept several parts of the province on October 16, said : "A heavy cyclone from the Bay passed over several districts of Bengal, on October 16. It began about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning on the 16th. and spent itself in the early hours of the morning of the 17th."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, when he spoke at a public meeting in Madras, announced : "The Muslim demand will not be prejudiced by what I have suggested—the formation of a provisional Government. I, together with Mr. Jinnah, desire that the British Government should agree to his right of self-determination".

"The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly strongly advised the Government to bring forward only such business as they thought was necessary to carry on the administration and avoid introducing controversial measures beyond the preliminary stage. The observation was made on a point of order raised by the Raja of Khallikote, who wanted that the "House should refuse to transact any business until it became more representative".

Mr. S. D. Upadhyaya, the Private Secretary of Pandit Jawaharal Nehru, was arrested in Allahabad, for detention under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

3rd. Bhai Paramanand, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press in Lahore, said "I should like to advise the Hindus to beware of Mr. Rajagopalachari's move".

Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a press statement in Lucknow, said : "The special committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has succeeded in proving a surprising unity behind the demand for the establishment of a National Government. Let the British Government announce its intention to accept this demand on its own condition that all political parties agree to join in the formation of such a national and composite Government and I have no doubt, whatsoever, that they will all join in doing so".

The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study.

The Allahabad University Union was dissolved by the University authorities following certain activities by the Union which "seek to destroy all academic life".

A Conference of all newspaper editors of Calcutta and Howrah was held at "Statesman" House, Calcutta. A resolution was adopted re: the Cyclone havoc in Bengal :—"This meeting of the editors of Bengal expresses heartfelt sympathy for the sufferers in the recent cyclone, and appoints a sub-committee

for collection of funds for the relief of sufferers and expect whole-hearted co-operation from the press and public".

In a manifesto issued by the Communist Party of India in connexion with the "National Unity Week," an appeal was made to the people of India to rally all their forces to fight the Fascist menace.

In the Punjab Assembly, a series of questions were asked about the arrests and detention of Congress leaders in the Punjab, but the Government declined to give any information on the floor of the House. The Premier, however, assured the members that information on the subject could be supplied privately for their personal benefit.

The Punjab Assembly passed the Press and Registration of Books (Punjab Amendment) Bill and the General Sales Tax (Second Amendment) Bill.

Sir Jogendra Singh, speaking at the I. C. S. Probationers' Camp (Dehra Dun), referred to the reputation of the Service, which had spread all over the world and said: "The secret of its success has been that its members, in no sense supernumeraries, have set up a standard of integrity and devotion to duty which has been rarely surpassed."

A joint meeting of the Managing Committees of the Karachi Indo-Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, at Karachi, adopted a resolution urging the Government of India, the British Government and the United Nations to take the initiative in bringing about a speedy solution of the political deadlock by releasing Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and by establishing a truly National Government.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, replying to a question, Pandit Godavaris Miara said that more than one newspaper were getting subsidy from the Government, but the Government were not prepared to disclose the names of papers or the amount given as subsidy.

The Orissa University Bill was taken up by the Assembly on Mr. Godavaris Miara's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

General Smuts received the two Indian members of the British war Cabinet and the Pacific Council, the Jam Sahib of Nawanganar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Sir Ramaswami Mudahar, Member of the Viceroy's Council. General Smuts received first hand information from them of the political and general situation in India.

- 4th. Under the auspices of the Young Men's Crescent Society, Triplicane, a public meeting was held to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Akbar the great. Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar presided. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others addressed the gathering.

Mr. W. A. Burns, Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, was selected to represent India on the Anglo-American Technical Mission.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked what opinion they had communicated to the Government of India on the removal of the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replying, said that although details of the correspondence between the provincial Government and the Government of India could not be divulged, it was known that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions, viz, that for the duration of the war members of the movement would not practise drill, would not wear uniform and would conform to all the restriction that apply to volunteer organization in the province.

The Bengal Legislative Council had a brief sitting when after a reference to the death of Rai Bahadur Monmatha Nath Bose, Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, the Council adjourned as a mark of respect to his memory.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, in an interview in London, said: "There is a very great necessity at the moment for establishing a National Unity Front, the object of which should be to impress upon the leaders of the different elements of national life the need for sinking all differences".

- 5th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, discussion on the (Rural) Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was resumed. The Bill sought to remedy the defects found in the working of the Primary Education Act of 1942, by providing representation of women in the Central Primary Education Committee and of other local and special interests.

At a meeting of the directors of the Provincial National War Front, in Bombay, reference to India's defence position was made by Mr. Hearnshaw Laiji.

Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuroo and Mr. M. H. Guader, Sind Ministers, addressing a Press Conference in Lahore, expressed the view that Mr. Jinnah was satisfied with the explanations submitted to him regarding the circumstances in which the Muslim League had accepted office in Sind.

- 6th. His Excellency the Viceroy telegraphed to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, conveying his deepest sympathy to the cyclone-stricken people in Midnapore and 24 Pargannas Districts.

H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore held the Birthday Durbar at Trivandrum.

The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official resolutions.—A resolution on the subject of development of industries in the province was moved by Khan Bahadur S. M. Hossain, Leader of the Opposition.

- 7th. In connexion with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly regarding the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar movement, Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader in a Press statement, said : "The Punjab Premier stated in the Assembly that the Punjab Government would remove the ban on the Khaksar movement, provided a clear and unambiguous pronouncement was made by me that for the duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols. As this is the first definite utterance of the Premier regarding the Khaksar movement in the Punjab, I make the pronouncement in clear and unambiguous terms that the above programme will be adhered to for the duration of the war and discrepancies, if any, will be removed within one month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. Social service requiring the presence of more than one Khaksar at one place will be refused after the ban is withdrawn."

On the occasion of the 25th. anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a public meeting was held in Calcutta. Speeches were made, emphasizing that a Fascist victory would mean the enslavement of different nations of the world for centuries to come and that Indian freedom was dependent on the victory of the Soviet Union.—The meeting was organized by the Bengal Radical Democratic Party.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, declaring open the Srichitra Exhibition at Trivandrum, observed : "I do, honestly and sincerely believe that we have now reached a turning point. I do not say that we are going to win the war before Christmas or before Easter, or may be not by this time next year, but I do believe that the turning point has been reached."

Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with the Chinese educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India. Among these was the possibility of the exchange of research students between the two countries.

- 8th. The Muslim League Working Committee passed two resolutions on Sind and collective fines in New Delhi.

The Government of Bombay forfeited Rs. 11,895-6-0 belonging to the All-India Congress Committee from Messrs. Barchaj Company Ltd., with whom the money was deposited.

- 9th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a Provisional Central Government. Mr. Jinnah referred at the outset to attempts to misinterpret the League's attitude and to characterize the League as "allies of British imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India." "These efforts are disgraceful," he declared.

The Council of the Muslim League ratified without discussion four resolutions of its Working Committee passed in April, August and on the 9th. November, including the Bombay resolution.

The Azad Muslim Board Conference at its meeting in New Delhi passed a resolution, in which it was stated : "This meeting of the Azad Muslim Board congratulates its President, Mr. Allah Bakh for renunciation of his titles in protest against the present Indian policy of the British Government and strongly condemns the unconstitutional and unjustified action of Lord Linlithgow and the Governor of Sind in spite of his enjoyment of the confidence of the majority of the members of the legislature, and notes that this action has further exposed the hollowness of the British contention that autonomy was conferred on the provinces by the Government of India Act of 1935."

10th. In the Punjab Assembly, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh referred to the speech of Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons, in which he stated that the leading Congressmen arrested under the Defence of India Rules were being treated with the highest respect and given every comfort.

The Central Provinces Government in a communique announced its decision in regard to the publication of news by the Press. "The Press will revert to the former procedure, according to which, the Press of its own accord on the advice of the Government, imposed restrictions on itself with the assistance of the Government Press Advisory system."

A notification in the 'Orissa Gazette' Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes or interruption of work in factories.

The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly put into effect his ruling given on Nov. 2 advising the Government to avoid introducing controversial Bills.

The Azad Muslim Board in a resolution passed in New Delhi, calling upon the people of India to concentrate all their efforts on the consolidation of inter-communal unity and trust, declared that it was the special responsibility of Muslims and their organizations "to expose the hollowness of the British plea that Indian Muslims do not want independence and a National Government."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Khan Bahadur Hashemali Khan, Minister, said that the question of filling in the slit trenches in Calcutta had been considered but it had been rejected.

His Majesty the King, in the course of his speech proroguing Parliament, said : "My Government in the United Kingdom have declared to the Princes and people of India their desire to see India assume full freedom and independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations on the basis of a Constitution framed by Indians themselves immediately after the termination of hostilities. In the meantime, representative Indian political leaders were invited to co-operate fully in the Government of their country and in the prosecution of the war. I regret profoundly that hitherto they have not been willing to accept this offer. I sincerely hope wiser counsels may prevail and that a speedy and successful conclusion of the difficulties may be brought about through a wider measure of agreement between the Indian peoples themselves."

In a tribute to the Indian Army the King said : "It is growing in strength month by month and has displayed its heroic valour upon many fields of battle. We are proud that more than a million men are already voluntarily engaged in our Indian Land, Sea and Air Forces, and we place our full confidence in their courage and fortitude in the days of struggle that lie before them."

11th. The 24th. anniversary of the restoration of Poland's independence was commemorated in Calcutta, by the local Polish Community.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, issued an appeal in connexion with the relief of the cyclone stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Farganas districts.

A deputation elected by the All-India Muslim League Council waited on Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Government of India, regarding restrictions on Haj pilgrims. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, was also present at the interview which took place in New Delhi.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of relief measures taken by the Government for the cyclone-stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Farganas districts was raised.

12th. H. K. the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in New Delhi. Mr. Rajagopalachari at a Press Conference, said : "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me permission to see Gandhiji." He added : "Mr. Jinnah knows that I was going to ask the Viceroy's permission to see Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah knows the result also. I believe, he is as disappointed as myself."

His Excellency Sir Henry Clow, Governor of Assam, when he addressed joint session of the Provincial Legislatures, made a reference to the momentous changes which had taken place during the year, bringing Assam near the war.

His Excellency Sir John Harbert, Governor of Bengal returned to Calcutta after making a preliminary tour of the areas affected by the cyclone in Midnapore.

The suggestion that the British Government should get a Royal Proclamation issued or a short Bill passed, conceding independence to India, but postponing its execution till three years after the war, on the analogy of the Irish Home Rule Bill or the Philippine Independence Act, was made in a statement to the Press, signed by prominent Indian Christian leaders in Bombay.

- 14th. Mr. N. R. Sanjar, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University, observed: "The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a customary and penetrating study of our educational problems, a study of which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah went to Jullundur to preside over the annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. Thanking the Muslims of Jullundur for organising a royal reception in his honour, he said: "The key to Pakistan is in your hands and if you use it properly, you can achieve your goal."

Mr. K. M. Munshi, in a statement on the refusal of the Government of India to accord permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, said: "I expected nothing else from the Viceroy. The British policy at present pursued does not want a settlement with India. In such a settlement they sense a liquidation of the Empire for which they are fighting".

Mr. Frank B. Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian Association, speaking at a dinner at Jubbulpore, said: "To my fellow-Indians who blame us for our seeming indifference to India and things Indian, I say this: "Not we but the system of education imposed on us and over which we have had no control has been to blame".

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet sent a message from London to his countrymen in the Far East who were under the domination of the Japanese:—"From what I have seen during these two months in Britain, I am convinced your trials will soon be over and you will be free to join the great confederation of nations whose only desire is to live in peace and freedom".

The National Defence Council met in New Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy presided. The Commander-in-Chief of India reviewed the war situation with special reference to the victory in the Egyptian desert and the opening of a second front in North Africa.

- 15th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Musalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government, to which real power should be transferred, provided the British Government made a declaration, and the other parties agreed to it on the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in Allahabad said: "I deeply regret that Mr. Rajagopalachari should have been refused permission to go and interview Mr. Gandhi".

- 16th. The Madras Government, in consultation with the provincial Press Advisory Committee, issued revised Press instructions.—The instructions incorporated the formula contained in the resolution passed by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in October, in Bombay.

In the Assam Assembly, Manjivi Abdur Rahman asked a series of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities, and inquired about the steps the Government had taken to counteract it.

At a public meeting at Calicut, it was resolved to open a provincial branch of the Elinu Mahasabha for Kerala with district and local branches.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, in an interview in Bombay, said: "That there was no necessity for forming a National Government in India at the present juncture, that the present political situation in India was the result of mutual distrust between the majority and minority

communities in this country and that it was better to wait for the termination of the war for settling the future of India".

- 17th. A meeting of the editors of suspended newspapers of Madras was held at the "*Indian Express*" office to consider the Press communiqué and instructions issued by the Government of Madras.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, Punjab, speaking at a meeting in Lahore, held in connexion with the celebrations of Guru Nanak's birthday, said: "Of what use is that freedom which, we are told we will get, provided we all agree to the vivisection of India? It is better to remain in slavery than to enjoy the so-called freedom".

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, acting upon the suggestion of the Speaker, Mr. Amjad Ali held over the discussion on the motion for a reference of the Goalpara Tenancy Amendment Bill to a Select Committee.

Sir K. Nazimuddin in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference at Lyallpur, observed: "The Pakistan scheme is not only in the interests of India as a whole, but actually the non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India".

Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery in the House of Commons if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India. Mr. Amery, in a written reply, said: "The Government warmly welcome the endeavours of Mr. Rajagopalachari or of any other leader of Indian opinion to promote an agreed settlement of the Indian problem, but any such agreement must come about in India between the Indian Parties. The Government, therefore, see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country. As Mr. Ammon will be aware, the Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days".

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organisation as Ahlana Mashriqi, the leader of the movement, had declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government.

- 18th. A Press Note issued from New Delhi, stated: "At its first meeting, held last August, the Central Food Advisory Council considered the increase in the slaughter of cattle resulting from large scale increases in the demand for meat due to the exigencies of the war and recommended that, to prevent permanent damage to the cattle wealth of the country, the slaughter of working bullocks in a good state of health below the age of ten years, cows in milk and pregnant cows should be prohibited." The recommendation was accepted by the Government of India as regards the supply of meat to the defence forces.

The British Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a broadcast to the United Nations, from London, said that this was still a "people's war" and added, "Britain has offered to the people of India full liberty to make their own constitution for themselves, even if it means complete independence. Whatever destiny they want for their country after the war, they can have, provided only nothing is done during the war to prejudice victory for the United Nations. Can you tell me any other example in history of a ruling power making such an offer on such a scale, with so much at stake, to a subject people? What do you make of it? I make of it one more proof that the British people are looking to the future with exactly the same motives and purposes as brought them into the war."

The Orissa University Bill was referred to a select committee by the Orissa Legislative Assembly, on the motion of the Education Minister, Pandit Godavaris Misra.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, observed: "There is nothing disappointing or new in the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, but it is inevitable. When Dr. Bhyama Prasad Mukherjee, who sought permission on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations to see Gandhiji was refused permission, it was a foregone conclusion that Rajaji's request would be turned down similarly."

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his Jullunder speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further

classified by him while inaugurating the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference at Lyalpur.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, presiding over the prize distribution ceremony of the Sri Chitra Exhibition, said: "Travancore's natural resources are well-nigh limitless. Its resources in the matter of intelligent labour are equally limitless. What is wanted is organisation, harmonising of capital with labour, or social outlook, a welding of the heart and brain in order to educate capital and labour, landowner and peasant, in the common task of making this country worthy of her great sovereign, and apt for the achievement of his great ideals."

19th. The Punjab Muslim League passed a resolution recommending to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organization in view of Allama Mashruqi's declaration to obey the conditions imposed by the Punjab Government and the Home Member's statement in the Central Assembly that the Khaksars were not connected in any way with fifth column activities of the enemy. The resolution was moved by Mr. Ghulam Samad, member of the Punjab Assembly, and seconded by Prof. Inayatullah who urged the immediate removal of all restrictions calculated to cripple the Khaksar movement. A resolution endorsing the Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League, and expressing full confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, was unanimously carried at the session of the conference on the 18th. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin presided.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister made a statement regarding the police firing at Kioregunj, Mymensingh, in connexion with a Durja Puja immersion procession on October 19.

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote: "When Government is looking round for ways of being helpful in India—and its should seek them—it should settle this tiresome question of the Atlantic Charter."

Sir Parushottam Das Thakurdas, commenting on the Viceroy's refusal to grant permission to Mr. Rajagopalachari to see Gandhiji, said: "That the Executive Council, consisting of many Indian members, should be a party to this refusal is very puzzling."

Mr. G. L. Mehta observed: "The refusal of the Viceroy to permit Rajaji to interview Mahatma Gandhiji in prison is significant as an index to the present outlook and policy of the Government of India."

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, at a tea party given to the Press at Karachi, said: "I was not dying for the Ministry. You can take it from me, if I had not succeeded in forming the Ministry, you would have had a suspended constitution in this Province (Sind)."

The Sind Government recommended to the Government of India that the ban on Khaksars be removed on the same condition as in the Punjab.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed all demands for grants under General Administration (Rs. 20,63,200) Land Revenue (Rs. 16,93,700), Civil Defence (Rs. 14,83,000) and Administration of Justice (Rs. 7,50,000).

The Governor of Bengal prorogued the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

20th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, replying to a question in connexion with the firing in Decca Central Jail on August 31, announced that the Government proposed to hold an enquiry by experienced judicial officers and take suitable action on their report.

Sir Mohamed Zafrulla Khan suggested two alternatives as a likely solution of the Indian problem. "First," he said, "the All-India Congress should agree to Mr. Jinnah's demand for the establishment of Pakistan in North East and North-West areas. Secondly, let Mr. Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and their colleagues admit that there is 'a reasonable basis for the Moslems' fear and let them suggest the adoption of an agreement providing for the protection of the rights of Moslems and other minorities' before asking for the withdrawal of the British. In either case, there would be a reasonable hope for an early settlement."

21st. The following communique was issued from Government House, Calcutta.

"The Hon. Dr. Bishwanath Prasad Mookherjee has tendered his resignation of his office as a member of His Excellency the Governor's Council of Ministers, and His Excellency has been pleased to accept this resignation with effect from the afternoon of 30th. November, 1942."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, made the suggestion that the Governor General should place himself at the head of an Indian National Government and call a Conference of all parties including the Congress to reach a settlement. "If," said Sir Tej Bahadur, "the Governor-General calls such a conference of all parties including the Congress, very probably he would insist upon the Congress withdrawing Civil disobedience, and in my opinion, the Congress should, in the interest of peace and harmony, definitely call off Civil disobedience."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at a Press Conference in Lahore, said: "If Maulana Abul Kalam Azad could issue instructions from jail to the Sind Congress party regarding the formation of a Ministry in Sind there is nothing to show that Mr. Gandhi will not be allowed to declare from jail the abandonment of the civil disobedience movement."

- 22nd. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in New Delhi, said: "I am taking immediate steps to call a meeting of the standing committee of the Non-Party Conference, which is likely to be held at Allahabad on December 12. In addition to the members of the standing committee, we are inviting Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, some of the representatives of the Indian Christian Community and the Depressed Classes and Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader."

Master Tara Singh, referring to Mr. Jinnah's statement in Lahore that, if necessary, Muslims should fight with the sword, for the assertion of their rights, issued a statement in New Delhi, in which he observed: "Those who threaten to establish Pakistan with the sword should join me in requesting the English to clear out of the country after the war, leaving us free to settle among ourselves. It will then be time for holding out such threats; for, I believe, when the leaders and the people are faced with a choice between permanent peace and war, they will be more reasonable and there will be less of bluffing."

- 23rd. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Revenue Minister Mr. P. N. Bannerjee was asked by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur if compulsory evacuation of the civil population in Calcutta was contemplated. The Minister's reply was: "No, not at present."

The House next took up the third reading of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Assembly)—the measure sought to remedy certain defects in the Primary Education Act, of 1930.

Dr. Bhyama Prasad Mukherjee issued a statement in Calcutta, in which he observed *inter alia*: "My experience as a Provincial Minister for eleven months justifies me in stating, clearly and categorically, that Ministers while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature, have very little powers, especially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people. The Governor has chosen to act, in many vital matters, in disregard of the wishes of the Ministers and has depended on the advice of a section of permanent officials, who are indifferent to the interests of the province. If the British Prime Minister or the Secretary of State has the courage to direct an inquiry into the manner in which popular rights have been disregarded against the advice of responsible Ministers, the hollowness of their claim that Dominion Status is already in action in India will stand exposed."

Dr. H. S. Moonje, at a public meeting at Ajmer, said: "If any one believes that India can secure freedom as a result of Japanese invasion, he lives in a fool's paradise."

The Hon. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister for Development, in the course of a statement in Lahore, said: "The Punjab holds the key and a communal settlement in this Province will end the entire communal programme in India."

Speaking at a crowded and distinguished gathering of the British and Indians in London in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Akbar the Great, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, appealed for tolerance, understanding and unity as the basis of India's political future and greatness.

The death occurred of Sir Mohamed Yakub, Reforms Adviser to the Nizam's Government and a former Member of the Council of State.

- 24th. The Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, after which the Council was prorogued.

A Punjab Gazette Extraordinary announced that the Government of the Punjab prorogued the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal to the public for generous help to the Cyclone stricken people of Bengal.

The Sind Provincial Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, at a meeting at Karachi, adopted a resolution viewing with dismay "the action of the Punjab Government, which, despite its popular character, thought fit to pass, what this meeting must characterise as retrograde orders in the face of the reasonable resolution passed by the A. I. N. E. C. at Bombay."

The first supplementary statement of expenditure of the Government of Bihar for 1942-43, authorised by the Governor, showed that the year started with an increased ordinary balance of Rs.10½ lakhs.

- 26th. Under the Defence of India Rules the making or publishing in Bengal of any unauthorised newspaper, or any unauthorised news-sheet as defined in the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) ordinance was prohibited by the Governor of Bengal. The use of any Press for making such documents was also prohibited.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of Delhi students, said that Mr. Jinnah could not deny non-Muslims of the Punjab the same right of self-determination which he claimed for Muslims. He added that if Mr. Jinnah meant Pakistan seriously he should have it without delay and not block the way of India's progress, but its boundary would be the river Chenab.

The Orissa Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*, after disposing of two official Bills.

At a meeting of the Nationalist Muslim students of Lucknow, a resolution deploring the "negative policy" of the Muslim League and appealing to the leaders to take the initiative in ending the political deadlock, was passed.

H. K. Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Ahmednagar District War Committee, in Bombay, said: "Every Army man from Egypt that I have met looks upon the fourth Indian Division as one of the finest fighting units in the whole British Army, and in that famous unit there are Maratha troops."

The Maharaja of Kapurthala appealed for unity among Indians. "I feel sure," said His Highness in an appeal, "that my brother Princes will use their great power and influence to secure harmony among the various classes and communities in the country and help to secure in a peaceful manner an honourable position for India among the nations of the world."

- 26th. A memorandum stating the views of the Bengal Congress (suspended) Assembly party on the situation arising out of the resignation of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, was submitted to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Premier, by Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose, Minister for Public Health and Local self-Government, and Mr. Pramatha Nath Bannerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons if correspondence from private persons in Britain could be sent to the detained Indian leaders, whether those leaders were or would be permitted to communicate with private persons in Britain and whether they would be permitted to make any public declaration.—Mr. Amery replied: "I understand the detained Indian leaders are permitted to correspond only with the members of their families; only on domestic matters. I cannot say if the present restrictions will be relaxed. Whether any public declaration by the leaders could be permitted would presumably depend on its character."

Sir C. V. Raman, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University, said: "The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored up gold in its coffers and the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

- 27th. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Patna University, said: "If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory of a single nationhood."

Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council addressing the professors and students of the Queen's University in

Hyderabad, (Deccan), stressed the need for loyalty to one's friends, country and Government and sincerity among men.

The annual meeting of the Parsi Central Association and the Political League took place in Bombay. Sir Oowasji Jehangir presided. He said *inter alia* : "To make futile but well-advertised attempts at conciliation, which only cause disappointment to the public and tend to widen the breach, are not in the best interest of India."

A declaration that the Parsis did not claim any safeguard in any new constitution for India, was made in a statement issued under the signatures of over 600 Parsi citizens of Bombay. The signatories included Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, former Advocate General of Bombay, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, ex-Minister, Dr. P. O. Bharucha, Mr. P. B. Godrej, Mr. K. F. Nariman, and other prominent lawyers, doctors and businessmen.

29th. A Press Note from Calcutta announced a change of policy of the Government of Bengal regarding Press censorship in the Province, in view of the withdrawal of the Government of India's order of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news, relating to the disturbances occurring subsequent to that date and in connexion with the Congress resolution and Government action consequent upon it.

In consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee, the Bengal Government decided to accept the recommendation of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on the matter.

Mr. Allah Bux resigned the leadership of the National War Front in Sind.

29th. A Communique issued from New Delhi said : "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Patrick Spens, to be the Chief Justice of India in succession to Sir Maurice Gwyer."

Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, said : "We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high."

Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing the local branch in Allahabad, said : "We are opposed to the vivisection of this great motherland of ours. We want with all true lovers of India, to see India a happy and united nation under a really Nationalist Government where the different minorities are fully recognized and catered for."

29th. At the sixth meeting of the Provincial War Committee held at the Government House, Lucknow, presided over by Sir Maurice Hallett, the Governor, resolutions were passed requesting His Excellency the Governor to send a message of congratulation to General Alexander, on his "remarkable achievement" and denouncing the civil disobedience movement and appreciating the effective and timely action taken by the Government to restore peace and tranquillity.

December 1942

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons if Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Princes of India. Mr. Amery's answer was in the affirmative.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, presiding over the Standing Committee of the Labour Conference, made a general survey of wartime labour legislation.

Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, made a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization.

Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well-known Hindu Mahasabha leader, died in Calcutta.

His Excellency the Viceroy's term of office was extended for a period of 6 months.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers

of Commerce in Calcutta, emphasized the essential geographical unity of Calcutta.

The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Calcutta). A resolution was moved which "urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war on the 24th. December.

The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, died of heart-failure at Lahore.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, Government of India, said at Allahabad : "The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengalees and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

The Government of India cancelled the ban on the Khaksar organization.

The Punjab, Bombay & U. P. Government lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khaksar organization.

At the session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, a resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on his 82nd. birthday was passed.

1st. The Standing Committee of the Labour Conference concluded its two day session in New Delhi. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar presiding, made a general survey of war time labour legislation and expressed itself on the terms and conditions of service in regulated employments.

Replying to Mr. L. S. Raja's representation that members of the Legislative Council detained in prison should be given facilities to attend the session of the Mysore Legislative Council, Mr. D. H. Chandrasekhariah, President of the Council, stated that he had referred the matter to the Government and that he would take further action.

2nd. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, said : "At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power."

The Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the future of India, said that he did not propose to plunge into the deep water of political controversy or speculate immediately about the future. Rather was it his purpose by reviewing the past, to emphasize the consistent attitude of the Princely Order towards constitutional change.

3rd. Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons whether the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Provinces of India, whether these treaties remained valid in their integrity, and whether he would undertake they would not be changed by any constitution-making body without the assent of the parties concerned. Mr. Amery said : "The question no doubt refers to the various treaties, engagements and sanads defining the relations of the Crown and the Rulers of Indian States. The interpretation of the original terms of certain of these engagements has, as is well known, been affected over a long period by usage and sufferance, but subject to that qualification, the answer to all the three parts of this question is in the affirmative."

The Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the "future of India and the Princes," said : "There is no need for one to tell you what treaties, 'sanads' and engagements mean to the Princes. They are the *sine qua non* of our existence. We regard the rights, privileges and dignities arising out of them as matters of vital concern. We have stated clearly and unequivocally that, while as an order we endorse the demands for the Constitutional advance

of India, any scheme to which the States are expected to be party must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, 'Ranads' and engagements or otherwise ensure the future of existence, sovereignty and integrity of the States thereunder guaranteed."

The ex-Premier of Sind, Mr. Allah Baksh, in a press interview at Karachi said: "It may be that in certain situations Pakistan suffer from worse tyrannies than Hindustan of the future, but if it means just an emphatic caveat against the rising tendencies towards centralisation which conceals itself under the name of 'Akhand Hindustan' and other slogans then I am with it."

In the House of Commons in replying to questions, Mr. Amery said that he was still awaiting information from the Government of India regarding the number of persons under detention.

- 4th. A Communique from New Delhi stated: His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Col. Rt. Hon. David John Colville, M. P., to be the Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., whose term of office expires on March 17, 1943."

A Committee with Nawab Yar Jung Bahadur as Chairman was set up by the Working Committee of the All-India States Muslim League to consider the position and status of the Indian States in future constitutional changes in India and to submit proposals which may incorporate as basis the policy of the States League."

The Commerce Department, Government of India, was flooded with representation, or protests from commercial firms, printing houses and educational authorities urging reduction in the Government demand in connexion with paper.

- 5th. Allama Mashriqui, the Khaksar leader, issued a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization. He said that he stated on November 5, that discrepancies among Punjab Khaksars concerning the performance of individual social service, daily drills, carrying of implements etc. would be removed by him within a month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. The Punjab Premier, according to a Khaksar who interviewed him on December 1, thought that the period would be 2 months, and this was causing delay in lifting the ban.

- 6th. The death occurred at his Calcutta residence of Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well known Hindu Mahasabha leader.

Appreciation of the "courageous and patriotic" stand taken by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, in resigning his office as Minister of the Government of Bengal was recorded in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

At a representative gathering of Indians at the Dorchester House Hotel, it was unanimously agreed to start an "Indian Community Club" in London.

- 7th. The Government of Madras decided to continue the land revenue concessions. The following announcement was made from 10 Downing Street, London. "H. E. the Most Honourable the Marquess of Linlithgow, P. C., K. T., G. M. S. I., U. M. I. E., with the approval of the King Emperor, at the special request of H. M.'s Government, who place on record their high confidence in him, has consented to a further extension of his term as Viceroy and Governor General of India for 6 months, namely until October 1943".

Lord Halifax, in a speech referring to India at Baltimore, said: "I realize that opinion in this country is greatly concerned about India. People sometimes speak as if the whole problem could be simply stated in terms of one people struggling to be free and another people struggling to keep them down. But if that were true, there would be no problem, for the offer brought by Sir Stafford Cripps this summer would have settled it. The offer was rejected. The mission failed. It did not fail because, as has been suggested at some stage in the negotiation, Sir Stafford Cripps was overruled from London. That is a complete fabrication. It failed because the various parties were unable to reach an agreement among themselves. But the offer stands."

- 8th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, Chairman, Indian Merchants' Chamber, in an address welcoming Mr. Nalini Ranjan Barker, the Commerce Member to the Government of India, who visited the Chamber in Bombay, said: "The present

political situation in the country is exercising the minds of the commercial community. My Committee have unreservedly condemned the acts of sabotage and violence which have resulted in loss of life and property. But the continued policy of repression is not going to lead to any satisfactory solution of the present deadlock."

- 9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, delivering his address at the 12th Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalai-nagar, observed: "Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courageous comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligation that are already crowding upon them".

A Press Note issued from Lahore stated: "In accordance with an announcement recently made by the Premier of the Punjab, the Punjab Government have recommended the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization on condition that an unreserved undertaking was given on behalf of the organization about the abandonment of military drill, carrying of belchhas etc."

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, at a party given in his honour in Bombay, gave an assurance that he was doing everything possible to secure stocks of newsprint and that he had already sent 13 or 14 francs telegrams to the U. S. A. and Canada to release newsprint."

- 10th. Mr. Amery, answering a request in the House of Commons for information respecting the disturbances in India, said: "Apart from an attack on a police station in Bihar there has been no report of mob violence during the last fortnight. Sabotage in minor forms and other symptoms of lawlessness persist in Bengal and Bombay, and one case of derailment with loss of life is reported from Assam".

The unity of India was discussed when the Adviser to the Secretary for India, Sir Gilbert Wiles, addressed members of the East India Association. Sir Gilbert spoke on the financial relationship between the Central and Provincial Governments in India and said that if the scheme of federation proposed as far back as 1885 had then been accepted the subsequent history of India might have developed on very different lines, not towards unity. As it was the idea of centralization prevailed.

The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, in a broadcast to Indians in Great Britain, said: "Never before was any country so well organised in all aspects of economic, social and national life, as Britain is today. Indians in this country have also toiled and sweated and bled. I have no doubt when this nightmare of war is over these two peoples, who have shared all these things, will work together for the peace of the world. I see among the people of Great Britain a genuine, deep-rooted sympathy for India and Indians and a keen desire to place the future of India on a plane of equality in the great Commonwealth".

- 11th. Mr. William Phillips was appointed President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, strongly criticized the totalitarian credo which "produce mass men who are deprived of any kind of inward life and privacy of spirit" in delivering his lecture on "the need of religion today," as "Kamala Lecture" of the Calcutta University.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Commerce Member, addressing the Mahatma Chamber of Commerce in Bombay made an earnest plea to the business community to condemn and scotch "black-markets" and to look to public interest, while looking to their own interest.

In the proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council, in a non-official resolution moved by Mr. T. Tare Gowda and amended by M. H. Narayana Rao, recommending to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to release all political prisoners either detained or convicted and to grant amnesty to the latter class of persons, so that a proper atmosphere might be created leading to an effective and united stand against foreign aggression, and discussions thereon figured prominently.

- 12th. The British Indian Association, Calcutta, submitted a representation to the

Government of India on the "grave situation that threatens the provinces of Bengal in the matter of steep rise in the price of rice and of apprehended famine conditions in Bengal."

The Mysore Legislative Council devoted most of its time to non-official business. Mr. D. H. Chandra Sekharia, President of the Council, was in the chair.

Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the U. P., addressing a police parade at Cawnpore, declared: "The Police Force of this province has already done extremely well; I will support them as far as I can, but I want the public also to support them and to co-operate with them in defeating the movement, inaugurated by the Congress, which if it were to succeed would be disastrous."

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, in a statement at a Press Conference in Bombay, said: "If we are to tackle the food problem adequately, the sincere co-operation of all the food producing areas is essential; and only if all the provinces regard this problem as an all-India one can it be grappled with success."

- 13th. A deputation headed by Mr. Hoshinbhoj Lalji, M. L. A. (Central), and representatives of businessmen, industrialists and Labour arrived in New Delhi to wait on the Commerce and Overseas Members in connexion with the East African Import Corporations.

- 14th. The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference concluded its sittings at Allahabad.

Addressing a private gathering of prominent citizens of Allahabad, Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the Non-Party Leaders' Conference and said "something will come out of it I believe. It is not a question of optimism or pessimism but one of determination. You should want something done and not only to know what has been discussed. If something comes out of this conference within 2 months as I believe it will, then you will know that we have been able to do something."

Master Tara Singh, Akali Leader, issued a statement clarifying the demand for an Azad Punjab from Amritsar. "I wish to get rid of the present communal domination established over us, at all costs. The Hindus also feel this communal domination bitterly, but they are so divided that they cannot make up their mind. Many of them, in their anxiety to appear to be Nationalists, cease to take a realistic view of the situation. We favour the readjustment of the boundaries of the Punjab. I wish that in the Punjab proper, no community should dominate over the other. I can certainly promise to consider seriously any other plan which can promise anything better."

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in reply to a question put to him at an address given by him at Allahabad, said: "Some Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council whom I know personally are very Nationalist in their sentiment. If they are unable to achieve much there must be other reasons for it."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that a conference to discuss the food situation in the country was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, and was attended by representatives of all provinces and important States.

The reasons for the 'abnormal' rise in the price of rice in Calcutta were being investigated by the Directorate of Civil Supplies, Government of Bengal.

- 15th. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry met, in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Mr. Gaganvihari Lal Mehta.—The situation resulting from the shortage of foodstuffs was discussed. It was suggested that the Government of India should be requested to take measures to stop exports of foodstuffs from India and with the help of H M's Government to import sufficient supplies of wheat from Australia.

- 16th. A Bengal Government Press Note on the rice situation in the province, said: "The Government are in a position to state that the recent abnormal prices are not warranted by the present stock position."

The Society of Friends (London) in a peace for conciliation in India, urged the removal of the ban on conversations between the interned Congress Party leaders and responsible third parties. The Society "earnestly ask for the co-operation of our fellow Christians in promoting steps to an understanding and in impressing upon the Government that the policy of the closed door is contrary to Christian public opinion".

Sir Chhotaram, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a Press statement at Rawalpindi, said: "With due deference to the intellectual eminence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other prominent members of the Non-Party Conference, the reported decision of the Conference to submit to Mr. Jinnah for his approval a formula conceding in some form the principle of Pakistan will be deeply resented by all parties which have hitherto opposed any such concession".

17th. H. K. the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, (Calcutta) emphasised the essential geographical unity of India. The Viceroy said: "Geographically India for all practical purposes in one. I would judge it to be as important as ever in the past, nay, more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the right and legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small." Lord Linlithgow added: "It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interest in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at its meeting in Calcutta, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin presiding, adopted a resolution strongly condemning the "repressive policy" of the Bengal Government in suspending the publication of the *Azad* for an indefinite period, and calling upon the Muslims of Bengal to observe Dec. 24 as "Azad Day" by holding protest meetings in villages, unions and towns.

Mr. R. R. Haddow, presiding at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, observed: "It is the wish of the British Community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress both in regard to Agriculture and Industry."

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Officer to the Government of India, addressing a meeting of jute, oil and petrol workers at Goalpara, said that the Government of India definitely desired that workers in industries should receive adequate dearness allowance and profit-sharing bonus to compensate for the rise in the cost of living. He appealed to all employers to fall in line with the policy of the Government of India.

The Punjab Government served an order under the Defence of India Rules on the proprietor of the "*Daily Protap*" and his son restricting their activities.

18th. Sir A. R. Dalal, in his presidential address at the tenth annual general meeting of the Employers' Federation of India, in Calcutta, said: "Without wishing to apportion blame to any side, employers in common with others who had the welfare of the country at heart, would cordially desire to see an end to the political deadlock, staminate and stagnation which, while impairing the war effort, boded no good in the post-war world to the relationship between the different parties concerned in this unfortunate dispute".

The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, when Mr. R. W. Mellor on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce moved a resolution on the subject. The resolution after referring to the order served on paper mills in India by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, drew attention to the "Disproportionate reservation made for Government purposes and the entirely inadequate provision for civilian consumption, in particular for essential war requirements of commerce and industry, and urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

19th. A meeting of all Newspaper Editors in Bombay City and Province was held at the Journalists' Association. About 35 newspapers, including those in Ahmedabad, Poona, Surat and Hubli, were represented.

Mr. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar, M.L.A. General Secretary of the Labour Party of India was arrested on a charge of violating an order issued under the Defence Rules.

20th. Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war under a waking moon, bombs being dropped in areas outside the town.

The decision to call an All-India Muslim Conference in Calcutta for the organization of a properly constituted All-India Democratic or Progressive

Muslim League was unanimously taken by an emergent joint meeting of the Working Committee of the Nikhil Banga Bangali Mussalman Students Society.

Causes of the sudden rise in the price of rice in Bengal were discussed at a Conference between Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Bengal Premier and representatives of millowners and traders in rice.

- 21st. A Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal, said: "By an order coming into force at once the export of rice or paddy from the Rajshahi Division has been prohibited except under permit; simultaneously a similar restriction has been placed on the export of rice or paddy from the Calcutta industrial area."

His Excellency the Viceroy sent the following telegram to the Governor of Bengal congratulating Calcutta on the manner it took its first air raid: "I am glad to learn that the city's defences have proved so effective; that damage and casualties are light and that morale is high. Yours is the first capital city in India to suffer in this war a baptism of fire and her citizens have proved an admirable example of readiness and fortitude. Well done Calcutta!" His Excellency the Governor sent the following reply: "I am most grateful for your Excellency's heartening message to the people of Calcutta. It cannot fail to inspire them in maintaining the abnormally steadfast front which they displayed at the first onset of danger."

- 22nd. Mian Abdul Haq, Minister for Education, Punjab, addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University, outlined a scheme for post-war educational reconstruction.

Mr. R. S. Nimkar, Labour Welfare Adviser, Government of India, in a broadcast talk from Calcutta, observed: "This is a war of free workers against slave labour and we must fight it to the end."

- 23rd. Mr. M. S. Jey, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India, arrived at Calcutta. The object of his visit was to inspect camps set up for Indian refugees.

The carrying of any sword, dagger, spear, bludgeon, baton, gun or other offensive weapon by person in any public place in the town or suburbs of Calcutta up to Oct. 1941 was prohibited by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

Mr. Jinnah sent Rs. 1,000 as his personal contribution to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Cyclone Relief Fund for the sufferers of Midnapore and 24 Parganas with a message of sympathy in their plight. He appealed to Bengal Muslims to do all in their power to help the sufferers.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Baron of Travancore, in an interview said: Mr. Rajagopalachari could not have forgotten that a large majority of the Princes had always been in favour of Federation or any other kind of union which would ensure strong and unified central direction in the matter of economic, agricultural and industrial policy, customs, tariffs etc. as well as defence, external affairs emigration and immigration. Many Princes did not approve of and would not join the particular scheme which was recently put forward because of the special features relating to that scheme. The Princes and their advisers were alive to the importance of preserving that unity of the Central Government which could well exist with great liberty of action within their proper sphere in the case of units but without which India could never be well governed."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "I appreciate the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal he has made to maintain this ancient integrity of our country on grounds of practical policy also. Reasonable safeguards to minorities must be given, and the League of Nations has already shown us the way in one of the most authoritative works formulating what reasonable safeguards of minorities really mean. But the Viceroy, perhaps inadvertently, uses the term, 'fully satisfactory to the minorities', instead of clarifying the safeguards that are reasonable."

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet, said that the people of India were keen to have their political status assured and that the differences between them arose from various viewpoints regarding the methods whereby that status could be attained.

A Government of India communique said: "Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, had talks to-day with Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister-in-charge for co-ordination of Civil Defence Measures in Bengal, and

Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal, at which important matters arising out of Sir J. P. Srivastava's recent visit to Calcutta were discussed in detail."

- 24th. The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, in which he emphasized India's essential geographical unity. The resolution said that the Viceroy's statement amounted to a "denial of the fundamental right of the Muslims to self-determination."

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding scarcity of foodgrains.

A Press communique from New Delhi, stated: "The Government of India have, in consultation with the Government of the Punjab, set up a Government purchasing agency, which will be entrusted with the task of buying wheat in that province on behalf of the Central and the Punjab Governments. The Central Government will purchase on behalf of the deficit areas in India and of the Army."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in the course of a statement in Bombay, observed: "The recent speeches of the Viceroy and the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce constitute a footnote to the utterances of the British Prime Minister and other spokesmen of the British Government on the future of the Empire and the present discontent and deadlock in India."

- 25th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking at a reception given to him by the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, on the occasion of his 66th birthday, declared that no amount of agitation or misrepresentation could deter the Mussalmans of India from their cherished goal of Pakistan, nor could the Indian or British Government deter them from their determination to achieve their goal, which had become an article of faith with them.

Dr. P. V. Naidu, President of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Madras said: "The Viceroy's memorable speech in regard to the need for the maintenance of India's territorial integrity and political unity has been rightly appreciated by eminent and distinguished national leaders all over India. The Viceroy's statement has not come a day soon. It has come out in the right time and in the right direction."

- 26th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab died suddenly of heart failure at Lahore. Sir Sikander was aged 50.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member presiding over the 20th. session of the Bengal Sahitya Sammelan at Allahabad, said: "The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengalees and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, Government of India, issued the following statement to the Press: "I find that there are wild rumours current in regard to the extent of damage caused by recent bombings of Calcutta and also their effect on the morale of the people. Mr. Ibbotson, Director General for Civil Defence, has been in Calcutta since day before yesterday and is watching the situation there on behalf of my Department. In a telephone conversation with me, yesterday and this afternoon, he assured me that damage to life and property is infinitesimally small, and that the Japanese have failed woefully to cause any panic. There is no truth whatsoever in the reports that Calcutta is emptying out both by road and rail."

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Indian Academy of Science commenced at Bangalore before a gathering of distinguished scientists and scientific workers from various parts of India. Sir. C. V. Raman presided.

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference, said, *inter alia*: "The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lastly students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as incipient criminals and

punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This situation is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms."

20th. The 19th. session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Trivandrum, Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Government of India, presided. The President, in his address to the session, gave a call to Indian Princes to do everything to maintain the integrity of India and to help achieve the Federation of India.

Master Tarh Singh, presiding over the Akali Conference held at Bema in Ferozepur district, said: "As long as the present Pakistan proposal continues unmodified, I have to be its chief opponent. If the demand for Pakistan in its present form is accepted, I am the chief sufferer and not the Hindus."

The following communiqué was issued from New Delhi, re: "Ban on Khaksars":—"Since the resolution regarding the Khaksars was discussed in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 22 and 23, 1942, the Government of India have been in consultation with the Provincial Governments regarding the possibility of removing the ban which, at the instance of the Central Government, was imposed by them on that association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act in June 1941. Allama Mashriqui has now issued a statement to the Press and has communicated its contents to all branches of the Khaksar organization. In the light of that statement, all Provincial Governments have agreed to cancel the ban on the Khaksar organization. The Government of India are taking similar action in the Chief Commissioner's Provinces and have also cancelled the order under the Defence Rules restricting the Allama's residence to the Province of Madras."

22th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his presidential address at the twenty fourth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, voiced the unflinching determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to oppose the All-India Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. He observed: "Just as in America, Germany, China and every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindusthan, Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority, are the nation, and the Muslims are but a community, because like other communities they are unchallengably in a minority. Therefore, they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept as reasonable in the light of the world formula issued by the League of Nations."

The Madras Government were evolving a scheme of their own for production of standard cloth in sufficient quantity through handloom weavers. It was stated that a few mills had already undertaken to provide yarn for the purpose.

The Punjab, Bombay and U. P. Governments lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khaksar organization.

26th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement from Madras: "In accordance with the resolution of the standing committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, passed at its meetings, held in Bombay on the 18th., 19th., and 21st., December, I have fixed January 6, 1943, for the observance of the hartal throughout India for a day. It is requested that managements abstain from publishing newspapers bearing that date. The co-operation of all newspapers in India is solicited to make the day of protest a success."

It was announced that all the Ministers in Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's Cabinet in the Punjab resigned. Later, the Governor granted an interview to Major Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, and requested his assistance in forming a new Council of Ministers. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan accepted the invitation.

The Governor re-appointed Malik K. Hyat Khan Tiwana as a Minister and in consultation with him, also reappointed all the other Ministers—Sir Ohhoturam, Sir Manoharlal, Mian Abdul Haye and Sardar Baldev Singh.

At the open session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, a resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on his 83rd birthday was passed. Mr. Savarkar, who moved the resolution, paid tribute to the services of Pandit Malaviya whom he described as the founder, inspiration and guide of the Mahasabha organization.

India in Home Polity

July—December, 1942

India in Home Polity

Introduction

Human conduct and affairs are judged by their tendencies, and not by the episodes that may crowd into them. Tested by this standard, the Allied Powers appear to see a chink of light through the gloom of the last month of 1941 and the first six months of 1942. Stalingrad, battered and wrecked, yet stood and by this "local victory" stood as the symbol of Germany's defeat in her campaign of 1942. In north Africa, from the Egyptian El Alamein, General Montgomery was sweeping before him the ever-victorious *Afrika Korps*; his forces had reached Tripoli by the last day of the last week of 1942. It was expected that Field-Marshal Rommel would make a stand there just to keep this harbour and supply base for the reception of the reinforcements that were being flown over to him or being carried in ships through the sea lanes of the central Mediterranean. Forced out of it he could confront the Allied Eighth Army at the Mareth Line—"the little Maginot of pill boxes and cement forts strung along the hills in southern Tunisia"—from the Gulf of Gabes 20 miles inland. But this was not to be. Before General Montgomery's troops was the long African coast in Marshal Rommel's rear—Tunis, French north Africa and Spanish Morocco. A threat appeared there, and the German General had to make haste before he could be squeezed between the Allied armies hastening from the east and the west. On the 8th of November his rear began to hum. On the dawn of that day U. S. A. troops landed along the whole coast line of French north and west Algeria and Morocco. The principal ports of French Africa—Algiers and Oran on the Mediterranean, and Casablanca, Rabat (capital of Morocco), and Dakar on the Atlantic—began to fall into Allied hands. This made the position of the European Axis Powers untenable in north Africa; their foothold there began to collapse: their 10,000 miles frontier from Sicily to Murmansk was opened to Allied attack.

The Commander-in-chief of this expedition was Lieut. General Dwight Eisenhower of the U. S. A. Army. Part of the invasion forces had sailed direct from the United States; part used Britain "as a way station." This expedition has been regarded by the world as a particular U. S. A. job, the first major offensive action taken by the great republic. The British Prime Minister handsomely recognized this fact when he declared that in this venture the President of the United States of America was the Commander-in-chief, and he was his "ardent, acting lieutenant." This lieutenantancy, however, was not inconsiderable. For the original landing of troops for this new campaign Great Britain provided two-thirds of the war-ships and transports, and 160 *Spitfires*. It has since come out that this invasion was being planned since June, 1941, in the days when General Auchinleck was being pressed towards the Egyptian border and Mr. Churchill was on his third visit to Washington, and the surrender of Tobruk with her more than 25,000 Allied soldiers had exposed Allied deficiencies before

N-W. Africa expedition—a U. S. A. job

all the world. It is not possible for the lay-man to realize and appreciate the huge amount of organisation required for the movement of such an Armada from a distance of three to four thousand miles of Atlantic waters infested by German submarines. It took a year to organize it. In June, 1942, the Commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force came to Britain to prepare his "amateur army of mechanics, salesmen, bar-tenders, boxers, bond salesman, cowboys, lawyers" for the great adventure. The strategic possibilities of this invasion have revealed themselves as we write (August, 1943)—Signor Mussolini has been removed from his position as ruler of Italy which for all practical purposes has been lost to the Axis side; two-thirds of the Mediterranean have been made free for the movement of the Allied navy and merchant ships; 12,000 miles of Allied voyage around Africa with troops and supplies have been saved, equivalent to the saving of hundreds of Allied ships that the Axis submarines might have sunk.

And the talk was not wholly unjustified that the promised "second front" had come. But the strictness of the Russian definition of a "second front" had yet to be satisfied. The Soviet ambassador in London had given it in these terms —"the withdrawal of 40 German divisions will be enough." His chief, M. Stalin, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was more specific :

"If it (the second front) had been opened, drawing off 60 German divisions and 20 of Germany's allies, it would have been the beginning of the end of the Hitlerites. The British campaign is diverting 1 German and 11 Italian divisions ... Because there was no second front, Russia was facing 172 German divisions."

But the eight months of 1943 have been more fruitful. And U. S. A. strategy in this front, has justified itself. Naturally her Press has taken the world into confidence with regard to the vast and quiet organization by their country that had preceded this move. Confining their attention to their own country, they have told us the story of the pre-Pearl Harbour and post-Pearl Harbour movement of their forces to the ends of the earth.

Long before Pearl Harbour the U. S. had been making preparations to establish a base in Liberia, if need should arise. Pan-American Airways, with U. S. Army and Navy approval, had contracted with the Government of President Edwin Barclay for a clipper base in the tropical country where rubber and coffee grow wild. A huge air-field larger than needed for commercial flying was built. The U. S. A. Firestone, Tire & Rubber Co.'s model rubber plantation is the country's biggest industry.

1941—U. S. troops moved to Greenland on April 9; on April 23—to bases acquired from Britain in Newfoundland, Labrador, Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad and other Caribbean islands; on July 7—to Ireland; on November 23—to Surinam (Dutch Guinea).

After Pearl Harbour, U. S. forces spread themselves geographically at an even faster pace. December 22 (1941)—Australia; January 3 (1942)—Northern Ireland; February 19—Dutch East Indies; February 23—Burma; March 4—England; March 17—New Caledonia; March 20—India; late June—Middle East; June 23—New Hebrides and the Fiji; August 7—the Solomon. Units had also filtered into Africa and China.

From military head-quarters at Washington it was given out that

more than 8,00,000 U. S. soldiers were serving over-seas. The expansion of the fighting forces of the republic has been phenomenal. In 1939 they were—1,74,000; in mid-1940—300,000; in early 1941—9,51,000; December (1941)—16,00,000; in 1943—the requirements are said to be—75,00,000—33,00,000 in the Ground Forces; 20,00,000 in Training and Supply Services; 22,00,000 in the Air Forces. This huge expansion is backed by a budget figure for 1943 which will be reaching astronomical proportions—30,000 crores of rupees.

It is a notable fact that preparations by the U. S. A. for this invasion were not unknown to the European Axis Powers. A Paris radio had told the world :

"Important U. S. troop contingents have landed in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and South Africa. We have information that a U. S. General will soon be in command of all enemy forces in Africa."

The question has been asked—why with this knowledge the European Axis Powers did nothing to intercept the convoys that carried U. S. troops from their home country and from Britain? Interpret rs of these events have appeared to find the key to this inactivity in two extracts made from two speeches of Herr Hitler—one made on the 1st of October (1942), and the other on the day the U. S. invasion of north-west Africa took place.

"We have prepared for ourselves a very simple programme. In the first place, under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held.....Let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must.....wait to see who tirst soonest."

"We cannot from week to week look for big victories. That is impossible. The decisive thing is to fortify and hold the position taken. You may believe that what we have we hold so fast that no body will ever take it away from us."

We do not know what the European Axis Powers hope to gain by the defensive role they have elected to adopt in their fight in Europe.

They have lost in Africa the Italian territories from which they had hoped to drive a pincer movement to the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, there to join up with their Asiatic partner in aggression. They must be aware, and they have not tried to keep it secret from their own people, that their eastern adventure, in Russia, has miscarried, that the enemy they had to contend with there has proved himself stronger than they had hoped for. Lieutenant-General Dietmar, commentator of the German High Command, was the mouth-piece of this recognition. In successive statements made during the last months of 1942, and the early months of 1943, he tried to impress this fact on their minds. As early as the first week of October (1942), he said :

"The war against the Soviet Union is a fight against the most powerful military organisation in the world....."

"There is no other enemy in the world with such artful skill in delaying decisions.....Masses present a difficult problem both to the German High Command and to the German Army....."

"The German Command and Army were sorely tired by the Russians' unexpected and seemingly improbable tactics, especially at the beginning of the campaign. The Soviet soldier is far more strongly attached than any other soldier to the system in which he finds himself. The authority of the Soviet leadership is limitless."

Since those words were uttered, further reverses have come upon the forces fighting against Russia under German leadership. Between the Volga and the Don whole armies have sunk—the Sixth Army and the Fourth Tank Army—more than 3,00,000 strong. Their Commander-in-Chief Field Marshal Paulus has been captured with 13 German and 3 Rumanian generals. The fall in February (1943) of Kursk and Byalgorod, two of “the four bastions” on which the whole of the German front depends, the other two being Orel and Kharkov—drew forth a lamentation that discredited Herr Hitler’s confident assertions made three or four months ago. And General Dietmar must have summarised the whole of the experiences of the failure in the Stalingrad front in these words :

“For the first time we are experiencing the entire tragedy of the rev.....
 “For the first time an entire German Army has ceased to exist. What we used to inflict on others has happened to us. It is still difficult to realise. We feel it like a sharp pain.”

“The time has not yet come to answer the question how it all happened.”

The experiences of the German Army in the Russian front were not the only factor that depressed the morale of the Reich. The campaign of bombing opened by British and U. S. planes on the industrial centres of Germany played not an inconsiderable part in creating and strengthening the effects of this depression as the confession of the

Bombing of
Germany

Frankfurter Zeitung showed : “We are only beginning to feel total war in the west. Home has unavoidably become part of the front”. The planning of the various elements of an all-out air offensive against Germany became the subject of wide discussion in the Press of Britain and the United States. It came to be increasingly recognized that “through no other course can American mass production strike so quickly so hard a blow at the actual heart of the enemy” than by the concentration of Anglo-American air power on him. One such plan that we have seen deserves publication as a step towards the understanding of Allied air tactics in this war. The objective of this preparation for attack was the disruption of the life of “81 key-cities of Germany and their suburbs” which constituted “the core of German war production.” These were 8 in western Germany—Essen, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Saarbrücken, Friedrichshafen; all these cities and towns are at a distance of 300 to 400 miles from London. There were 15 in central Germany at a distance 600 miles from London—Bremen, Hanover, Kassel, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Munich, Rosenheim Linz, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Dessau, Halle, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Pilsen; the rest—8 in number—were in eastern Germany at a distance of about 900 miles from London—Kiel, Rostock, Stettin, Berlin, Posen, Lodz, Liegnitz, Breslau. The bombers that were to shatter these centres of German war production belonged to the following classes whose names have become familiar to newspaper readers—B-17—4-engined Boeing “Flying Fortress”—with a radius of 1,000 to 1,200 miles and an average bomb-load of 3 tons; B-24—4 engined Consolidated—with power same as the former; B-25—2-engined North American (used in the Tokyo raid)—with a radius of 800—1,000 miles and a bomb-load of 2½ tons; B-26—2-engined Martin—with power same as the above; British

heavy and medium bombers—the 4-motored Sterling, Lancaster, Halifax and Wellington—with the same average radius and in some cases with much larger bomb capacity. It was also estimated that to release 30—50,000 tons will require about 15,000 bombers per calendar month, assuming ten operations night. The present loss-rate of 4 per cent will require replacement of 600 bombers per month. Loss of pilots, crews, etc., at this rate for six months might total 25,000. It was hoped that the joint Anglo-American out-put of planes and crews will exceed the above replacement by the end of 1942.

We have not yet seen this "all-out" attack. And since these plans were featured, about twelve months have passed. And Germany's discomfiture in Russia and north Africa should not blind us to the fact that she has been able to hold on to her gains in the Ukraine where round about the Don Basin and the Dniepropetrovsk area in that country, within about 500 miles, there are huge deposits of coal and iron—the essentials of modern warfare. The Russians might have wrecked their factories or carried away their machineries and set them up beyond the Urals, as we have told in the last volume of the *Annual Register*. But they could not have destroyed or carried away the wealth that the earth here hid under her. These regions produced approximately 78 per cent of the total coal production of the Soviet Union of which 50 per cent was of coaking quality; approximately 60 per cent of the total pig iron of the Soviet Union came from this region which contained about 55 per cent of the total number of blast furnaces in the Union. German engineers, technicians and industrialists who had helped the Soviet Union to build up her industries knew all that was to be known of Russia's natural wealth, and since the fortunes of war brought them here they could not fail to make the best use of it.

At the same time it would not do to forget that it was the far-seeing and intensive exploitation of Russia's natural resources that have enabled her people to stand erect under the hammer blows of Germany for about twenty four months. Estimates that have been made available to the world give us a clue to the mystery of her miraculous resisting power. She produces one-third of the world's wheat; one-half of the world's oats; 80 per cent of the world's rye; occupies the first place in the production of sugar beet in Europe; her oil production is greatest in Europe—out of the Baku-Batum districts together with the Caucasus came 90 per cent of her petroleum products. In a book published by the Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College, entitled *The Strategy of Raw Materials*, we have the following:

"It would appear that on the basis of percentages of self-sufficiency the Soviet Union enjoys 100 per cent in coal, iron, petroleum, manganese, mica, chromate and potash; 80 per cent in sulphur and pyrites; 85 per cent in phosphates; 80 per cent in mercury, and 60 per cent in zinc."

It has been suggested that it was this incalculable wealth of

Russia that must have tempted the German rulers to attack Soviet Russia on June 22, 1942, breaking their pact with her; that without control over such resources it was not possible for them to wage the "total war" they were engaged in. This strategy of raw materials apart, there were other considerations that must have influenced them to launch on this fateful venture. One of these considerations or driving forces must have been what has been called the "historical gravitation" of Germany towards the Persian Gulf with a view to try conclusions with British imperialism in Asia. The present war has re-emphasised the importance of this strategy, specially since Japan's eruption into this war on December 7, (1941). Her successes in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas had made easy the adoption of the strategy that would join up the European Axis powers with their partner in aggression from the Far East. It was contemplated, as shown in volume II. of the *Annual Register* of 1941, that after driving Britain from north and east Africa, the combined forces of the European and Asiatic Axis Powers would pinch from the east and the west India which has become the arsenal of the Allied Powers and their base of operations against Japan. These calculations have miscarried by developments in south Russia and north Africa—from certain points of view more by those in Russia.

Russia's success at the end of 1942 was won at terrible cost. Stalingrad which symbolized this success and suffering was kept on a food ration of 125 grams—about a slice and half of bread; from starvation, cold, diseases, and German bombs more than 10 lakhs—one-third—of its population died.

**Russia's sacrifices
& sufferings**

U. S. correspondents have sent harrowing details of these sufferings. A million dead men heaped the battle fields of south Russia; millions more were wounded, captured or missing. During World War I, Verdun had called for the sacrifice of 7,88,000 Frenchmen and Germans. Stalingrad was a bigger horror. The Russians acknowledged the loss of 6 lakhs in three months; declared that 4,80,000 Germans had been slain; the Germans claimed 10 lakhs of Russians as captives since the spring, raising to 50 lakhs the number of their Russian prisoners since June, 1941. Russia's appeal for a "second front", a U. S. correspondent reported in the first week of August (1942), had once been "measured, and patient and deferential to the internal politics of her allies"; but by the time of his report, it had become "hoarse and despairing, like the shout of an exhausted swimmer." Even after Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow in the third week of August, a dispatch from Moscow could write: "There might be war in Britain, in north Africa, in China, in the Pacific; to Russians, deep in their awful present, the global war was an unreal *alibi* for inaction in western Europe." And in their exasperation they did not think kindly or generously of the difficulties of their allies. Correspondents of Allied countries sensed a feeling of hostility which they put in terms of power politics: "Stalin would certainly want to win before he was exhausted so that he could be strong at the peace table. He would certainly not want to wear himself out against Germany while Britain and the U. S. took it easy and grew

strong." Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow must have been undertaken with a view to remove causes of this desperate feeling.

There was dissatisfaction also with regard to the delivery of war materials promised by Britain and the U. S. A. The parting message of the Soviet leader to Mr. Wendell Willkie, President Roosevelt's "special envoy" to Turkey, Russia and China, was a pointer to this: "Tell the Americans, if you like, that we need all the products they can send. But I would suggest that you under-state the case rather than give any one the impression that you are encouraging Americans to assume a patronising attitude towards us", said he. Soviet officials in London, however, admitted that Britain had met her pledges during the nine months ending June, 1942; but the United States had delivered in New York to Soviet officials 75 per cent only of her promised help. Whether or not these had been delivered to Russian ports was another matter when one considered that 4,000 miles of Atlantic and Arctic Sea waters lay between, and that these were infested by German submarines. An estimate has told us that from October 1 (1941) to the end of 1942, Britain and the United States had sent to Russia more than 6,000 tanks, 5600 planes, and 85,000 motor vehicles. The value of non-military supplies sent through the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation had exceeded 65 crores of rupees, while U. S. Lend-Lease deliveries during the first quarter of 1942 amounted to the value of about 700 crores of rupees. In this connection it is necessary to recall the handsome terms of the Lend-Lease Agreement concluded in November, (1941) between Soviet Russia and the United States by an exchange of correspondence between Premier Stalin and President Roosevelt. Russia was granted a credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees for the purpose of war supplies. The loan was non-interest-bearing and was given on the understanding that it would be repaid within 5 to 11 years after the war. Later, a further credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees was arranged under a new Agreement which superseded certain of the above provisions. It stipulated that Russia shall return to the United States at the end of the war such defensive articles as had not been destroyed, and that in the final determination of Russia's obligations, "full cognisance" will be taken by the United States of all benefits derived from Russia's assistance in the prosecution of the war. These benefits cannot, however, be measured in terms of money alone. And we can only hope that the bitter experiences of the United States loans granted to the Allied and Associated Powers during World War I will not be repeated after the II.

Before we can leave the discussion of these developments in Europe and Africa, we must refer to one other of the difficulties that appear to have been creating complications for the Allied Powers. This difficulty has risen out of the conflict of ideas, ideals and practices between the major Powers that constituted the leadership of the "United Nations."

It is not easy to understand and explain this during war time when censorship has put a ring round every country, and a frank discussion of affairs has become all but impossible. It is not also easy to be aware of the political affiliations of foreign newspapers on whose reports and

Figures in the
"United Nations"
Camp

comments can one build up his opinion on men and matters. It is best, therefore, to share with our readers such reports and comments that come into our hands and enable them to judge for themselves. In the present context we propose to quote from the New York weekly, *Time*, and the London *Overseas Daily Mail*, their criticism of the "political strategy" of the leaders of the "United Nations." On July (1942), the former wrote :

"The label United Nations' is dangerous because too many people think that it also signifies a fully effective body for the co-operative conduct of World War II."

"It does no such thing. Of necessity it was founded on the false premise that World War II was two wars—one with Hitler, one with Japan. This premise was necessary because, up to now, the U. S. S. R. has been technically at peace with Japan—a fact which none of Russia's allies against Hitler wants to alter. But the fact also is that the 'United Nations' is not and, at least for the moment, cannot be an instrument for the global direction of a global war."

"The allied effort in World War II is directed mainly by two of the 28 'United Nations': the United States and Great Britain in the persons of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Russia in one sector and China in another have major shares of the burden, but they have very vague shares in Allied direction."

Commenting on the fact that the Casablanca Conference could not arrange for the setting up of a permanent "Supreme Anglo-American Allied Council" the latter wrote on February 6 (1948):

"The meeting at Casablanca was not an Allied Conference but an Anglo-American conference. For obvious reasons, neither Premier Stalin nor Marshal Chiang Kai-shek could be present, but it is noticeable that neither was represented."

The alacrity with which Anglo-American leadership made it up with Admiral Darlan, one of the leaders of "Victory U. S. snubbing of France," did not appear to have appealed to democratic opinion. Mr. Wendell Willkie protested against it, and a U. S. A. paper compared it to co-operating with Vidkun Quisling. General De Gaulle, leader of the "Free French," publicly protested against it. It has come out that though he has had the support of the British Government, the U. S. State Department has been consistently "stiffish and standoffish" with him and Frenchmen associated with him. General Eisenhower, Commander-in-chief of the North African expedition, has pleaded as excuse the needs of "military emergency". But even U. S. opinion appeared to be divided in the matter. The *New York Times* supported it, and in supporting showed itself prepared to have deals with reactionary leaders. One of its commentators, Arthur Krook, believed to be in the confidence of Washington officialdom, cynically wrote :

"War has forced us, idealists and democrats, to quantitative rather than qualitative morality as the test. If, for example, Goering should offer to come over with a few planes, we do not want him. But if he can bring the *Luftwaffe* with him we will receive him."

The *Christian Science Monitor* represented the U. S. policy creating cleavage opposite view :

"The cleavage between the sympathies of the Allied leaders and those of the French people promises nothing good for the future of French and Anglo-Saxon relation. It is not the French alone who are thinking of the harshness of Allied dealing with the Fighting French leader. All Allied European leaders agree that the American Government has been snubbing democrats and propitiating reactionary Fascists in Europe."

We have seen it suggested that the British Government does not feel very happy with the diplomacy of General Eisenhower which is that of the Foreign Office of the U. S. A. But it has no choice in the matter ; it cannot publicly do anything that goes against U. S. policy and practice. It has also been reported that the Soviet Government has been looking with disfavour on this policy of entering into alliances with the reactionary forces in Europe. As the history of the deal with Darlan comes to be more known, suspicion and resentment among democratic peoples have been growing apace, putting difficulties in the way of the cause represented by the Allied Powers. It appears that the policy of feeding "Vichy France" by U. S. wheat and helping it with U. S. oil, and of keeping the "Fighting French" at arm's length, encouraged the Vichy authorities to send one of their own men, General Odic who had been commander of French forces in Africa under General Weygand, to London and Washington for some sort of an arrangement. At the end of 1941, he is said to have approached General De Gaulle to make it up on the argument that Marshal Petain was justified in doing what he did because France could not resist. General De Gaulle rejected this line of approach to explaining the betrayal of the French people. Then General Odic who had been in touch with General Giraud since his escape from German prison went to Washington where he found a readier acceptance of his argument. The result was the Darlan deal, and the easier conquest of French North Africa.

There have been other episodes in this game of power-politics in which the U. S. Foreign Office does not appear to have anything to learn from their more experienced opposite numbers in Europe and Asia. Simultaneously with the Darlan deal a military committee for the liberation of Austria had been set up in that country. Grand Duke Otto of Hapsburg, the claimant to the Austria throne, is president of this committee. He alone has been authorized to recruit for the special Austria Regiment. And there are rumours that General Odic had told the State Department that while a prisoner in Germany, General Giraud had established contact with certain German generals who could be formed into a nucleus of opposition to the Nazi party and its leader. It is well-known that there is no love lost between the Nazi party and the higher ranks of the German army, representing the old Imperial tradition. There have been Press speculations that the former Chief of the General staff, General Halder, whose relations with Herr Hitler are not very cordial, may be found helpful in such a development. There may be a great deal of wishful thinking in these speculations. But, something that appeared in the London *Times* of September 14 (1942) has been regarded as very significant. It was a write-up of General Halder, "the building up of a personality", as it has been called, of a rival claimant to power in Germany. Speaking of the irreconcilability of the "Potadam tradition" and that built by the Nazi party, the writer proceeded :

"How deep the dividing abyss was, is clearly exemplified by the personal relation between Hitler and Halder. Halder was a staunch Catholic, an ardent supporter of Bruening, and a close associate of the anti-Nazi bishops. He never took the least

interest in the politics of the Third Reich. By nature, Halder is a scientist—a clever mathematician, and an ardent botanist, out-spoken and fearless, but unquestionably the most able military brain Germany possesses."

From a study of indications like these, there appears to be justification for the contention that the "political strategy" of the Anglo-Saxon Powers may endanger the democratic revival and renewal for which millions of men and women have been fighting against reactionary forces in all parts of the world. Axis propagandists have been doing their best and worst to exploit the suspicions created by the policy which has been finding expression through the activities related above. We in India caught up in the coils of arrogance in the high places of the State can enter into the feelings of disillusionment that await the European and American peoples. The Government of the United States has come in for the major part of the blame in this connection; the British Government is being represented as being helpless in the matter, as being unwillingly dragged into this path by the former. Russia is also being represented as playing an independent hand in the power-politics of this war. She has been setting up governments of certain of the peoples whose territories have been overrun by the conquering hordes of the European Axis Powers, as Britain has been doing since 1939. She is reported to have allowed the formation in her own territory of a parallel government for Poland; the peasant leader, M. Mikolajczyk is Premier; three other members belong to the Peasants' Party, three to the Socialist Party, two are Catholic Democrats, and two are Moderate Nationalists. The formation of one Polish Division has been announced which will not take orders from London. A "Free Germany" Movement has been working from Russian soil. It has issued a Manifesto to the people of Germany in which occur the following words, carrying a deep significance for the future alignment of forces in Europe during the coming months or years: "Don't leave Hitler's overthrow to the Allied armies, or Germany will lose her national independence and her existence as a State, and will be dismembered."

We have tried to understand and explain the many forces, personal and impersonal, the many sentiments and ambitions, the many suspicions created by past conflict of interests, amongst European and American peoples that appear to be standing in the way of the fullest co-operation between the Allied Powers. It has yet to be explained why the American State Department should have been "stiffish" towards the "Fighting French" and their leaders. If the facts stated above have even the slightest semblance of truth, we can only fear that the hopes being raised in the hearts of the peoples all the world over, and the promises being made by Allied leaders, will be turning into bitter lies. We in India are concerned in a very distant manner with these moves in the inter-national chess-board. But, being in the war, however unwillingly, we have to take note of these. We have our own argument with one of the leaders of the Allied Powers, and for four years since the outbreak of the present war have been in it without seeing light or the end of it. We know the men we have been

contending with, and what to expect of them. American democracy appears to be realizing consciously and unconsciously that—

"The central suspicion regarding Winston Churchill was that either he did not realize or he did not care to admit, that the war was really global, that on his side the fighting effort, the lives and post-war hopes of many races and colours were involved. Winston Churchill had travelled far to dramatic meetings with Franklin Roosevelt and Josef Stalin. He has closeted himself with high U. S. officers. But he had shown no disposition to draw Russian and Chinese officers into a unified command."

This is one side of the problem. The failure of the leadership of the Allied Powers on the field of "political strategy" was brought to the world's attention by Mr. Wendell Willkie in his statement issued from China's war-time capital, Chungking, after his travels through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe, and Asia. He found four things "common" to all the countries that he had visited, to all the people in all countries that he had talked with. These "common" things were their belief in the ultimate victory of the Allied Powers; their intense desire to see the offensive against the Axis Powers started as soon as possible; "they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence"; "they all doubt, in varying degrees, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted upon for the freedom of others....." The most important part of his statement was the following :

".....This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but also the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the peoples of the world..... We have not done this and, at present, we are not doing this....."

Mr. Willkie had seen and heard enough in the Near East, in the the Middle East and in China to give point to his charge. Other observers were also aware of it. Speaking of the countries in north Africa and round about Arabia, the comments of the *Economist* (London) confirm this verdict: ".....political consideration, not technical convenience (U. S. and British Lend-Lease materials) will decide how the Muslim world reacts to a British defeat. It is useless to pretend that the political omens are very favourable." This was written when Marshal Rommel was the chaser in north Africa, and he had chased the retreating British 325 miles to El Alamein in 11 days. In those days of danger the British occupying army in the Nile valley was taking drastic steps against Egyptian notables. It knew that chafing under British rule, a palace group had developed pro-Axis, specially pro-Italian, sympathies, that sections of the ruling class found pleasure in listening to Axis propaganda, to promises of power in their own land. The ex-premier, Aly. Maher Pasha, had been jailed; about 200 "possible Quislings" had been arrested; a padlock had been put on the Cairo Royal Automobile Club which had been a centre of "pro-Axis intrigue." In September (1942), the British had reasons to suspect that the not inconsiderable number of pro-Nazi Iranians, the upper classes of these, had been cornering grain and other food stuffs and withholding these from the markets with a view to foment unrest around the British and the Russians who had been in "token occupation" of the country since the

of Reza Shah Pehlavi in the autumn of 1941. The United States has been throwing her technical skill and engineering resources to build up at the head of the Persian Gulf ports and supply lines that would be carrying to Russia the instruments of peace and war so much needed by her in her death-struggle with Germany. Anglo-American leaders understood the mind of the Middle East, peopled by men and women of the Muslim faith, as it stood revealed in the comments of the London *Economist* quoted above. And they set about taking measures against any eruption of feeling in the area, as well as against the apprehended German break-through the Caucasus. The British had already had some troops there. But it was felt to be inadequate for the difficulties ahead. And they built up a new army in the area—Palestine, Iraq, Iran—the Tenth Army—with "feverish reinforcements" from India and the other near-about sources. This they put under General Henry Wilson. The failure of Germany in south Russia and the victories of the Allies in north Africa has kept this army quiet, unused except as recruiting fields for the Eighth Army which under General Montgomery had been driving the *Afrika Korps* of Marshal Rommel into Tunisia. Egyptians, Arabs, and Iranians have also remained quiet, watching with keenness the issue of these battles.

And it must be recognized in this connection that the attitude of Turkey, the neutrality of Turkey, inclining more towards the Allied Powers, has been playing a dominant hand in keeping them quiet. Mr. Churchill's visit to Turkey on the occasion of his meeting with M. Stalin in Moscow, indicated the movement of political feeling and interest in Turkey which during World War I of the 20th century had fought against Britain and her allies. How and why Turkey has been able to keep herself neutral, the weighing of the many material factors that has kept her so, will be known when the history of the present war comes to be written. It has required no little skill in the leaders of the Turkish State to maintain her neutrality, courted as she has been both by the Axis and the Allied Powers. We would like it to believe that her present rulers have accepted without mental reservations the lesson taught her people by the maker of new Turkey, Kemal Ata-Turk, that conquest of alien lands and rule over alien peoples do not ultimately pay, that Turkish imperialism under the Sultans has been a curse to the Turkish people. Another factor that must have used its influence in keeping this region quiet is the mystery man of Arabia, King Ibn Saud of Riyadh. He has been maintaining an attitude of friendliness to Britain. We know that it was Britain's help that has enabled this desert chieftain to become the most powerful of the Arab chiefs, to defeat the House of Sherif Housseyn of Mecca which had aspired to the leadership and Caliphate of the Muslims of the world. History does not, however, say that political gratitude has a long lease of life. We must seek in history for the causes of Arab quietness during this four-years' turmoil round about them. British diplomacy may be one of these; the finance-capital of the United States which has been enabling Saudi Arabia to utilize and bring out of the bowels of her desert earth the oil and other natural resources of the country may be another.

We have attempted above to indicate the tendency of the many developments that have brightened the prospects of the Allied nations in the European and African theatres of war. We have also had to point out to the many difficulties that Anglo-American diplomacy has been piling up for the war-scarred peoples of Europe. But the blame does not lie on their side alone. The accumulated resentments and prejudices of twenty years cannot be erased in the course of a few months. Mr. Churchill, one of the greatest of Bolshevik baiters, may for the sake of expediency forget what he did to Russia and said with regard to the ways and practices of the rulers of Russia; M. Stalin for identical reasons may forget this past. But this recent past lives and influences thought and conduct in the living present. To this past we must trace the differences that have been described above, that have arisen between members of the "United Nations". The Allies have also their grievances against Russia. One of these was referred to by an Allied weekly in the following terms:

"Stalin has shown no emotional involvement in the British and United States cause While new sympathy has blazed through Britain and the United States for the heroic Russian people, the Kremlin has done little to stimulate Russian interest in the democracies and their aspirations, save only in the matter of destroying Hitler ... the democracies' aspirations are not, after all, the aspirations of the Kremlin."

Admiral William Standley, U. S. ambassador to Russia, created a minor sensation when in course of a statement to the Press he drew attention to another aspect of this matter—Russian indifference to Allied interests and aspirations. He complained that the ruling class of Russia did not let their people know of the volume and variety of the help that had been flowing into their country from Allied countries. The attempt to keep them in ignorance of this help is not a minor grievance. It stems out of the differences in ideals and practices during the last twenty years between Soviet Russia and the "pluto-democracies" of the west. And even during the last two years, since the Nazi eruption into Russia and the unasked eagerness with which the western countries have run to the help of the former, there has not been that "easy confidence" between them that alone can make this Grand Alliance a rock on which can be reared the "new order" of human equality and dignity. It is not for us to apportion blame or praise at the present stage of our half-knowledge of men and matters in the field of international affairs. But there cannot be any manner of doubt that the joint family known as the "United Nations" suffers from discords and differences.

One of the most prominent of these has been forced on the knowledge of the world by the controversy between India and Britain that has reached a new bitterness since the beginning of the present war when the Indian National Congress as the organ voice of India's national aspirations for freedom and equality in the comity of modern nations claimed to know her position in the ranks of those States which have been swearing by freedom and democracy in their fight against the Axis Powers. Since the victories of Japan over Britain, the United States and Holland in east Asia, and her threat to India, this claim has become more insistent. And the response

United Nations &
the Indo-British
problem

of Britain has not been as hearty as would have enthused the heart and soul of India to throw herself into the struggle for decency in human relations. The other member-States among the "United Nations" have been helpless but anxious witnesses to this quarrel in their house-hold, because it has been felt that the Indo-British controversy was a domestic concern with which the other members of the "United Nations" could not interfere. And these Powers headed by the United States of America appeared to have accepted this contention, to have agreed to say nothing with regard to the "stubborn insistence" of the British that the Indian problem was the "sole concern of Mr. Amery's India Office." But even British conscience does not appear to be satisfied with this plea, as the extract from an article in U. S. papers goes to show. The writer was Miss Maude Boyden, "Britain's foremost woman preacher".

"India was no longer the concern of the British Empire solely, nor of the people of India alone.....Every sizeable political party in India, every leader of such a party, demands the forming of a national government in India and the transferring to it of power without limit (except for Wavell's conduct of the war) at once.

".....Americans can do more than any other people to create an atmosphere in which new approaches can be made with some hope of success if they themselves appreciate the difficulties.....".

We will have something more to say, in more detail, of this matter in a subsequent part of this study when we deal with India's "home polity" proper. India is not the only failure in the political strategy of the "United Nations", of their leaders who happen to be the United States and Britain. More significant is their treatment of China. The New

Treatment of China

York weekly—*Time*—reported in one of its issues during the first two weeks of January, 1943, that the "United Nations had lost a campaign" in Washington. We summarize below its description of this episode. From Chungking, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent orders that the Chinese Military Mission which came to the U. S. A. last April—to plan a united strategy against the Jap in the Far East—should return home. "No explanation was given. None was needed." Every one who had followed the work of the Mission in Washington knew that "it had been ignored and rebuffed." No doubt, its leader, General Hsiung Shih-fei, had been "assured a place at the tables where 'United Nations' high strategy is made." He presented his credentials to the President, met the U. S. Army Chief of Staff General Marshall and Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Navy Admiral King; he set up an office in a modest house at Embassy Row in Washington; covered its walls with maps; got ready to proffer his precious information on the war in the Far East. But "nothing happened.....No invitation to sit in on the councils arrived." When news of his recall reached the White House, "a hurried telephone call" went to the Mission's office—"very nearly the first time the telephone had rung there in nine months." General Hsiung, "finally, received an invitation to talk" to the President. With his interpreter he went to the White House, "cooled his heels for half an hour, finally spoke to the President." The story related here can have but one interpretation—that given to it by the Chinese philosopher and author, Lin Yu-tang—

"Let me ask the American people a question: Why should not General Hsiung leave? Of what use can his presence in Washington be to the Allied

cause—since the leaders of the United Nations appear to be far from ready to share with China a unified strategy against Japan? The enormous reservoir of good-will between China and America is being severely drawn upon.....

This episode and this statement of the non-political Chinese philosopher reveal a state of things that cannot make happy any man of good will in the world. Russia is not satisfied with the political strategy of the "United Nations"; China is not satisfied with the way things are being managed in relation to Allied help to her, devastated as she is by six years of war; India is bitter with the State policy that has allowed a feeling of frustration to invade the mind of her people, and reduce their activities to incoherent protests and outbursts. Thus about a hundred crores of men and women, about half of the world's population, are not being allowed to pull their full weight in the fight between good and evil that has been going on for the last four years. In the Pacific area where Japan has won resounding victories, where she has been exploiting the wealth of human and natural resources of one of the richest spots of the earth for organising her resistance to the Allied offensive that would be coming in the near future, the real and effective spear-head of this offensive, which must be China, is being kept blunted, as this episode of the recall of the Chinese Military Mission from Washington testifies. The failure of the United States and Britain to halt Japan has put China into greater danger than in any period during the first three years of Japan's aggression on her. The report of the New York weekly, *Time*, in its issue of July 13 (1942) tells a story that should have warned Britain and the United States that their "complacency about China" was dangerous. To the people of India it presents a familiar experience.

"China's whole national fabric, corroded by the Japanese attrition, has in the past seven months undergone terrible moral and material shocks. She has found that the Allies, instead of alleviating her position, has increased her immediate difficulties ten-fold. She is bewildered by the crushing defeats America and Britain have suffered."

"Educated patriots in the big cities have a bogged-down, fatalistic faith in the victory of the 'United Nations', but though they hate to admit it they are impressed by Japanese successes.....The coolie-in-the-street is beginning to feel uncertain about the outcome of the war."

Since these words were published there have been a lightening of the clouds over Allied prospects in the different fronts of this world-wide war. We have told of Russia and north Africa.

In China also there has been some little progress to report. For weeks during the spring and summer the Japanese had been pushing along the Hangchow-Nanchang Railway with a view to reaching two objectives: (1) a safe supply-line by land all the way from Shanghai to Indo-China bases; (2) destruction of air-bases from which U. S. planes could bomb Tokyo. But the Chinese frustrated this attempt. They wrested 135 miles of the Railway, and after a two-weeks' siege occupied Linchwan; the Japanese had to evacuate Wenchow, one of the only two sizeable sea ports left to China, which had been "an important secret Chinese supply base", to quote the *Domei*, the officially-controlled Japanese News Agency. In the first week of September (1942) Tokyo made an attempt to explain this evacuation; troops were being withdrawn from Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces "to secure.....a position for future action." But other failures required better explanation. In the last week of August,

by Chin

the Chinese pushed the enemy back through Chekiang province and re-took two of the finest military airdromes in China; one at Lishui, only 700 miles from the great naval base of Nagasaki; the other at Chuhuaiton, only a "few bomber steps further."

But at the back door of China the British offensive at the end of the monsoon sickened and died. For about three months, Rothedaung, Buttedaung, Maungpow, and Akyab occupied intermittent places in newspapers as points of attack where battalions directed by General Wavell were testing the strength of the Japanese formations that were poised there for an attack on India. In the February number of *Asia & The Americas*, Eliot Janeway made a study of the causes that had led to the failure of this attempt. To beat the Japanese the Allies would have to fight their way through all the "key countries" that they have occupied.

"The Anglo-American High Command wants Japan beaten, but it wants to beat Japan itself. At best it visualizes the employment of the Chinese as auxiliaries and of China as a terminal and a landing field when the time comes for a counter offensive."

".....The foray into Burma was undertaken without the co-operation of the Chinese. General Wavell is not merely a British Commander; he is a ranking 'United Nations' personage. And yet he has not drawn the Chinese into his plans. He has availed himself of neither their limitless man-power nor of their priceless experience and resourcefulness in fighting the Japanese in this primitive type of terrain....."

"The formula for beating the Japanese in the decisive area close to their home waters has stared us in the face for years. It is U. S. equipment plus Chinese man-power and know-how—nothing more complicated than that."

If there be any truth in this example of non-co-operation, it simply continued the policy that had actuated the British High Command to refuse to accept Chinese help when the Japanese were moving into Malaya in December, 1942. And the fact becomes strange when we are told that a battle-hardened Chinese force was not very far off, waiting to be called upon to take a hand in the fight against the common enemy. Six months ago, that is, in the month of May or June, when the invading army was crossing the Salween river on their drive up the Burma Road, "crack units of China's Army rushed in and drove the Japs back across the river; then they took up a 200-mile long position on the Salween's east bank." During the terrible summer heat and the torrential rains of this "pestilential country", they settled down to what has been called "a night-mare existence." All about were mountain ranges rising thousands of feet high into the air, dropping perpendicularly into the Salween, which the natives of the country call *Wu-ti-Ho*—the River without Bottom. "In the jungles with the Chinese were leopards and tigers, pythons that swallowed whole live hogs, monkeys that stole soldiers food, wolves that.....tried to steal dead soldiers.....Some of the natives, ceremoniously neutral, stalked the Japanese with poisoned arrows; some hunted the heads of unwary Chinese." The sufferings of the Chinese was made worse by malaria. "This was the worst malaria spot in the world"; the death-rate from this fell disease was higher than from combats between armed forces. The Japanese, however, were better off as they had the southern end of the Burma Road

over which they could transport medicine and other material, move their men back into hospitals. This description gives us an idea of how the Allied troops on their side of the Indian border must have suffered. But the sufferings of the Chinese went for nothing; they had been continuing their useless vigil when the British were trying to push into Arracan. For more than three months, since November (1942), newspapers were featuring the names of places in Arracan where brave deeds were being done, and the Japanese were being pushed back into Burma, the preliminary step for the conquest of Burma. The newspapers and official speculations and anticipations miscarried, and the British had to withdraw, defeated in their attempt to capture Akyab and make it the starting-point of an all-out attack on Burma. And the Chinese forces did not have a call to make a simultaneous move and put the Japanese between two fires.

This pattern of stale-mate in the main-land of Asia was not to any appreciable degree relieved by doings in any another front in the Pacific area. Almost at the beginning of the period of

The strategic positions of the opposing forces

six months the events and developments of which supply materials for this study in the pages of the *Indian Annual Register*, Mr. Forde, the minister of defence in the Australian Commonwealth, issued a statement in course of which he is reported to have said that the Japanese with hundreds of planes and 2,50,000 troops in the perimeter stretching from Timor to Rabaul were in full readiness to launch an attack on Australia. But the Japanese did not appear to have had any such intention. Allied strategy did not afford them this opportunity. The Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Navy, Admiral King, had directed the consolidation of a sea line beyond which the Japanese were not to be allowed "to pass." The line ran straight from Dutch Harbour in north Pacific to Samoa-Fiji, taking the Midway Island at almost in the middle; from Samoa it turned west to New Caledonia. The Japanese were established at Kiska and Attu in the Aleutian group of islands. The possession of the Marcus, the Wake, the Marshall islands and the Gilbert islands allowed them to draw a line opposite the U. S. line which the Allied forces, naval and air, had not been able to pass. The Japanese attack on Dutch Harbour on June 3 (1942) warned U. S. fighting chiefs that it was "the lesser prong of a double assault on the western rim of U. S. out-post." It had achieved a measure of success: Kiska gave Japan a potential submarine base, enough flat terrain to build an air base on, within bombing range of Dutch Harbour and other Alaskan bases. We know by the time we write these lines that the Japanese have not been able to exploit these advantages; they are reported to have surreptitiously left those outposts. In the battle of Midway "the greater prong" of the Jap thrust had been blunted in course of the 4 days battle (June 3—7). The Japanese were, however, busy in the south, round about the Solomon islands. Guadalcanal, Buna, Gona, Lae, Salamua, the Owen Stanley mountain, Port Moresby, the Buna Mission—all these un-heard-of names filled columns of newspapers during the months which we have been reviewing.

It was not easy to understand the tactics of the opposing forces.
 Not easy to understand Three quotations will explain the difficulty in the way of lay men making anything out of these.

"Japanese feints and lunges at the Aleutians, the China sea board, the northeastern frontiers of India, the northern fringes of Australia, and at Russia's far eastern borders, bound the Allies in a web of contradictory plans and policies."

"The Allies, dispersing their forces to meet the enemy wherever he was, in essence let the Axis General Staffs determine the Grand Strategy of the war."

"Plainly the Japanese were suffering more from their dispersals than the Allies suffered at points of specific action last week (last week of August, 42)."

These commentaries were hard to reconcile with the rebuff that the Japanese forces had inflicted on the U. S. and Australian naval forces at the battle of the Solomons that opened on the 7th of August. 3 heavy U. S. cruisers—*Quincy*, *Vincennes*, and *Astoria*—were sunk; the Australian cruiser *Canberra* and four transports were also sunk.

Six months sea & air battles
 Admiral King in course of a statement has acknowledged that in the Coral Sea-Solomons series of actions his Pacific Navy suffered a loss of 3 air-craft carriers, 7 cruisers, and 13 destroyers; he claimed that the Imperial Japanese Navy suffered during the same actions the loss of 1 carrier, 12 cruisers, 1 battleship and 17 destroyers. A U. S. commentator passed judgment on this statement that "in the terms of the remaining U. S. and Japanese strength—the only terms that count—this balance is favourable to the U. S. in every category except carriers, but the net effect on Pacific sea power is decidedly less than the bare figures from recent actions indicated." We have also to remember that in all their expansions to the south and the west, from Wake to Burma and from Luzon to the Solomons, the Japanese had not probably used more than 2,00,000 men, while China and Russia have tied up 12,00,000 of their men. This story does not bear out the contention that the Japanese have fared worse during the last six months of 1942.

And at the end of the year the problem remained—the Japanese remained in possession of almost all the farflung territories that they had occupied from the A. B. C. D. Powers. They had been beaten back in their attempt to recapture the Solomons; they had inflicted grievous hurt on the U. S. Navy; they had forced on their opponents the tactics of "inching" through the thousands of islets of the mid-Pacific towards the heart of their defense arrangements stationed round about their island-home; by the end of 1942 they had been able to re-drill all the oil wells that their enemies had wrecked in Burma and the East Indies; 55 ships had been scuttled in the Batavia harbour; 50 days of hard labour are said to have opened the harbour to ships of 10,000 tons and less; in the Surabaya harbour they had been refloating 219 ships "at the rate of 1 a day." In the field of industrial possibilities they held 7,500,000 of the world's 84,00,000 acres of rubber, "many of them left intact by the British and Dutch planters." In administration they had set up a college of colonial administration for the training of Japanese young men and women who would be taking up the burden of administering the "co-prosperity" area of east Asia for the benefit of the "Divine House" and the

divine people. They had set up all the paraphernalia of administration-cum-exploitation that is the mark and note of modern imperialism whether it tries to pass itself off as the 'white man's burden' or concern for the "co-prosperity" of all the peoples of east Asia.

The competing imperialism of the western peoples—British, French, Dutch, and American principally, is up against this new competitor which explains much of the many causes that have led to the outburst of war in eastern Asia. And the Allied failure to appreciate China's role leaders of the western peoples have found that with this fight of theirs the fight for self-preservation of the Chinese people can be made to coincide. Therefore is it that after China has been fighting single-handed for 42 months against the Japanese, we find these Powers toppling over one another in their anxiety to render help to her. But they do not appear to have yet realized the needs of this part of the world-wide front. A writer in the New York monthly—*Asia & the Americas*—has indicated this problem for us in the following terms :

"Our problem would enormously be simplified if we simply regarded China's unequipped army as the United Nations Asiatic land army; and our anti-Japanese effort in south-eastern Asia and the Far East were to be concentrated upon supplying that army with adequate quantities of modern equipment.

"Thus far, the Japanese have proved themselves superior to relatively well-equipped British Imperial troops. They have proven themselves barely superior to unarmed Chinese troops. It is almost certain that, the land equipment of the Japanese being what it is, Chinese troops fighting with modernized equipment can rout them."

Since these words were written (at the beginning of 1943), more than six months have passed, and the Allied Powers do not appear to have been able to accept the logic of the suggestion made above. There was the "Chungking Ferry", no doubt; from the ports of India it carried everything: bombs, guns, other arms, medical supplies, even gasoline for "the thin stores of China." In successive despatches by U. S. correspondents the "military supply situation" was described as "desperate". A sample of these may be given here.

"Lend-Lease stuff from the U. S. is piled up in India. Planes, flying over the Himalayas at heights where ice forms on the wings and pilots need oxygen tanks, cannot carry big enough pay loads to dent the Indian piles. Moreover, planes are often grounded and are far too few. If there is anything more than a political gesture behind the sending of American transports, they will have to appear in far greater quantities than at present—(*Time*, July 13, 1942).

The meaning of these deficiencies in terms of the limbs and life of China's combatants and civil population, only the leaders of China could know. They felt it in their innermost bones. But publicly they were all gratefulness. On the 2nd of June (1942) was signed the Chinese Lend-Lease agreement at Washington, and the Generalissimo hastened to pledge to the people of the U. S. "word that given 10 per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you 100 per cent of the desired result." He made no secret, however, of the handicap under which their armies and people have been carrying on. They lacked "planes, artillery and tanks". He also told the world how they have been carrying on, what has enabled them to carry on. "What has sustained us and made it

possible for us to continue to resist has been the adoption of what I might term 'magnetic strategy', which consists in attracting the enemy to the interior, bogging him there, and holding him at bay by the more vital factor of morale."

This morale has been self-induced in China as a result of the many activities that the Chinese nationalists since the days of Sun

Yat-sen have been starting to mould their people into the heroic mould required for living a self-respecting life amid the conflicts and complications of the modern world. Certain of these activities have been

Has been told in
the China Book

described for us in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Information Ministry of the Chinese Government, amongst which the "New Life Movement," initiated by the Generalissimo, occupies a prominent place. Outside help and encouragement play no inconsiderable a part in strengthening people's morale. This help and encouragement does not, however, flow disinterestedly into individual or group life. In the case of China also there has been more of talk than of concrete action by the leading western nations who were in a position to help.

For a hundred years she has suffered all the miseries of a weak nation surrounded by others who were more anxious to exploit her weaknesses than to hold her up. There were

What western
nations did to her

infractions of her sovereignty in political, financial, and administrative life; "special privileges" were extracted from her weak rulers; her marine customs were administered by foreigners headed by the British who had sunk more than 400 hundred crores of rupees in the manufactures and trades of China; foreigners were taken out of the jurisdiction of China's courts. The awakened self-respect of the country has been chafing at these insults and injuries; and the removal of these has been one of the planks in the platform of the Chinese Nationalist Movement, whether moderate or extremist, the head of the "puppet" Government at Nanking not excepted. For decades and years there have been discussions and exchange of notes between the Chinese Government and representatives of the foreign Governments for the removal of these eye sores. Japan's aggression on China has by the stroke of the sword abolished these so far as the western Powers were concerned. Even the insults heaped on British men and women at Tientsin by the Japanese soldiery in 1939 did not awaken them to the necessity of hastening the end of these injustices and thereby making friends with China and enlisting her help in the fight with Japan for the hegemony of east Asia that was becoming inevitable. But it was only after Japan has swept all traces of their domination out of the area that the western Powers did feel impelled to make a definite move in the matter.

An announcement was made on October 10, 1942, the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, that the United States and Britain were willing to abandon the "special privileges" that they have been enjoying for about a hundred years at the expense of China's self-respect and of her intimate mate-

Announcement of
October 10

rial interests. The Generalissimo in a statement that was telegraphed from Chungking on October 13 expressed to the British Prime Minister appreciation of the "voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges"; to the President of the United States he expressed on behalf of his people rejoicings at "the American voluntary abolition of extra-territoriality," and thanked the two politicians for "assisting China to win equality among the United Nations."

Though China does not gain anything now by this renunciation, the act has been regarded as an effective psychological gesture. It is recognized that with the Japanese in possession of the most important eastern provinces of China where modern industrialism has established itself most, many of the injustices of the unequal regime will not be eliminated till the invader has been thrown out of the country. It is necessary, therefore, to understand and explain the history of the regime that at every step offended China's national self-respect and injured her material life. The privilege of "extra-territoriality" was first secured by the western Powers, specially Britain, France and the United States, by treaties concluded after China's defeat in the "Opium War" between the years 1842 and 1844. The meaning of "extra-territoriality" is that foreigners enjoying the right are not subject to the laws and courts of China, but could be sued or tried only in their own courts specially set up in China for the purpose. This built up a system of little States within the Chinese State. It was only in 1926 that Britain agreed that she was prepared to make British residents subject to the new codes and laws of Republican China. In proof of their sincerity the British concessions at Hankow, Chinkiang, and Kinkiang were handed back. The restoration to China of the British concession of Weihaiwei which had been promised during the Washington Conference of 1921 was delayed till 1930 owing to the internal troubles in the country. In the year following, negotiations for the abolition of "extra-territoriality" on the part of Britain over the whole of China began; an agreement was initialled, but owing to the invasion of Manchuria by Japan these could not be concluded. The announcement made on October 10 made an end of the regime. An interpreter has under-lined the implications of this step taken by the two leaders of the western world:

"It is a fulfilment of the pledge made years ago to surrender all British concessions and special privileges in China; it is the first formal announcement of Anglo-American co-operation in planning for the future of the Pacific; it represents a direct challenge to Japan's 'co-prosperity sphere' and the psychological spearhead of the coming British and United States offensive against the Japanese."

We have also been told the reasons that forced the foreigners to demand these exemptions. When these privileges were extracted from China these were felt to be necessary as Chinese jurisdiction was not adequate to deal with foreign litigants and those accused of crime. But during the "troubled" days of the 19th century these foreign concessions developed into "foreign citadels" in which Chinese officials and police could not function and in which even Chinese

Why "extra-territoriality" was demanded

residents were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their own Government. It was a situation which no self-respecting people could be expected to tolerate for long. After a century of insults China is on the way to equality and dignity in the comity of nations. The announcement has called forth comments from even Conservative papers that, we would be happy to believe, betokened a real change of spirit. "It is a recognition of the strength and vitality of the new China that has sprung from the revolution of 1911", says the *London Times*; "it registers an acknowledgment of the Chinese claim to participate in full and equal rights in the deliberations of those who will one day discuss the future ordering of a liberated world."

It becomes possible to understand the significance of the treaty, signed by the British Government in the beginning of 1943, giving

The clauses of
renunciation

effect to the announcement made in October (1942), if we quote certain of its clauses. Art. 2 of the treaty abrogated "all those provisions of treaties or agreements in force which authorized His Majesty's Government to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China." Another provision indicated the willingness on the part of the Allies to take necessary measures "for the transfer and control to China of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping..... of the international settlements at Amoy and Shanghai." The reversion of Tientsin and Canton was also agreed to. It should also be told that the extra-territorial rights of Germany, Russia and Austria had been surrendered soon after the first World War.

We have tried to bring into a focus all the factors, favourable and unfavourable, that confront the Allied Powers as they meet the new year of 1943. Writing in the August of this

Prospects in the
immediate future

year (1943) it is not possible to ignore or remain uninfluenced by the developments in the Mediterranean area that appear to promise them victory in Europe. In the Pacific area they have been

"inching" towards the strategic positions that Japan has been occupying since the middle of 1942. Just north of Australia we still hear of fights for Lae and Salamua in New Guinea. Those and Rabaul in New Britain go to show that the flow of men and munitions from the United States to Australia and further west through the south Pacific and the Indian Ocean are not quite free, that Japan's "defence in depth", organized round about the Marianas and the Marshall Islands in which the name of Truk has been appearing in many of the despatches from this front, stands yet unchallenged. The attack directed against Japan in Burma has had to retire. China fights on with the trickles of help that have been flowing into her from the U. S. A. We have also been told how the Allies propose to bring home to the people of Japan the sorrows and sufferings of war, as these have been experienced by the Chinese. During the last war as well as in the present the people of Germany and Japan, the latter more than the former, have not come face to face with conditions which would tell them of the horrors of war; their leaders have been able to keep war from their home lauds. And the opinion amongst Allied military men is being increasingly shared by other men who can influence opinion and direct popular feeling and thought that unless the Germans and the Japanese

are made to taste in their homes all the abominations that they have released on Europe and the mainland and islands of Asia, they would not learn decency and manners in inter-national affairs; that a mere military, naval or air defeat far away from their home fronts would not be able to convince them that wars did not pay; that wars were not all glory and flag-waving; that wars in the modern age intrude into the homes of civilians, maim and kill innocent people, and postpone the arrival of better life that science has been holding before people to hope for and achieve. These arguments have been preparing the world for more horrors spread over more countries before it is done with the politicians and financiers in every major country who are the real war-mongers. The High Command of the Allied Powers, we have been told, is busy preparing such an offensive. We in India who read of these things in books and papers can only watch the march of events, without being able to influence it one way or the other.

But these method of teaching manners cannot be expected to have an abiding effect. The two World Wars that we have passed through do not end the catalogue of wars that have disfigured human history and caused ruin to peoples. Punishment of aggressors, as is being contemplated now, has also found place in the records of many countries.

Japan must be
taught "a terrible
lesson"

But human beings have remained unrepentant and unteachable. Prophets and saints have been striving through the centuries to educate our kind into kindness and humanity. They have not been much of a success. During the last hundred years since science showed that mankind could be freed from conditions of competition for bare existence—one of the most fertile breeding grounds of battles and wars—men and women have been dreaming dreams that the Parliament of men and the Federation of the world were near at hand; they have been hoping that science would be enabling us to remove these conditions of competition; that the study of human psychology would be revealing springs of action that could help us to transform and sublimate human nature, and thus enable us to throw off our brute inheritance. Since the outbreak of the World War II. of the 20th century the stupidity and horrors of war which is indistinguishable from mass suicide have revealed themselves more poignantly to the human conscience. And men of vision in warring countries have been trying to analyse all the causes, mental and material, that inflame men and women to consent to their politicians and administrators plunging them into wars in which they will be making the greatest sacrifices in life and limb, in labour and in taxes. The method of punishment has, therefore, to be modified if we are to have a better order of things in the coming years. Men of peace who have been thinking on lines of punishment do not feel happy with their own prescription. Professor Nathaniel Puffer may be taken as a representative of this class. He is associate professor of International Relations at the Columbia University (U.S.A.) In his book—*Basis for Peace in the Far East*—he felt it to be necessary "to carry the war to Japan, to leave ruins on Japanese soil, to destroy the principal Japanese cities and break down the industrial mechanism;" she must be "taught a terrible lesson." Japan, lying in an area of

weaker nations, has been able to do all the fighting on other people's soil ; so has been Germany.

"It is other countryside that are scarred ; others' villages that are devastated, with men, women and children slaughtered alike ; it is others who must live out their lives among ruins. For Japan the safe and satisfying adventure closes with martial celebrations and emotional satisfaction. Only if much of their country is devastated can the Japanese learn that war is a terrible business....."

But this does not end the story. It will be necessary to take measures to enable the Japanese to work, to live and prosper. "This is the second requirement for the Far Eastern peace." A nation as large and as virile as the Japanese cannot be expected to keep the peace for long "if its elemental needs are not satisfied." To the case of Germany these same principles and policies should apply. Japan lies at one door of a continent that has illimitable natural resources and that has half the population of the world as potential purchasers of things "made in Japan." Germany, lying at the centre of Europe, looking in the east to the illimitable land-mass reaching the Pacific and feeling harried from the west by the established imperialism of Britain, with the highest industrial potential in the power of work of her people, cannot be denied "her place in the sun"; defeated or victorious the Allied Powers will have to make the same provisions that have been proposed for the expanding desires and necessities of Japan. Mr. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, posed the question in course of a programme broadcast to commemorate the late President Wilson's birth-day—"What are we to do with the defeated nations?"

"Revenge for the sake of revenge would be a sign of barbarism ; but this time we must make absolutely sure that the guilty leaders are punished and the defeated nation realizes her defeat and is not permitted to rearm. Military disarmament will have to be backed up with psychological disarmament—supervision or at least inspection of Japanese and German school systems to undo as far possible the diabolical work of Hitler and Japanese war lords in poisoning the minds of the young."

"The economic problem of peace is summed up by the average man in a nutshell—if every body can be given a war-time job now why not in peace-time production ? The returning soldier and sailor will demand an answer. A common meeting ground on which people of the entire world can stand is the security of plain folks against depression and against war. To unite against these two evils is not really sacrificing anything; but only a common-sense facing of facts of the world in which we live."

This rather long quotation puts the thoughts and aspirations of ninety-nine per cent of the world's population in simple language for the guidance of their rulers. Unless these can be put into practice in the laws and enactments of the States, and made into patterns in the life of every man and woman, the blood, tears, and sweat of millions will have been in vain. In the pre-occupations of the war, rulers of States may not like to commit themselves into anything more than declarations that may lose all meaning in the conditions of the after-war period. But the basic necessities that Mr. Wallace indicated in his speech cannot be disregarded without an outburst of revolt from the peoples whose patriotism, Allied and Axis, would bring the war to some sort of a close. But it has been contended that humane

did not live by bread alone; they have their desires, ambitions and idealisms that divert them from the pursuit of the material needs of life alone. These desires, ambitions and idealisms seek to take shape in the institutions of social life, whether these be confined within a State or be extended over many countries, near or far. Thought-leaders all the world over are convinced that human life must be organized on a wider basis than at present. They have been thinking and talking of a "world council", of "regional councils" that would help the former to function properly. They have been calling on their peoples to realize the futility and harmfulness of economic policies and practices that have been sigmatized as "high tariff, penny-pinching" isolationism. Dr. Hu Shih, lately Chinese ambassador at Washington, one of the thought-leaders amongst our neighbours, has told us how "science and technology have made the world a physical unity."

"But man's backwardness in political thinking and planning has failed miserably to consolidate this physically united world into a political and moral world-community."

Why humans have failed in this worth-while adventure, it is difficult to find in the many writings that have been devoted to explaining the discontents and difficulties of the modern world. One can go on repeating their arguments **World-wide doubts & questionings** without satisfying doubts that have been assailing all thinking minds. There is no doubt that almost all human institutions have been challenged to-day to state their reasons for existence, to justify their ways to the conscience of modern humanity. Democracy which was heralded into the world with such rosy promises and hopes has failed to meet the needs of modern men and women. Totalitarianism has made its way into human affairs. But it is on its trial. Candid friends of democracy are apologetic with regard to its regime which during the 19th century, specially, may be said to have been started by the American Revolution overthrowing British rule over the greater part of North American continent. The many interpreters of historical developments who have been testing the promises of democracy in the crucible of human happiness on this earth, of the happiness of the widest commonalty of the world, do not find all the patterns of its life suitable for securing that happiness. They have given reasons why a Napoleon and a Hitler should have emerged into the leadership of their respective peoples.

One of the latest of these, Mr. Edward Carr, one of the chief editorial writers of the London *Times*, "one of the brain-trusters" around Mr. Churchill, has in his book **Napoleon & Hitler did a necessary work** — *Conditions of Peace*—made a distinction between "liberal democracy" and "mass democracy", between propertied citizens and property-less citizens. And the latter being in the majority under the dispensation of modern industrialism hold the balance of power in almost every country in the western countries. Their relation to the State "is that of beneficiaries." And it is the needs and requirements of these men and women which have called from the lower strata of society rulers of many of the States. To this development Mr. Carr refers in the following words:

"Just as Napoleon exploited the demand for liberty and equal political rights expressed in the French Revolution, so Hitler exploits for his purposes the demand

for social equality and equal economic rights expressed in the Bolshevik Revolution Hitler has consummated the work which Marx and Lenin had begun, of overwhelming the 19th century capitalist system."

The political & economic unity of Europe It would be difficult to persuade people in the Allied countries to appreciate, as Mr. Carr has done, the work that Herr Hitler has been doing in the scheme of modern European nations—"the perhaps indispensable function of sweeping away the litter of the old war." But Europe will have to live with the German nation, take them along and be taken along by them to the "new order" of opportunity opened to all, and dignity conferred on all as human beings. In a previous volume of the *Indian Annual Register*, we have referred to the constructive possibilities that lie hidden behind the destructive activities of the Nazi party and its leader—the organization of the European continent as a unit, politically and economically. To this possibility also does Mr. Carr refer when he said,

"Europe should have had its network of frontiers battered down long ago, and merely because the job has been done by totalitarians is no reason why it should be undone by the United Nations in their hour of victory."

Warring nations & "global basis" of reconstruction The work of post-war reconstruction envisaged in books like these has also to take note of the contribution that Soviet Russia will be called upon to make towards the solution of the many complex problems that will be raising their heads as soon as the "stop fire" order goes over all the battle fronts. It is no use denying that the leading members of the "United Nations" in Europe and America—Britain, Russia and the United States—are not yet *ek dil*, of one mind, with regard to this vast subject. In the atmosphere of angry emotionalism generated by the war, many things are being said by the leaders of the warring nations that would have to be unsaid when peace plans will have to be put into force, when warring nations will have to sit down to the hard work of re-construction of the devastated life of millions. This work cannot be done piecemeal, confined to little patches of soil, but must embrace all the countries of all the continents. Mr. Wendell Willkie pointed out in a broadcast to his people after his "grand tour" through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe and Asia the "global basis" of this reconstruction work :

"We must fight our way through not alone to the destruction of our enemies but to the new world idea. To win peace three things seem to be necessary : We must plan for a peace on a global basis. Secondly, the world must be free, economically and politically. Thirdly, America must play an active constructive part in freeing it and keeping it at peace. Our boasting and big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia, China, and the Middle East are conscious of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands."

New India comes into the picture Here we have the sketch of a necessary work that must be done, and done so well that the world may not have again to go through the experiences of the last four years. In this work the co-operation of all is necessary, of the great as well of the small. Who will do the thinking and the supervising of this work, on what principle it will have to be moulded—these are the real war aims that have not yet been

defined. Failure to do so on the part of the leaders of the Allied Powers has been "losing friends" for them, to quote Mr. Willkie again; by "the silence on the part of the United States toward the problem of Indian independence, we have already drawn heavily on the reservoir of good will in the East"; "India is our problem;... in the same sense the Philippines are a British problem." The clarification of the war aims, as attempted here by Mr. Willkie, goes to the heart of the matter. It is not claimed that it exhausts the subject, that there are not any other subject that should find a place in the catalogue. Another thought-leader of the United States, Prof. Frederick Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College (Massachusetts) approached the problem in the same spirit in course of a letter to the New York weekly—*Time*. He drew attention to the way in which Lord Linlithgow's Government outlawed the Indian National Congress "at a time when no overt act of disobedience had taken place". But the words that pushes India into the heart of the argument framed by Mr. Willkie are the following:

"India has become the acid test of our fitness to survive. To fail here is to fail everywhere. To succeed here is to prove the truth of the President's words: We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage."

From another member of the "United Nations" rose voices pleading for the solution of the Indo-British problem. A U. S. paper in its issue of September 21 (1942) reported that Dr. T. E. Siang, Director of Political Affairs in China, had stated the position of his country in reference to this problem—it was not a British domestic question, but a moral issue concerning "not only all the United Nations, but the future prospect of the future world order." In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have shown how the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek undertook an arduous journey to India with a view to influence both the British authorities and the representative men of India to wake it up. Even the failure of the Cripps Mission does not appear to have minimized their anxiety with regard to India, as is evident from a report published in the same number of the U. S. paper—"Lauchlin Currie, President Roosevelt's envoy to China, told Washington that the Chungking Government is pressing for Indian mediation by the President".

This anxiety spread to other nations when the leaders of the Indian National Congress felt driven by the attitude of the British Government to demand that the "external authority"

Sir Stafford
Cripps' bungling

should retire from the country in an orderly and peaceful manner. This demand was precipitated by the way in which Sir Stafford Cripps had handled his negotiations with the leaders of Indian public opinion. In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have tried to trace the play of the many forces that defeated the well-meaning attempts of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. His subsequent attempts to justify his own way of doing things landed him into contradictions that were hard to reconcile. In broadcasts to the American people, in articles contributed to U. S. newspapers he gave versions of his Indian negotiations that have been challenged by U. S.

correspondents present at New Delhi and by Indian nationalist leaders. But the harshest criticism of these was passed by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. S. O. Davis: "The Lord Privy Seal must be getting into a very difficult situation over this Indian business. I used to know him when he held a great respect for facts and truth." The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru represented Indian feeling when he said: "Sir Stafford Cripps.....in my opinion bungled and bungled hopelessly as I can say from personal knowledge." The proposals of the War Cabinet that he had brought with him did not satisfy any party or group in India. These were not intended to satisfy anybody. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* of June, 1942, after a detailed analysis of these proposals passed judgment on them that Indian nationalists could not improve.

But, if the conditions laid down as prerequisites to the new Indian Union are examined closely it will be observed that the role of the Princes and the minorities was made even more decisive than in the 1935 Act. Not only were they the basis upon which the constitution making body was to be elected, but they were to become the bases of separate Dominions, rivalling the "Indian Union." In his elaboration of this part of the scheme Cripps indicated that 'non-acceding provinces' (and of course the Princely States) could have their own armies if they wished. The whole direction of the plan, therefore, cut right across nationalist conceptions of a single united India."

It may be useless now to refer to Sir Stafford Cripps and his mission to India and its failure. The disappointment and resentment which followed the March-April negotiations, the misrepresentation of the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in this failure persisted in by Sir Stafford, formed the back-ground of the momentous decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942. On behalf of the Government of India, the Additional Secretary to the Government in the Home Department published reports of the many meetings of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, the supreme executive of the National Organisation, which help us to understand the various elements of this "open rebellion". The Preface to the booklet was written in New Delhi on the 13th February, 1943. It is entitled—*Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942—43*, "published with authority." From extracts of articles published in the columns of *Harijan*, written by Gandhiji, from extracts made from the speeches of Congress leaders, an attempt has been made to build up the enormity of the step taken by the Indian National Congress under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. In our last volume we have traced this history of the growing impatience of the leadership of India's many political parties with the ways of the system of administration of India that has kept her people immobile during one of the greatest crises in the fate and fortunes of humanity. The booklet helps us to understand the bitterness of this frustration. This is its only value imparted to it unconsciously and perhaps unknowingly by the collectors of the informations put inside its covers. They have sought to dramatize these by a connected story of the "Quit India" movement initiated by Gandhiji in an article first published in *Harijan*, dated April 26 (1942). The key-note of the movement has been quoted: "Whatever the consequences,

The "Quit India"
Movement

therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."

The Tottenham booklet is no better than the prosecution story, untested and unchallenged by the side opposite. As a black-out had been put over the country, the public had to fall back on rumours and their embellishments for an appreciation of the events happening round them. The booklet supplies certain papers said to have been issued by the under-ground organisers of the disturbances which will enable readers to realize the extent of these activities. The name of "B Jai Prakash" finds a prominent place in this pamphlet, more than one mention. The story of sabotage that is unravelled in this booklet for the first time in India has been propagandized in foreign countries. It does not appear to have impressed them much, as the New York paper—*Time*—pointed out the humour of the whole affair in its issue of December 14 (1942).

"Indian intellectuals who tuned in to the BBC. short wave radio blinked with surprise. Over the air they were receiving explicit instructions on how to conduct a campaign of passive resistance. After four months of Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent non-resistance, it seemed to the listeners that the bumbling BBC. was trying to instruct Italians, not Indians, in slow-down technique. The British were carrying coals from India to Italy."

These foreign papers and their readers had earlier information of the disturbances in India, and they based their comments and criticism of men and things in our country on the briefs supplied to them by the British authorities. It is not possible for Indian publicists to have access to any of these despatches; they must depend on the very few that trickle into this country through the meshes of censorship of various strictness. They have to read between the lines of these to understand and appreciate the case of India as it is allowed to be presented to the outside world. From our own experience we can say that we guess more of the truth from papers that have an anti-Indian bias than from friendly papers, the very few that can get entrance into India. In this view of the matter, we give below the cable sent by Mr. Graham Stanford, *Overseas Daily Mail* Special correspondent in India, and published in the September 26 (1942) number of the paper on "the disturbances in India."

"There was plenty of bloodshed, but that is only a minor part of the story. The full gravity of the situation lay in the wide-spread campaign of expert sabotage, heavily financed and skilfully organized, aimed at wrecking India's power to defend herself."

"In fact, the campaign was different from anything India has known before. This was a deliberate, brilliantly organized attempt completely to sabotage the Allied war effort."

"The workers of the great Tata Iron & Steel Company were seduced into striking. And so there was a sudden stop of the stream of war materials from that greatest industrial Centre in Bihar."

"The Tata strike was one of many. At one time all the cotton mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad were idle, and the workers were roaming the streets looking for trouble."

"Then the markets were closed down. For a time there was practically a complete stoppage of business life in India."

"And all the time the saboteurs were striking at the railways, up-rooting lines, firing signal boxes, burning stations, and cutting important telegraphic communications upon which the defence of India so largely depends."

"The saboteurs were working to a definite plan. They were striking at places carefully selected to affect the war effort."

"Bihar, valley of the Ganges, which contains the Tata Steel Works—the largest steel-producers in the empire—was a typical example."

"This province holds some of the richest and most extensive iron mines in the world. It supplies iron and steel works in both Bengal and Bihar. It is the most important mica mining centre in the world."

"It ranked top of the list with the saboteurs. If they beat Bihar they might win India—or lose it to the Japanese. That's how they figured it as they plotted the campaign in their ever-shifting hide-outs. So terror and destruction stalked in this valley of the Ganges."

"You could not buy food in many places, and there was a general close-down of shops."

"It is important to remember that millions of pounds are invested in the movement; that Congress has the backing of some of the country's wealthiest businessmen and industrialists. They have poured out money to finance the movement."

"India simmers with bitterness and discontent. Every day a little more hate is injected into the general picture. Until this hate is turned upon the common enemy—the Jap—there can be no security in India."

"When the disturbances were at their height I sat in the office of a high Government official and heard him say: 'It will be touch and go for many days yet.' At that time I could not cable that remark."

We do not know when this cable was sent out of India. It could not have been in August during which there prevailed the greatest tension. And Mr. Stanford's high Government official does not appear to be an authentic witness and judge of matters, if we are to trust what appeared in the New York weekly—*Time*—in its issue of August 31:

"The position of British Raj in the Indian Civil Disobedience movement was summed up by a man in New Delhi: 'You Americans think that we are sitting on top of a powder keg. We're not. We're sitting on an anthill. We may get ants in our pants, but we'll ride it out.'"

The comments of the paper were based upon the perception that truth in this matter lies in the middle, that "at week's end neither August movement the British nor the Congress party had won anything but turmoil and hatred." One can well understand why the British and, following their cue, their cousins beyond the Atlantic should be angry with this movement which would result in the dis-organisation of many of their arrangements made in India for the projected move against Japan with this country as the starting-point of these operations. The Home Member in the Executive Council of Lord Linlithgow in course of his speech made in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi took great pains in pointing out that there was considerable evidence of "the technical knowledge displayed by the saboteurs;" that "much of the damage caused must have required special implements which could not have been produced at a moment's notice—wire cutters to cut telegraph wires, spanners to remove fish plates from railway lines." The interpretation he has put on the timing of the movement—"at a time when there was little fear of the development of an enemy attack, with which the movement had possibly been planned to synchronise," appears to be unjustified, as his remark about there being little fear of an enemy attack ought to have told him. All the propaganda that the British have spread over the world over this matter hinges on the danger to Allied arrangements made in India. The despatch from the Indian correspondent of the *Overseas Daily Mail*, every paragraph

of it, ends with the refrain that the movement was intended to halt Allied offensive against Japan, to harm the chances of a joint Anglo-American and Chinese drive against the common enemy. The official speakers at the debate in the Central Legislature harped on the same topic.

And it is no wonder that for once again British propaganda has been effective in persuading the world that Gandhiji and the other leaders of the Indian National Congress are pro-Axis, pro-Japanese. This in spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress President,

The attitude of the Congress Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mahatma Gandhi. Opening the momentous session of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on the 7th of August (1942), the former said :

Let the British Government sign India's independence and simultaneously we will sign our agreement to the United Nations to fight along with the Allies against all aggressors."

The latter writing in the columns on *Harijan* on the justice of the claim for "the ending of British power" which is *Swaraj* for India, tries to reason out the causes why the Congress had felt impelled to choose the particular time for "the contemplated mass action." He paraphrased it thus :

"India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so, and what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know that if India does not become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event will be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster."

Human words could not express more cleanly the feelings and sentiments that actuated the leaders of the Indian National Congress to persuade the British authorities to part with the power that has kept the people of India helpless witnesses of the wretchedness that has followed revolutionary changes in the State organisation of countries

Unnatural relation between India & Britain

in the various continents, specially in their immediate neighbourhood in Burma, Malaya and the Netherland East Indies. It would remain a wonder to the future historian of these times why the British authorities could not put their trust in the declarations made by the Nationalist leaders of India. The thing could only be due to the unnatural relation that has been subsisting between India and Great Britain where the easy confidence of fellow-workers for human good has never been allowed to grow and develop. The ill-feeling into which the two countries have been drifting more deeply as the years of their relationship have lengthened has become now a subject of concern not only to the Indo-British politician and the administrator but to every friend of humanity. Immersed in the war work the leaders of the Allied Nations, Britain and the United States at the present moment, do not appear to have had any time to devote to the Indo-British problem raised to the human plane. Their Press has been as blind with very few honourable exceptions. And those that have been clear-sighted have found it difficult to maintain their equanimity in face of the drum-beating of imperialists and men and women who find themselves as their temporary allies.

To take one example from the Press of the United States. The *Washington Post* which is said to be "close to the Administration"

A Sample of
American Press
opinion

has been one of the most vigorous of critics of the policy of the Indian National Congress. For days previous to the August resolution, since Mahatma Gandhi first gave expression to the "Quit India" idea, the paper has been unsparing in criticism of this novel method suggested to an imperialist Government peacefully and orderly to give over charge to the representatives of the subject people of the power and prestige that it has been exercising and enjoying for centuries. In the third week of July it wrote: "If the Congress Party should ratify the proposal it would for ever condemn itself as the enemy of civilization and freedom." But in the third week of October it could suggest that "it has been the fear of the Japanese that has started the agitation, and India's fears should be removed." A "reassuring word" was as easy to give as it was in the case of Egypt; "but of course it must be accompanied by deeds." *Reuter* which sent the extract of its article speculated about the reason for this appreciation of a part of the Indian stand-point, and spoke about the coincidence of Mr. Willkie's return to Washington from his tour. The *Post* also suggested "Sino-American assistance in mediation in India." And then paraphrased how the Allied "war aims and peace aims meet an acid test in India."

"The Americans realise these implications of the trouble in India but any constructive approach to the new problem in India created by civil disobedience requires something more than British or even United Nations' assurances of all-out protection."

"Such a settlement requires recognition by the British that mediation might very well be helpful in taking the poison from the present atmosphere. For, if this is recognisably 'all for one and one for all', as it is, the British should admit the principle of third-party interest in war-time settlement."

The paper was, however, careful to remark that the Indian problem should not be allowed to "become a source of dissension between

The see-saw of
Anglo-American
relation

Britain and the United States." Yet the British were not happy. The people of the republic do not maintain a steady attitude. The London *Economist* gives expression to this feeling when it suggests that due to "clever large-scale propaganda in the United States on behalf of the Congress", American opinion becomes now and then "increasingly critical" of the British regime in India, specially now when "no progress has been made on the British side towards securing a settlement of the political differences in India." There was friendliness during the Cripps Mission when it was felt that "a settlement was being held up simply by the inability of the Indian parties to agree among themselves." Then there was a reaction when the full story of the failure of the Cripps Mission came to be known more fully through writings of Louis Fischer and other U. S. correspondents. Gandhiji's suggestion started the pro-British swing again. This continued for about two months, with the customary reaction which the London weekly sorrowfully records. It traces this see-saw of attitude to the "obvious historical reasons." The reference was evidently to the causes of the American War of Independence when the 13 States on the Atlantic sea board broke away from the British empire. The people of the country

"are constitutionally inclined to regard all matters appertaining to the British empire and in particular to India with the deepest suspicion, that is to say, largely because of the unfortunate tradition and because of the subtle Congress propaganda—which is no new thing but began many years ago—there is a large section of American opinion which does not really want to see the British side of the case."

There may be truth in this complaint of the London weekly. But there is no doubt in any mind in India that the "large section of American opinion" to which reference has been made in the above quotation do not carry that weight with the ruling classes of the country which would use its influence to heal the difference that have erupted into the attention of the world existing between two members of the "United Nations." Mr. Churchill has been successful in his appeals to the common traditions of the "Anglo-Saxon" countries, specially those that exist between Britain and the United States. In Vol. I. of 1940 of the *Annual Register*, we have discussed this subject. And in tracing the history of the new friendship between the countries we quoted from the book of the French writer, Andre Siegfried, the evolution of the "secret doctrine", handed down from father to son, that the United States should remain "Protestant and Anglo-Saxon". This is how it "guarantees for Britain an undisputed and privileged position" in the life of the greatest republic of the modern world. Indian nationalists who have any inclination towards the U. S. as a prop in their fight for political independence should do well to remember this history. The London *Economist* has made a grievance of the fact that "subtle Congress propaganda" attempts to influence opinion and State policy in favour of India. But realists amongst us should entertain no hope that this will ever be so successful as to inaccommodate the spiritual and material ties that bind Britain and the United States. In more than one volume of this book we have tried to bring knowledge of these elements of Anglo-American relationship as a factor in the future political and financial order of the world. These elements count far more than any sympathy and admiration that certain sections of the American people may have had for the spiritual and philosophic message that India might have sent since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and of the Emerson group of U. S. thinkers and scholars. The work initiated by Swami Vivekananda and other members of the Ramkrishna Mission which a Bengalee author in the exuberance of his enthusiasm has called the establishment and extension of "the Ramkrishna Empire" over wide spaces of the world is a work of centuries before it can create any force in the political life of this particular country. These considerations take away much from the expectations, most of them unexpressed, that were prevalent in our country that the liberty-loving Americans would be throwing their weight on our side in our tussle with Britain. These were totally unrealistic; and in the ultimate ordering of things it may happen that this disappointment will have a sobering effect on our conduct of international affairs.

American criticism of British empire has, therefore, to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. Britain possesses many examples

U. S. following
British lead in
China

of approach to the core of American life, spiritual and material, of which we cannot have any knowledge. U. S. criticism may sting the British, but during the centuries they have developed a certain hide that is proof against stronger pricks. The possession and exploitation of an empire over which the sun never set have imparted this quality to the British make-up. There may be truth in the criticisms. But these are as much applicable to the conduct of American foreign policy. For various reasons "the land of the free" has followed British lead in international affairs or Britain could make it appear that she was following the American lead. *The Atlantic Magazine* refers to such an episode when it pleaded for "coming to terms with the Congress," and warned the people of the danger of following the British lead in the present crisis.

"Twenty years ago a similar British Government with American support backed the reactionary war-lords of China as against Sun Yat-sen and the nationalist movement. Six years later they had to come to terms with the nationalists, not the war-lords. Chinese history may help us now to see that it would have made more sense to imprison leaders of the Muslim League than leaders of the Congress."

Present British
Government
cannot give a
right lead

This remonstrance and others that can be quoted have not helped to ease the Indo-British controversy. Of the leaders of the "United Nations" China and the United States have been unsuccessful. Soviet Russia has been silent. The British in their world-wide sampling of world opinion against the Congress movement has not cared to have published any criticism from Russian papers for or against it. So the situation has been left to Britain to mishandle it in her own way. We can believe that the British people are not happy with this condition of things, that they may be feeling that their present leaders cannot do the right thing by India. Even British public men appear to feel that this suspicion exists. Sir George Schuster, one-time finance member of the Government of India and now a member of the House of Commons, in a letter to the *London Times* expressed this feeling. Condemning the Indian National Congress for what it had done or initiated in August, he pressed for a lead out of the impasse. Could this lead come from the present members of the British Government? No, he said.

"Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspired leadership or rise to the needs of an occasion. British leaders connected with this failure cannot now create the atmosphere which is needed.....British leadership must be conceived in a new way. The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics it is Indian ministers that should hold the platform.

Of the Dominions which at one time were known as "Britains beyond the Seas" we have not heard that any help has been extended by any of them to solve the problem, effective enough to be chronicled. One exception has come into our hands

A Canadian
Party's suggestion

that we should like to give publicity to. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada was founded by Labour and Farmer parties about ten years ago, and according to a "Gallup poll" it has been found securing the support of 21 per cent of the electorate. On October 27 (1942) its National Executive issued a statement on the Indian situation insisting on the "urgent need of seeking an immediate solution of the deadlock in India."

It pointed out that the "Indian situation was the direct concern to all the United Nations both as an important factor in reaching an early and successful conclusion of the world conflict, and as a symbol of the kind of peace for which we are fighting." It gave expression to the apprehension that "repressive measures, obstinacy or violence of language, can only serve to deepen the crisis, to endanger the war in the Pacific and to weaken seriously the morals and confidence of the United Nations." It suggested, therefore, that

"Negotiations should be resumed by a Committee acting under the auspices of the United Nations, led by Britain, China, Russia and the United States. This A Canadian plan is necessary not only because the issue is of vital concern to the of intervention allied war effort but also because it is clear that the leaders of India and the British Government have lost confidence in each other."

"The Congress leaders in India should be among those invited to resume negotiations and should be released from prison immediately, on the understanding that Congress would not carry on civil disobedience and that Government would discontinue its repressive measures."

"Negotiations should be based on the acceptance of the principle of self-government for India now as well as after the war."

"The National Executive of the CCF believes that Canada has a particular responsibility to play its part in seeking a democratic settlement of the Indian Crisis. She is not only one of the United Nations but is the senior Dominion of the British Commonwealth and a country enjoying close relations with the United States".

"The National Executive therefore requests the CCF national president and leader to urge upon the Prime Minister that he take all necessary steps to secure a re-opening of negotiations in India along the lines outlined above."

There have been other voices that have pleaded for the restoration of peaceful conditions in India. A U. S. paper reported some time at the end of August (1942) what the Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, who was the Socialist candidate as a rival to Mr. Roosevelt, after a conference with the U. S. Foreign Secretary Cordell Hull, had said that their Government had "unofficially" offered to serve as a "mediator" who is keenly "desirous of helping both sides reach an agreement on the issues so that India might make her full contribution to the United Nation." We have read angrier protests against "the folly which seeks to save India from her enemies by a policy of terrorization endorsed by her friends", to quote Prof. Frederick Schuman's words. And his proposal was no less concrete than those made by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation quoted above.

"This is America's opportunity, for only America enjoys the confidence of all. Let Americans everywhere ask their President to join with the leaders of China and Russia in proposing arbitration of the Indian conflict. Let the proposal expressly contemplate the preparation by a United Nations Tribunal of a plan for the establishment, within the next three months, of a provisional government of an independent India, linked in war and peace alike to the British Commonwealth and the United Nations as a free and equal power....."

We know that America could not do what Prof. Schuman had proposed. They could not do so because they could not ignore "the material crisis" that faced them, because they could not afford the luxury of harping on "moral values". As ordinary men and women they could react to the "Quit India" movement in the only way that ordinary men and women can be expected to do. The feelings of these people were vividly expressed in a New York *Herald Tribune* article: "Those who are not with us in this struggle are against us. And

An American
suggestion

What ordinary
Americans did feel

those whose acts and attitudes, whether intended or not, would deprive us in whole or part of the enormous military advantage derived from the possession of India, can hardly expect the Americans to regard them with anything but hostility." It is response like this to the feelings of ordinary Americans that compels the Administration to follow the policy of non-intervention that it has elected to do in the matter of India. Replying to a friend of India "an authoritative Administration spokesman" is reported to have said: "We'll even suppose all you say is true. Do you expect us to go to war with our Ally, Britain, at this moment to achieve independence for India"?

It is because the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, understood the implications of this attitude that he did speak in the way that he did in the House of Commons on September 10 (1942). He could play with the census figures of India trying to prove that the Indian National Congress did not represent the majority of the Hindus

Saw Mr. Churchill exploited this feeling

of India, not to speak of the other minorities. He could gloat over the fact that India's many races are "divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated." And he could by suggestion and insinuation incite all the separatist concoits in India. "Outside that party (the Congress) and fundamentally opposed to it are 80 million Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables as they are called, because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 255 millions in these three large groupings alone out of the 390 millions in all India. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress party." And the part of the speech of Mr. Churchill that caused the utmost pleasure to his supporters appears to have been the following:

"It is a political machine built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests."

This is the British brief that appears to have been accepted by the ruling classes of many of the Allied peoples. Mr. Herbert

Indian finance-capital & the Congress

Mathews has devoted a special dispatch to the *New York Times* in tracing the many factors that make up the Indo-British problem. He chose finance to indicate "the battleground between the British and Indians." Calcutta is Britain's industrial stronghold, and the Managing Agency system is "the channel through which the British dominate a large part of Indian industry." This has been a point of attack chosen by the Indian businessmen. And many of them have been in alliance with the leaders of the Indian National Congress supporting them in various ways. "Practical businessmen" in Calcutta are reported to be "greatly worried by the prospect of independence, although they do not expect that it will come for some years after the end of the war." Their jealousy of the rising generation of Indian businessmen is reflected back by the attitude of the latter whose leaders have been losing patience with the present regime. The

"Birla Brothers of Bombay finance the All-India Congress." Mr. Mathews underlined Mr. Churchill when he said:

Mr. Birla is out openly to oust the British and he subsidises the Congress heavily. The Indians talked to (including Mr. B. M. Birla, Sir Badridas Gonska and Mr. J. C. Mahindra) are not afraid that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic ideal will gain the ascendancy. Even if he runs the show, the Indians believe that he will be 'sensible.'

Mr. Churchill's rhetorical purpose in calling attention to the backing given by Indian businessmen and financiers to the Indian National Congress was not complimentary. But those who know

anything about the orientals that the Conservative Party of Britain serves will derive some enjoyment out of this outburst. They know that these represented "billions in investments—with iron representation around 10 Downing Street", that the "City" in London was the master of the Government which Mr. Churchill heads today. Historians, British historians, have told us how Britain has built up her empire, by breaking all the Ten Commandments of the Bible. And an American writer has sympathetically analysed the cruel choice that confronts her today. "Britain's whole economic system has been built on a foundation of imperialism, and to expect them to destroy with their own hands that foundation is to expect them to make greater sacrifices for the new world order than any people has made thus far." This statement explains the meaning of Mr. Churchill's declaration that he has not become Britain's Prime Minister to "preside over the liquidation" of that empire. And the cruel choice we have referred to has been put into words by another American writer: "If he (Mr. Churchill) was fighting for freedom, he might have to risk Britain's greatness. If he was fighting for empire, he might risk losing the war." The New York weekly—*Life*—in an "Open Letter" to the people of Britain tried to rub in the contradiction that must have been dividing the mind of many a Britisher: "Quit fighting the war to hold the empire together and join with Russia and with your other allies to fight the war by whatever strategy is best for all of us. If you cling to the empire at the expense of the United Nations' victory, you will lose the war.....because you will lose us."

These idealistic declarations of a section of the American public do not, however, represent any effective group in the Administration of the United

States. We have discussed in a previous page how undependable is American support to our fight for political democracy. We have in more than one volume of the *Indian Annual Register* discussed the various ways in

which Britain can influence and twist the administrative policy of the republic. Since the outbreak of the present war, specially since Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister of Britain, he has been straining every vocal nerve to popularize the "Anglo-Saxon" theme—the prospect held before the English-speaking peoples of ruling the destiny of the world by a combination of the experience in imperial rule of Britain with the youthful energies of the "Britain's beyond the Seas" whether these be included in the British State system or beyond it. And it is not beyond human calculation that powerful sections of American society will be succumbing to the virus that British publicists and politicians have been injecting into their body politic.

The temptations
before American
finance-capital

Phrases like "the American century", "manifest destiny" point out to the direction of the wind of feeling, interest, and a sort of idealism that finds pleasure in contemplating the dominant part that the United States will be playing in the future ordering of the world. Human history does not tell us that any people has been able to refuse the invitation of such a destiny. And it is no criticism of American men and women if they feel that they would be fulfilling world purpose if they accepted co-partnership with Britain in managing the "dependent parts" in the empire of their "old country". Our disappointment with the policy followed by the Roosevelt Administration with regard to the argument between India and Britain need not exasperate us and blind us to the fact that we have to deal with ordinary men and women with their desires, ambitions, love of power—desire to play the "big brother" to others, to display their wealth and its symbols—in judging American policy in relation to our country. This appreciation of human nature, this cynicism, is the first step towards that realist approach to politics that only will enable us to stand against the slings and arrows of adversity and harshness, unbowed and undiscouraged.

We have tried to understand one element of the many that must have influenced American policy and practice. There is another that

"Civil" war be-
tween Hindus &
Muslims

has made it easy for the imperialist publicists and politicians of Britain to persuade their cousins across the Atlantic. *The New York Times* in an article that appeared in its columns on the eve of the August meeting of the

All-India Congress Committee put emphasis on this—the fear of "civil war" in India between the Hindus and Muslims—the "fear" that weighed with the British authorities, that forbade them to "take the chance of abandoning India to a civil war". This has been the British brief—not a new thing but as old as the establishment of British rule in this country. By our own conduct the people of India seem to accept the truth of this contention. It is no wonder, therefore, that even radical thinkers like Bertrand Russell who are troubled in their conscience by the failure of Britain to "awaken the people of India to a knowledge of what this war means for them"—even they are willing to put it forth as an argument for the continuance of the Churchill technic of government. Bertrand Russell has been living in the United States for a number of years far away from the din and clamour of British life. In course of a letter to the *New York weekly—Time*—in the last week of September he indicated his reaction to the movement initiated by the Congress resolution.

".....I deplore the present conflict in India. I do not think it would be possible, as the Congress party demanded, to hand over the Government to a professedly representative collection of Indians hastily assembled in the middle of a war, and bitterly at odds among themselves on many important questions. Apart from the difficulties naturally involved in a change while a Japanese invasion is imminent, the replies to Sir Stafford Cripps made clear that a British withdrawal now would leave India in chaos and anarchy, if not actually in civil war, which would result in an easy conquest by Japan."

Mr. Churchill could not have phrased the British brief better than Bertrand Russell has done. Evidently it is based on the report or reports that Sir Stafford Cripps must have carried to his people in State papers, in private talks and correspondence. We must wait for decades before these are made available to the public. In his House

The stumbling
block to India's
political freedom

of Commons speech, in his broadcasts and articles in newspapers, we have not seen it suggested by Sir Stafford that Indian politicians whom we had talked with were, any of them, anxious to exchange "masters", that any step taken by the British to transfer real power to the representatives of the Indian people, to "a professedly representative collection of Indians hastily assembled", would result in the dire consequences predicted by Bertrand Russell and the New York daily. Many of India's politicians have broadcast what they would do or not do if real power were transferred to them even during the war. When the history of these times comes to be written and people would be in possession of the facts then, we have no doubt, the world would be wondering why with all the good will in the world extended to India by so many peoples and their leaders the heart of her people could not be enlisted on the side of the Allied cause. Then will it find out that the "essential obstacle" to this event had been the unwillingness of the British authorities to part with power. Mr. Arthur Moore, till a year back editor of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, in a statement to the Press, brought this fact out. He dismissed with impatience the plea that it was the absence of agreement among Indians that stood in the way of Britain transferring her power to India. He quoted extracts from two of the speeches made by Mr. Amery to prove the hollowness of this plea. Speaking in the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India had said on September 11 :

"There is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government."

On October 1, again speaking in the House of Commons, he had said :

"In any such national government that were constituted there would of course have to be ultimate responsibility to Parliament."

The significance of the last quotation lies in the fact that it was regarded as some of a reply to Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member in Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, who in course of a speech made in the Central Legislative Assembly at New Delhi on September 18, (1942) had said that "any proposal which has the unanimous support of the Hon'ble members opposite cannot be lightly treated by any Government here or in England."

"Hon'ble Members have been talking about 'national government' and that is a cry coming from all corners of India, but is it realized that national government cannot be imposed but it must be the creation of the fairly unanimous will of the people ? With the consent of all parties, it comes in automatically where there is a government of the people by the people and in places where there is a foreign government it has to be formed first by the people themselves and the proposal is submitted then to the Government of the day, and if denied, the so-formed national government asserts its will."

".....I cannot conceive that if such a government is formed, His Majesty's Government can possibly resist it."

The quotations made in Mr. Moore's statement from Mr. Amery's speeches throw overboard any hopes that Sir Sultan Ahmed might sincerely have entertained in his heart. Mr. Moore's pungent comment on the Amery thesis—"nor would any British Dominion call that self-government or tolerate the interference of Parliament"—ought to silence

A make-belief
that was soon
exposed

all the well-meaning politicians in India who are ever anxious to restore confidence in the intentions and declarations of the type of British politicians represented by the leading members of the present British Government. Sir Sultan Ahmed and politicians of his class who, even though members of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, cannot initiate any talk of constitutional reform or advance in India even in the *harem* of this Council, should be serving their people better if they tried to test the virtues of the many powers that they are said to enjoy and exercise as members of the Government in India. The country has demanded with one voice without being handicapped by differences in political beliefs and economic affiliations for "the transfer of *de facto* power now" to the representatives of the Indian people; in their many speeches none of the Indian members of the Linlithgow team has shown that they do support this demand and are prepared to stake their known and unknown claims to political wisdom on the success of this "fairly unanimous will of the people." It would add to the political illumination of their people if they honestly confessed that they had no power in this behalf, as was done by his new colleague, Sir Mahomed Usman.

He did it in course of replies to the interpellations addressed to him as representing the Government in the Council of State. These throw light on

Members of the Governor General's Council cannot initiate any political change

the exact position of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, exposing the pretensions of politicians who make a parade of their rights and privileges as members of the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy.

The public will remain grateful to Sir Mahomed Usman for bringing them knowledge of the inner springs that move the Government of India. Mr. P. N. Saprú asked the innocent question whether the Government proposed to re-open negotiations for "the formation of a Provisional composite Government at the centre"? The Government member, Sir Mahomed Usman, replied that this was "a matter primarily for His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty's Government, rather than the Government of India." The dialogue that then started is so interesting that we do not make any apology for quoting it in full :

"The Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam : Do we take it that the formation of the Central Government is not a matter for the Governor General in Council but that of the Governor General acting in his discretion ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : It is a matter for His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty's Government, and not for the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru : Are we to understand that the Government of India has no concern with the subject and that it does not consider itself called upon to make recommendations on the subject for the consideration of His Majesty's Government ? If this is its view, what is it for ? What are these wise and patriotic men in the Viceroy's Executive Council for ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : It does not fall within the normal jurisdiction of the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú : Am I to understand that the sole responsibility for advising His Majesty's Government as regards the nature of the constitution that should be worked in the interim period rests exclusively with the Governor General and that the Governor General in Council has no voice whatever in regard to this matter ? Is this the position which the Indian members of the Council have accepted ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : If the Governor General consults his Executive Council, he gets its opinion.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú : Am I to understand further that the Indian members of the Executive Council have no desire to offer on their own

initiative any advice to His Excellency the Governor General in regard to the manner in which the future Government of India should be composed?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman: The Government of India Act does not recognise the position of Indian members of the Council as such."

The rather long quotation from the proceedings of the Central Legislature exposes the utter unreality of the many constitutional changes that we are asked to believe are steps towards democratic self-government in India generously taken by the British Government. Constitutional pundits may hold forth on their many virtues. But the instinct of the vast majority of our people has appraised these at their proper value, that these are not intended to lead us anywhere into the region of *Nouraj* for our country. It is in the background of this knowledge that the efforts of non-Congress politicians in India for a political truce for the duration of the war have to be studied, and their failure understood. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier in the Congress Ministry in Madras, has been most active in trying to induce the rulers and the ruled to follow the path of wisdom. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. B. Jayakar whose success during the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations has built for them a tradition as clever peace-makers have been unremitting in the same field. The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, specially its Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, have laboured in this thankless task. The mind of the country was reflected in the appeal addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain on September 10 1942 by Indian public men amongst whom were the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Sind, Messrs. Fazlul Huq and Allah Bakhsh, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Nawab Habibulla of Dacca, Ministers of Bengal, Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of the Punjab, Master Tara Singh, President Shiromoni Prabodhak Committee, Mr. Mahomed Zaher-uddin, President All-India Muslim Conference, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University, Sir Gokul Chand Narang of the Punjab, Dr. S. Anant, General Secretary of the Azad Muslim Board, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, President, N.W. Frontier Province Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. K. G. Neogy, M. L. A. (Central Legislative Assembly), Mr. Giani Kartar Singh, M. L. A. (Punjab), Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha. The constructive suggestion that they made represented the common demand of all sections of political opinion in India:

"A national government pledged to the support of the war against the aggressors, consisting of representatives of major political interests, with complete autonomy in the internal administration during the period of the war and unfettered freedom thereafter, will satisfy the demand for independence put forth by all the political parties in the country."

To this appeal the British Prime Minister could send a reply that was totally repelling. Political India regarded his speech made in the House of Commons on the same date as the considered view of the British Government with regard to the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people. Four months later, the statement issued on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference sounded the same appeal and gave expression to the same feeling of frustration. The speeches made by British politicians during the

months were described as "savouring of propaganda" designed to convince "the doubting Americans and the sympathetic Chinese" that the root cause of the Indo-British conflict lay "deep in the historic diversities of race, religion, culture and political outlook of the Indian people". The war has enabled the bureaucracy to monopolize and utilize all the powers of the State, to curtail the liberties of the people, shaking their confidence and losing their co-operation. And the confession made by a certain member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council that "the initiative for discussing vital political questions agitating the country in the Executive Council can be taken not by them but only by the Governor General" ought to be enough to prove the true state of affairs. The impression has also been created all the world over that political freedom cannot arrive because the vocal political parties in India cannot agree to a definition of what constituted this freedom, that these do not agree to a common formula of the functions and powers of the State as will evolve out of their agreement, that the demand for "Pakistan" by the Muslim League, of a Khalsa by the Sikhs, of the demand of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference made at its Nagpur sittings for "the transfer of Scheduled castes from their present places of habitation to separate Scheduled castes villages away from and independent of Hindu villages"—these separatist conceits and ambitions are hard to reconcile and made to serve as stones for the structure of an independent State.

The All-India Muslim League Working Committee may reiterate on August 20 (1942) its 1939 stand that they were "ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden and defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government in the centre and the provinces within the framework of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution". But when it passed this resolution it did not realize the difficulties it was creating for itself in reaching agreement on the needs of the immediate situation by the clause of its August 20 resolution which said: "The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally." The President of the Indian National Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Mahatma Gandhi had offered to facilitate the formation of a provisional government for the immediate present by the leader of the Muslim League, "provided the Muslim League co-operated fully with the Congress in the demand for immediate independence without the slightest reservation, that independent India will permit the operations of Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help both China and Russia." To this offer the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha made its protest in a resolution passed on August 31 (1942): "The Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of nationalism and to the ordered evolution of free India if, as has been suggested

Separatist conceits
and ambitions

Russian access to it only across the ice of Lake Ladoga. Smolensk had yet to be regained. And to survive in the South the Russians must make operations on the central sector as expensive to their enemies as possible. Dnepropetrovsk, the site of the great dam destroyed by Russians themselves as a step in the pursuit of their "scorched earth" policy, remained to be captured. The surrender of Sebastopol a week later showed that during winter Germany had not been idle, that "the most gigantic and most concentrated winter work that the world has ever known" was done in two-thirds of Europe, for the forging weapons of offense that made the re-capture of Theodosia and Kerch by the Germans possible. Kharkov, the Jamshedpur of the Soviet (Russia) Republic was in German occupation. It was, therefore, no great consolation to the "United Nations" that the superb defence put up by Russia wrung from Herr Hitler the declarations: "Whatever German Armies achieved in the French, the Low Countries (Holland and Belgium), Norwegian and Balkan campaigns pales in comparison with the task in Russia"; that "we made a mistake about one thing—we did not know how gigantic the preparation of Russia against Germany had been"; "Not the Soviet Army but 30, 35, 45 degrees of front have forced the Germany Army to abandon offensive operations in favour of stationary warfare" For, the German Panzer divisions have rolled on, penetrating into the Black Sea coast of central Caucasus, and trying to go further east. But Stalingrad stands in the way, and for about fourteen weeks Slav and Teuton have been wrestling in and about it from street to street, from block to block, from room to room; a fatal fascination holds the combatants to this stretch of land where nothing built up by the hands of men could have stood under the hail of bombs and mortar shells. For about four months Stalingrad has stood as the symbol of human endurance, the height of which no human being could ever imagine—human endurance, Slav and Teuton.

What the Nazi leaders wanted we have discussed in Vol. II. of 1939 and in Vol I. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register*.

The secret of
Soviet
recovery

What influenced them to choose the particular time for attacking the Soviet Republic, leaving their accounts with the British Empire unsettled, has remained almost a mystery. The apostolic denunciation of Bolshevism is a thing apart. In the last week of May, 1942, however, Marshal Hermann Goering lifted a part of the veil. The decision to invade Russia at the particular time chosen, was caused by "the Russian speed-up in tank production, by the Russian construction of nearly 1,000 aerodromes in one year in the newly-occupied Polish territories." But, what enabled "the sheep-like multitudes of Russia" to beat back this attack is well-known. It was their combination of intelligent, self-reliant courage which taught the people in a country, where

"People, army, industry and soil—they are inextricably mingled in the conception of the Soviet State and in the development of its strategy, in the 'peace' years as well as to-day."

Historians have told us that "every incident of the Soviet Union's history, every item of its social programme, every change in its

The foresight of Soviet rulers—her industries transported beyond the Volga

political form and every enterprise under its industrial Five Years Plans is related to its state of war during the last twenty-five years." Apprehensive of German attack on the industries growing up in the western territories of the Soviet Union, the new builders of the Soviet State early decided to create a second coal and metallurgical base in the vast region beyond the Urals. This is the Ural-Kusnetak Combine—1,250 miles apart—the combination of Kusnetak coaking coal with the ores of the Urals. Thus have been built up "the largest iron and steel Works in Europe"—the "Stalin Iron and Steel Works"—at Magnitogorsk. Machine tool factories are studded all over from the Ural-Region to the Maritime Province on the Pacific. The Aircraft Works at Irkutsk lies almost at the centre of this 4,000 miles expanse of territory. The oil that moves the mechanism of modern fighting forces comes to Russia from its own oil fields in the Caucasus-Maikop-Grosny in the north, from Baku in the south. The world has been told that the German drive towards the Caucasus will be threatening the pipe-lines of this region, that these and the oil wells will be dynamited and devastated by the Red Army itself. A "second Baku" has, therefore, been provided for. In 1938 at Syzran in the Samara bend of the Volga an oil refinery was established for the oil fields of this region. This very short story gives an indication of the foresight of the Soviet rulers. The Urals were organized as a second arsenal of the Soviet Union. Into this region have also been crowded all the factories that were evacuated from the Donetz Basin. A summary report of the industries and factories thus evacuated may be quoted here to give an idea of the dynamics of Soviet policy:

"The Voroshilov factory formerly at Leningrad, began its retreat to the Urals at the end of September, 1941. In October 11, it was in production. By December 1st, it was already exceeding its former output. In the neighbourhood of Kuibyshev machine-tool plants from Kharkov have been re-erected and are in full production. Tanks, planes and guns are now being produced in factories erected in the Volga, in the Urals and as far east as Irkutsk in Central Siberia. The tremendous feat of transferring these industries eastwards can be judged from the burden on Soviet rolling stock. Over 1,500 freight cars were used to transport the machinery and workers of a single factory plant—from a tank plant—from Kharkov to the Samara region."

The long-ranged Five Years Plans, and the new industrialism that has been built up beyond the Urals since the eruption of German onslaught on Russia, have gained a new importance since Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour. The destruction and occupation of Japanese industries in the United States in the East is a serious blow.

Distant help to her from the Allies

it necessary for Russia to insist on Britain and the United States for certain of the essentials of war. A Three-Power Supply Conference was held at Moscow—the Soviet Republic, Great Britain and United States—to find the best way for the "distribution of their common resources." A plan was drawn up. But it was held up when Japan joined the war. She prevented the U.S.A. from sending machine-tools, oil and aluminium to Vladivostok by closing the Straits leading from the Pacific Ocean to the Sea of Japan and locking the maritime coast of the Soviet Far East. No merchant vessel of the Allies

could risk unconvoyed the submarine-infested waters of the Pacific; they have not the capital ships and destroyers and planes to spare for convoy duty in North Pacific. As it is, Britain and the United States are engaged in an Atlantic Battle against German submarine attacks which have dared approach the eastern sea-board of the latter; in addition their ships have been trying to carry some help to Russia through the North Atlantic Ocean and the seas. By drawing the U.S.A. into the war Japan has thus deprived the Soviet Republic of a great part of the help she used to get from the Anglo-American Powers, and has thus indirectly but powerfully helped her Axis partners in Europe. She has forced on the "United Nations" the adoption of the longer supply-lines for supplies to Russia through the alternative routes *via* the Persian Gulf, through Iraq and Iran into the Caucasus or across Turkestan and the Caspian Sea into the Urals. An idea of the help that Russia might have received from outside can be had from what the British Minister of Production, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, said on the occasion of the inauguration of the "Anglo-Soviet Week" in the middle of July, 1942: 2,000 tanks had been sent at the rate of 50 tanks a week during a period of little over nine months; by the end of May 1942 11 per cent more aircraft had been shipped than those promised up to the end of June (1942); for every 100 aircraft promised 111 had been shipped. Whether or not they had reached their destination was another matter.

But this was not the only help that the Soviet expected to receive, and deserved to receive. For a year since the 22nd June, 1941, the Soviet people, civil and military, have been bearing the full fury of German attacks. And practically nothing has been done by the Allied Powers to draw off a part of this fury on themselves. We have seen it stated that it was not hoped that Russia could survive beyond the autumn of 1941, that any help rendered to her could not stay her defeat. On the 18th of July, 1942, some such sentiment found expression in a leading article of the *New York Times*.

"...From British and American points of view it is of vital importance that Russia in Asia should stand even if Russia in Europe should be temporarily knocked out".

Even up to the time when we send these pages to the press (December, 1942), Russia in Asia has stood whole and erect. But it has not been much of a help to the "United Nations". For, by a special clause the Soviet Government has released itself from obligation to participate in the all-out Allied campaign against Japan. By this attitude the Soviet has been relieved of any pressure from the east, from Japan. But from the west Germany has been allowed to work havoc with the life, work and liberty of the Russian people, and no pressure has been put upon her that could weaken her strangle-hold on them. To this failure of Britain M. Josef Stalin pointedly referred in November, 1941:

There is no doubt that the absence of a second front in Europe against the Germans considerably relieves the position of the German Army. Nor can there be any doubt that the appearance of a second front on the Continent of Europe—and

undoubtedly this will appear in the near future—will essentially relieve the position of our armies to the detriment of the German Army."

Four months later when the "United Nations" front had been organized, when the United States of America had been forced into war by Japan, and had been forced to take the leadership of this Grand Alliance, the Soviet people still looked **Remained yet to be realized** in vain for the relief which their leader had indicated.

Their ambassador to Washington, M. M. Sim Litvinoff, in course of a speech delivered at the Over-Seas Press Club Dinner in New York, gave blunt expression to a widely felt disappointment:

"We hear a lot about the common efforts of the 'United Nations'... But common efforts which do not include common fighting may not be sufficient... only by the simultaneous offensive operations on two or more fronts... could Hitler's Armies be disposed of..."

These statements from Russian leaders brought on the notions of "United Nations" strategy, specially of British strategy,

British dissatisfaction with War Cabinet harsh criticism. In the last week of May, 1942, a debate was held in the House of Commons in response to an insistent demand for a "second front" against Germany. Sir Stafford Cripps was put up to speak

on behalf of the British War Cabinet. He very handsomely recognised that Russia was protecting the vital heart of our resistance in Britain itself. But with regard to the second front, he was vague and indefinite. He could only say that Britain intended to make a carefully-planned attack on the continent of Europe at the right moment. Britain's unpreparedness for such an adventure was made manifest in the same speech. "Orders for dive-bombers had been given in 1940; why these have not come forward could not be revealed in public." Statements like these could not but hurt the self-esteem of the British people who felt that they were not pulling their full weight in the war. Mr. Ward Price writing to the *London Daily Mail* in the last week of March, 1942, said that unless Britain took the lead in making "an attack somewhere before autumn," she could emerge only as "a minor partner in the victorious alliance", that

"when so much of the rest of the world is fighting desperately, it is hardly conceivable that this country should keep large military forces marking time at home throughout the coming summer."

The fact also came out in this article that the air-strength concentrated in Britain was "much greater than the Germans have in France." Yet, these concentrations could not make any impression on the German defence measures erected from Norway in the north to the Bay of Biscay in the South. An attempt was made at about **Air Raids into Germany—a substitute for a "second front"** this time to send to Germany and over her cities,

factories and ports increasing numbers of bombers showering death and destruction on them, disrupting the production of weapons of offense of all descriptions. 300 planes were sent, directed against Mannheim—rail-road centre on the upper Rhine in which were the Daimler-Benz air-plane engine works (for Messerschmitts, Dorniers etc), the Lens Armament plant, the vast Badische Chemical Works) Over Cologne were sent 1,180 planes—bombers, heavy and light—

Cologne which housed Air and Submarine Engine, Explosives, Synthetic Rubber, and Chemical Works. The Royal Air Force swept over "occupied" France with 1,000 planes; struck at Essen with 1,035; bombed Bremen with 20; swept the Channel coast with 500; revisited the Ruhr with 200; hit the Emden with 200; attacked the submarine centres at Luback and Rostock, shattering as the Germans had done to Coventry in September-October (1940); the blasting of Kiel and Trondheim and other small objectives used more than 1,500 planes. "Altogether Air-Marshal Harris sent between 6,000 to 7,000 planes over the continent in 8-days' time". The effect of air-raids like these has been held up for the world's instruction from a quotation made from the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

"Those who survived..... were fully aware that they had bade fare-well to the Cologne (they knew), because the damages are enormous and because the integral part of the character, and even the traditions, of the city are gone forever."

The campaign of destruction opened by these air-raids was treated at that time as the beginning of a "second front". The British Air Ministry issued a communiqué suggesting that 15,00,000 German troops were being kept in West Europe by this new offensive and all that it portended.

The *London Times* claimed that "half of the entire fighter strength of the Luftwaffe is being kept away from the Russian front to meet the R. A. F. attacks". As against this claim the latest estimate of the German air-strength and its distribution over Europe has to be considered—annual production 14,000; air strength 34,000, distributed as follows: France and Low Countries (Holland & Belgium)—1,950 (first line planes); Norway—500; Italy and Sicily—700; North Africa—500; Greece and Crete—100; the Russian front—1,600; Germany—400, Total—4,650. It has to be remembered in this connection that for every air plane in the fighting line, there are about five more in reserve and in use for training and transport. Comparing these figures with Britain's there is truth in the claim made in the middle of April, by the latter's Labour Minister Ernest Bevin, that his country's aircraft production had reached parity with Germany's, and that in five or six weeks more the output of U.S.A. factories will be equalling it to the combined production of Germany, Italy and Japan. Accepting at its face value this claim the question remained yet to be answered—why with this superiority in one of the major weapons of the present war Germany still remained huddled in "occupied" Europe, retained nine-tenths of the area that she had snatched from Russia, why Japan which has an aircraft production of 300 only a month should be able to range over more than 5,000 miles from the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific to New Britain north-east of Australia? Answers to this question have not been forthcoming. But this the world knows that the air-raids sent out from Britain that have ranged from Bergen and Danzig, to Venice, Milan and Turin have failed to break through the defences erected by German engineers like Todt and Speer who have rendered the coastal areas of Continental Europe nearest to Britain "invulnerable against invasion attempt."

We have tried to draw a picture of the European and African war fronts as these stood in June, 1942, the events and developments during which form the subject of study in this volume of the *Indian Annual Register*. A "second front" to relieve pressure on Russia remained to be opened, though a U. S. A. paper spoke in the last week of May that the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov carried from his visit to Washington some sort of an "undertaking" that a "second front" would be opened in 1942. As the New York weekly, *Time*, put it :

"The map spoke eloquently for an Allied offensive in Europe. There the Allies would be closer to their own bases, closer to the enemy than in the Pacific..... They also would find welcoming, Nazi-hating populations instead of the uncertain, imperialized borders of the Indies, Malaya and India."

The world has been told by Mr. Churchill who dictates policy and strategy in the British War Cabinet of the many deficiencies in their armour, specially shipping and transport, of the many other difficulties that stood in the way of a "second front". But still the world speculated whether or not political prejudice has had any influence on the failure to send the long-awaited-for and long-delayed help to the Soviet people. In discussions of the subject specially after Japan's sweeping victories that had hit the U. S. A. so hard in her self-esteem, the point has been raised that as Russia has been receiving help from the "United Nations" and expecting and clamouring for more of it, she should reciprocate in some way. The news that a bomber, the "Flying Fortress", has been sent to Russia occasioned comments in the U. S. A. Press. The *Washington Post* can be regarded as representative of this feeling when it wrote :

"The landing of an American bomber on Russian soil will reinforce the feeling that the Russians should be asked at least for passive co-operation in our war with Japan."

"We are not asking Russia for active co-operation in the Pacific which the "United Nations" are giving Russia in Europe. Yet this co-operation is surely an argument for some approach to reciprocity."

The paper became concrete when it suggested that Russia should lend at least to the United States some of her air-bases in the Arctic area, thus making it possible for the latter to direct a continuous air offensive upon Japan. Certain U. S. A. tacticians planned it this-wise. As the key to the victory in the Pacific lies in the north, so does the key to the north lies in the Sakhalin. Geographic obstacles and poor communications should not be permitted to dim the value of this front. If the estimated losses of a year be concentrated and accepted in an offensive in this front that would not only eject the Japanese from Karafuto (southern half of Sakhalin) but would follow them to Hokkaido with Hanshu (the main Japanese island) and Tokyo as the objective. The invasion of Hokkaido may take place not only from the Sakhalin but via the Kurile Islands which continue the Aleutian chain. American carrier-planes and bombing squadrons based upon Kamchatka would serve a double purpose. While considering this complication, it may be noticed that the tacticians of the Japanese fighting forces have anticipated such a development by

bombing Dutch Harbour, the chief naval and air base of the Aleutian Islands and by occupying Kiska, the western-most island of this chain of islands. Though the point discussed in this paragraph is a digression from the story related above, Russia's indifference to the debacle that has overtaken her comrades of the "United Nations" has a distinct place in the record of World War II of the 20th century.

The discussion of Allied failures in Europe and North Africa traced thus far may have its relieving features in the glorious chapter of Russia's fight against the hosts recruited under the Nazi banner from almost all countries of continental Europe except Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, and perhaps Portugal. In the Far East the Allies have failed more ignominiously. The measure of this defeat is incalculable to-day. An estimate of it given by a U. S. A. weekly, *The Time* of New York, in June 1942 gives in summary the effects and consequences of Japan's victory.

"The U. S. A. is already the senior partner among its allies in the battle."

"And in the Far East the U. S. A. has actually taken over from Britain the greatest burden of the battle."

"Yet the immediate military position of the "United Nations" is far weaker to-day than it was before Pearl Harbour."

"Before Pearl Harbour the "United Nations" commanded the Seven Seas. The British strategy has been to blockade Europe until Hitler ran out of oil. Six months later the "United Nations" have largely lost control of the Mediterranean, the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, and a good part of the Pacific (the part where rubber came from). They have even had to permit the enemy to roam the Atlantic coastal waters of Continental U.S.A."

"Meanwhile oil has also become a problem of the United Nations. Australia must now get oil from the U.S.A. (7,000 miles). The British have to get oil from Venezuela, or around the Cape of Good Hope (11,000 miles). In 17 States of the U.S. whose entire civilian economy has been oil-motivated for 30 years, oil is rationed. That alone suffices to tell the Americans that the winning of the war has not begun and that its losing has gone on apace."

"At the end of the first six months of the war the U.S. learnt three ugly facts :

(1). "That even its continental borders are not safe from attack, that West coast raids are 'inevitable'; the East coast is already strewn with the wreckage of its own coast-wise tankers."

(2). "That the British, as an ally, can be a liability as well as an asset. In the Far East, in Hongkong, in Malay, in Burma, aboard the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, the unexpected weakness of their forces and the incompetence of their commanders almost made Americans forget the great lesson of 1940, that Englishmen are brave";

(3). "That defence cannot win the war."

"The campaigns to date have been won by the enemy."

"Axis submarines operating from Newfoundland to South America had attacked and sunk 213 vessels since Pearl Harbour, at the rate of more than a ship a day."

"The U.S. has been licked all along its eastern sea board."

As against this sombre story of retreats and surrenders the Press of the world could record "United Nations" success at the battles of the Coral Sea and the Midway, and the capture of vital bases in Madagascar. By the former two the U.S. Naval-and-air-forces "avenged" Pearl Harbour; "restored the balance of the Pacific naval power." By the latter Britain helped to clear the western part of the

Allied successes
in Pacific & Indian
Ocean areas

Indian Ocean of Jap prowlers of the sea. For once, it was said, "the British made an effort to get their first." This 990 miles long island, the fourth largest in the world, belonged to France. There was every possibility that it might fall into Axis hands as Indo-China had been allowed to do. Its naval base at Diego Suarez, and the 4 major air-fields at Diego Suarez, Ivato, Fort Berge and Majunga would have been invaluable for the Axis joining of hands in the Indian Ocean. In the last volume of the *Register* we have discussed the possibilities of the grand strategy of the Axis partners in Europe and Asia in which Marshal Ernest Rommel would be over-running Egypt and the Axis forces poised in Greece, Crete and the Dodecanese Islands, and sweeping through Syria and Palestine, would be meeting Jap ships in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea. That would break the "United Nations" blockade and present Germany and Italy with the riches of the East, the Near and the Far East. The beating that Jap naval and air-forces received at Colombo and Trincomalee and the capture of Madagascar did not a little to intercept the march of this "grandiose plan". If Madagascar had fallen into Axis hands, the 250-miles wide Mozambique Channel between it and Mozambique in Africa's eastern shore would have been infested with Axis air-craft and naval ships, playing havoc with Allied shipping to the Persian Gulf, to Egypt, to Karachi and to Bombay bringing the essentials of war and peace to Russia, to Egypt and to India.

We have tried to draw up a balance-sheet of Axis and "United Nations" profit and loss during the first six months of 1942. In the last volume of the *Register* we traced the source of the many forces that enabled Japan to gain such resounding successes against Britain and the United States. There cannot be any manner of doubt that

A six months' Balance Sheet

the incompetence of military commands and the congenital weakness of civil administrations combined to produce the disasters that have startled the world—the vanquished and the victors alike. The report of the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate into and fix the blame for the Pearl Harbour "day of disgrace" revealed the complacent disbelief in the dangers of which the Commanding General and the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. A. Pacific Fleet had been warned by the Washington authorities for about twelve months, and exposed the other military failing that "the Navy was Navy and the Army was Army and never the twain should co-operate". With regard to Britain's Far Eastern possessions, though the British Government has refused to hold an inquest into the disease of the "Singapore spirit", the same failings have been traced all through the Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma campaigns. We must await the end of the war to receive enlightenment on the many causes that brought down in ruins the structure of British Imperialism in this region of the earth. But one thing has come out in the context of this story of failures and stupidities—"the British Colonial policy of not carrying the indigenous peoples' support" for the prosecution of peace-and-war-aims, as Mr. Hore Belisha, Britain's war minister in the Chamberlain Government, phrased the indictment.

Observers from far and near, correspondents of the British and the

United States Press, who have accompanied the British forces in their retreats and fights have time after time stumbled on this hard fact. One can go on quoting them for any length. We give below representative extracts from their comments and communications. In the *Over-seas Daily Mail* (London) of the 28th March, 1942, appeared the following :

"As the Japanese moved north the truth of the campaign in Southern Burma is emerging from the smoke, and the full extent of Burmese disaffection can be revealed".

"Numbers of Burmese went over to the enemy. The Jap formed them into 'Burmese' bands with blue uniforms, and it is believed that these were in action against us. Certainly these were active in sabotage. The civilian population also to some extent were anti-British."

The United Press (U.S.A) correspondent, Karl Eshelund, was told by an American pilot of the *American Volunteer Group* of air-men after visiting four Burma towns :

"Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way.....Rangoon is a horrible place. Foreigners risk their lives when they walk in the city, which are completely in the hands of the looters and killers who are running amok".

The most comprehensive account of the various factors that contributed to the defeat of the British was sent by Jack Belden, special correspondent of the *New York Time* (weekly).

"In the first place we lacked sound political theory ; we had no war aim in Burma. The people, advocating independence, were unfriendly from the beginning ; and when the Japanese began to succeed this ripened into open hostility."

"The open hostility of the people caused us to fight blindly.....Intelligence broke down almost completely. The Japs were led by Burmese people through country paths, jungles, thickets, into the rear of our position again and again, causing numerous road blocks, clogging our supply lines, disrupting communications and causing an adverse psychological effect on the minds of men and officers.....Railroads were wrecked, cars were fired upon in the dark.....The Japanese and small groups of active Burmese that were their allies, literally and devastatingly burned their way through Burma.

"Our lines of communication were uncertain. The railroads often did not run because the railwaymen ran away or were intimidated by the Burmese".

"We never received any reinforcements....."

"Finally, the Japanese fought total war, backed by political theory and strengthened by powerful propaganda. They made this total war feasible by cornering economic life in conquered areas, utilizing labour power and seizing raw materials to supply continuing war from war itself. It is a type of war thoroughly understood by Russians and Germans, half adopted by the Chinese, and little understood by Britain and America."

"We lacked air support. The Japs continually knew our every movements and picked out holes in our lines through which they pushed their troops."

"Every cottage was a machine-gun nest. They (our troops) have trampled over treeless, waterless hills, and been sniped at by Burman traitors and Japs posing as Chinese."

In reply to analysis like this the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, attempted a justification which only transferred the blame from these outskirts of the Empire to its centre at Downing Street. Speaking to members of the Birmingham Unionist Association, he asserted that Malaya had not been lost

"for lack of loyalty of its people or because of incompetence or want of sympathy on the part of our administrators. It is because we here at home failed sufficiently to honour the obligations for their defence implicit in our trusteeship."

In trying to explain, in course of a broad-cast to Canada, the failures in Malaya and Singapore, Lord Beaverbrook said that the latter "was not lost to superior equipment", on the contrary "that weight of munitions was on our side". In course of a speech at New York on April 23, 1942, he said: "We cannot explain our failures". This official British attitude leaves the door open to all sorts of speculations in which Mr. Amery's are as plausible as the others that have been indulged in. Whether this attitude is conducive to the ultimate victory of the "United Nations" is more than one can hazard to say. Political sympathies or antipathies will have a part in colouring these speculations. But discomfort has seized the conscience of people whom force of circumstance has ranged on the side of Britain in what appears to be a defence of British Imperialism and all that it has stood for as the pioneer of capitalist exploitation of distant lands and peoples since the middle of the 18th century. This discomfort has become most manifest in the United States which willy nilly will have to foot the bill of the present "global war". It is to this discomfort that we can trace the argument as it has been framed by one of the most wide-awake of U. S. publicists — "Pundit" Walter Lippmann:

"It has never seemed possible to the pre-Singapore British Government that it could apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter east of the Meru.....The Western nations must now do what hitherto they lacked the will and imagination to do; they must identify their cause with the freedom and security of the peoples of the East, putting away the white man's burden and purging themselves of the taint of an obsolete and obviously unworkable white man's imperialism.

"We have reason to think that the peoples of Asia will believe us... the Philippines knew that under American law their own independence is assured to them.....This is the only part of partnership that deserves to work. It is the only kind of partnership that can work."

This statement takes us into the heart of the problem of social and colour discrimination that has been embittering relations between men and men in the modern world. India and China which are inhabited by about half the population of the world are victims to such discrimination. This lowly status of theirs in the international world cannot restore balance to it when rival ideas and ideologies, conceits and ambitions, hopes and fears have converted whole continents and oceans into so many battle fields. Japan's cannibal designs on China and her success in bringing Thailand, Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines into her "co-prosperity sphere," have forced the hitherto dominant Western peoples to dimly recognise that without the help and co-operation of the more than ninety crores of these two countries their own particular interests and the peace of the world cannot be ensured.

For more than five years China has been maintaining the unity of her State and the integrity of the soul of her people under the leadership of one of the greatest men of this age—Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek. She has been encircled in the north-east and south-east of her territories; her ports in the more than two thousand miles of her coasts have been blocked or taken away from her; her contact with the world has been all but cut. Only through the North-West "Red Route" to

Racial & colour
arrogance

China's "Kilnness"
& India

Russia and through the South-West "Burma Road" did she maintain the line of communication on which rolled to her the weapons of war and the materials of peace during these years. It has been reported that over this "Red Road" China received some of the captured German booty—Mausers rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. Japan has been able to cut the "Burma Road" by her conquest of Burma. This danger did her far-sighted leaders anticipate. And they set their labour power to build an alternative Road. In the wild, peaked plateau where India and China meet, just above the conquered Burma some 20,000 Chinese cutters of stones and some 4,00,000 other labourers blasted, hewed and dug away at a substitute route into India from Chengtu, capital of the province of Szechwan, across 10,000 ft. peaks, across three rivers and many other obstacles between Sichang in China and a border railhead at Sadiya in north-eastern India."—(*Time* February 9, 1942). The world knows now of this engineering feat, yet incomplete, though begun two years back; the same paper reporting that it took two years and 2,00,000 labourers to build the easier 350 miles stretch to Sichang. There is yet another substitute "route"—that supplied by about "100 transport planes" provided by the United States. Supplies landed in India's west coast are carried across India by rail and flown some hundreds of miles to China from air-bases "somewhere" in India. Each plane can carry a load of 3 to 4 tons; daily rounds of trips by these planes could carry 9,000 to 12,000 tons a month—as much as the Burma Road had carried on trucks. These planes could carry most of the things the tracks did—pack mortars, field mortars, Bren guns, small machines, engine parts, medical supplies, radio equipment. This is how through India has been going help to China from the "United Nations". By driving the U. S. administration from the Phillipines the Japanese have converted India into one of the bases of operations—distant operation through China—to be directed against them. By cutting the "Burma Road" the Japanese have shut one back-door of China, and forced another through India.

This development has given meaning to the new Allied strategy in the Far East—"India must be held not only for herself but for China also." The failure of Britain to hold Burma and India's place in this strategy Malaya and the eastern half of the Bay of Bengal, has forced this extended line of offence and defence. Till the end of the war when Governments will publish their versions of the war's successes and failures, and commanders of their armies, navies and air-forces will publish their stories, we must continue to speculate why the British did not accept the help proffered by the leaders of China in the shape of seasoned soldiers who have been trained into hardness by five years of battle with the Japanese technique. We have been told that this help was offered before the Japanese had burst into Thailand in their way to Malaya. We have yet to understand why the Allied High Command did not direct attack on the right flank or the rear of the Japanese army as it moved into Malaya. The Chinese soldiers were there at least.

The consequence of this policy or strategy was that it was

possible for the Japanese to take Burma with "only 50,000 troops", to quote Lieutenant-General Stillwell, the U. S.-born Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Burma. It might also be that the superiority of Japanese soldiers—their toughness, their ability to "linger on meagre rations"—weighed all along the campaign; that to quote Lieutenant General Stillwell again—"you can't go up against him (the Jap) with a rag-tag and bob-tail collection of troops and hope to win". This depreciation, and the story, given out later, that the army in Malaya and Burma were not trained in "jungle warfare", were hard to accept at their face value. We do not know the classes of people that constituted the British army in these two countries. But it is difficult to believe that a few battalions were not formed by men from the tribal areas to the north-west of India—the training ground of the Indian Army for about three quarters of a century; that Garhwal and Nepal did not supply their quota. All these men came from hilly and jungle tracks. Further, we learn from the *Daily Mail* that the 93rd Foot of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders went to Singapore in August, 1939, one month before the present war broke out, with the object of becoming "jungle specialists", and forming "Tiger patrols"; other sections of the Indian Army—Indian and foreign—must have been made to pass through the same training. The question will, therefore, continue to be asked—why should the British army in Malaya's jungle warfare and Burma's have failed to stand up to the Japanese as they poured into these foreign countries? Perhaps, it is best to rest content with the reply given by Lord Beaverbrook that the failures in the Far East could not be explained.

The developments during the seven months—December 1941 to June 1942—since the 7th of December, 1941, when Japan started the

Why did not
Japan invade
India?

war in the Far East—have brought us to this fact—to hold Burma the Japanese must attack India; to maintain possession of the Dutch East Indies they must attempt the invasion of Australia. British and

American papers gave it out that they were capable of attacking both simultaneously. None of these anticipations have come true. Between Mandalay and the eastern borders of Bengal lie 300 to 400 miles of almost uninhabited jungles and mountains without roads. In and about the Solomon Islands the Japanese have been held back. The possession of New Britain's Rabaul and New Guinea's Gona-Buna area has not enabled them to approach nearer to Australia, though they have bombed Port Darwin any number of times. The monsoon has stopped them at a distance of about 40 miles from the State of Manipur within India's borders. The hands of their opponents have also been stayed from attempts to dislodge them from Burma. Cherrapunji and Akyab are in the same line—north and south—which is the wettest region in the world; the former registering 500 inches of rain in the year, the latter 250 inches. It is not possible to say why the Japanese did not utilize their position in the Bay of Bengal to attack India through the air and sea, trying to disrupt and destroy the various organizations and institutions that have been set up there preparing weapons of war for future use. The bombing of Vinsagapatam and Cocanada, of Colombo and Trincomalee showed the danger of this

attack. In the Ceylon area the Japanese suffered a defeat, though inflicting on the British the loss of two cruisers—*Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall*—and of a small carrier—*Hermes*. Then they turned their back on India. Why ?

The air-attack on Tokyo on April 18, 1942, must have been partly responsible for this turn of the tide. From the sea to the north-

Air attack on Japan by U. S.

east had swept a fleet of U. S. bombers and "for the first time in 2602 years the island cities of Japan were subjected to enemy assault". Tokyo received the first bombs; Yokohama, the first port of Japan, was left "a wreckage"; the great Mitsubishi and Aichi air-plane manufacturing plants at Nagoya received attention as well as the shipyards and foundries of Kobe. The raiders were reported to have numbered 60. This air-attack posed a problem for Japan—where did the raiders come from—from carriers or from air-bases in China? Much later it came out that they had flown from carriers that had started from Pearl Harbour, more than 4,000 miles away. But in April, the Japanese thought that these came from air-bases built in the provinces of Shantung and Chekiang, the latter the Generalissimo's native province. The names of Kinkwa, Nanchang, Hankow and Changsha leapt into prominence in those days. The fear of large-scale bombing attacks on their island homes from bases in China drove the Japanese to concentrate their whole attention on China—to destroy or occupy the air-bases in China, and to cut China off from all external sources of supply. For the latter purpose Japan directed attack on China's south western province, Yunnan, from three directions—up the Hanoi-Kunming railway from Indo-China, up the Burma Road, up by roads from Myitkyina into western Yunnan. This combination of Japanese moves appeared to be "a graver threat to China than any that has appeared in nearly five years of war", to quote an American authority. British failure to hold Burma intensified this threat. And the importance of India in the scheme of "United Nations" strategy for saving China and defeating Japan increased.

We noticed in the last volume of the *Register* the differences that had arisen between London strategists dominated over by Mr. Churchill and the leaders of the Pacific nations. Australia's leaders were very bitter in their criticism of this policy. But China's Military Mission to U. S. the rulers of China could not afford to be so outspoken. They had to wait, do their own part of the fighting, send their strategists to London and Washington to tell their opposite numbers amongst the "United Nations" of the experiences that they had gathered during their fights with the Japanese. In the second week of April, 1942, they sent a Military Mission to Washington headed by General Hsiung Shih Hui; the Generalissimo's nephew, Mr. Peter Chuh, was one of its members. A U. S. A paper has told us that the Mission rented a house, set up an office on the walls of which hung military maps, showing in detail the disposition of Japanese troops in China and all south-eastern Asia: inside this office sat on chairs "several men whose heads are crammed with

information about the Japanese army, how it operates and how it fights". But during five weeks "no high-ranking U. S. Army officer" took the "trouble to call on the telephone or knock at the door of 2,874 Massachusetts Avenue". And General Hsiung issued a statement to the press pointedly pointing out that the "United Nations" might not win "unless there is a unified strategy covering all the theatres of operations."

In the last week of May the "United Nations" High Command—the Combined Chiefs of Staff—held its first session at Washington in which the principal Pacific Powers were represented. This new organization superseded the earlier arrangements, announced in the beginning of January, 1942. The bitter disappointments of the Malaya, Burma, and Dutch East Indies campaigns had led to this supersession. General Archibald Wavell reverted to his position of Commander-in-Chief of India, adding Ceylon to his jurisdiction. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek retained his supreme command of the "United Nations," which are now or may, in the future, be operating in the Chinese theatre of war including certain portions of Indo-China and Thailand. Lt. General Joseph Stillwell as Chief of Staff of the "Gissini" controlled U. S. forces in India, Burma and China. It was at this meeting of the Allied Chiefs of the Staffs that the United States accepted "primary responsibility" for the Pacific Front.

We in India had no part or lot in these discussions, though our hearts beat in unison with the cause represented by China. The reason for this failure and inability is implicit in the unnatural relation that subsists between the people and the State in India. The rulers of China early recognised the danger of this inner weakness of the

country that should be a shield to the western frontier of their own country. This recognition must have brought Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India in the first week of February, 1942, when the Japanese were hammering their way towards Singapore. The object of this visit was, to use the words of the supreme leader of China, to have a "personal exchange of views" with the members of the Government in India, and with "prominent men" in India's public life, in order to "secure more effective united efforts against aggression". The visit had been preceded by a discussion held at Chungking between China's Supreme Commander and General Wavell as the threat to and through Burma became imminent. In his parting message he explained this idea more explicitly. To "his brethren, the people of India," he addressed as follows:

"..... at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and the Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India there could be no real peace in the world".

To their "ally Great Britain" he confidently appealed.:

".....without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, (she) will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression

nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom.

These two quotations give us the idea which brought about this historic visit—to make an attempt for the reconciliation of India's

The motives of the Generalissimo's visit national self-respect with Britain's interests. For the success of this work he must have used his powers of persuasion both on Lord Linlithgow and on the leaders of the Indian people. We know that his mission was a failure. Great Britain could not transfer "real political power"

into the hands of the Indian leaders; the latter, therefore, could not persuade their people to render that heart-felt help to China that they desired. We will come to know the real facts of the Generalissimo's talks with Lord Linlithgow and the Indian leaders when the history of these times comes to be published. We do not know whether or not the bureaucracy in India welcomed the idea of the Chinese leader's interference, however friendly, with affairs in India. He was feasted and feasted and spoken of in complimentary terms, no doubt. But the correspondents of the Press, Indian and foreign, could not help commenting on the fact that Lord Linlithgow sent his aide-camp only to the New Delhi aerodrome to receive the honoured guests from China. The New York weekly, *Time*, dated March 16, 1942, wrote: "Last month when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek paid his momentous visit to India, the Viceroy sent an aide to welcome him instead of going himself". The leaders of the Indian National Congress, of the Hindu Maha Sabha, and of the Sikhs were profuse in their welcome; the leaders of the Muslim League were of divided mind; they were afraid that the removal of the Indian deadlock at the instance of the Chinese leader might do harm to their particularistic conceits and ambitions.

It is a historical fact, however, that the vast majority of India's politically-minded people have been keen supporters of the national

India's relation with China & Japan

cause of China since the days when Dr. Sun Yat-Sen began his struggle for the realization of the "Three Principles of the People" in the life of the "Five Peoples" that make up the Chinese Nation—The Han, The Man, The Mung, The Huai, and the Tsen—The Chinese proper, the Manchus, the Mongols, the followers of Islam, and the Tibetans. It is true that Japan by her victory over Russia in 1904-'05 captured the imagination of all non-white peoples as the rising hope of their racial and national self-respect. In the opening years of this century, the visit of Katjuji Okakura, the author of *The Ideals of the East*, was one of the influences that inspired the Swadeshi Movement associated with the agitation against the Partition of Bengal. It is on record that this Japanese thought-leader was a welcome guest in the Tagore family at Calcutta where foregathered Rabindra Nath Tagore and other members of the family, Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, Bipin Chandra Pal, P. Mitra and other thinkers and public men who were planning to make a "new departure" in the political thought and conduct of our people. But Japan's treatment of Korea (1910-'11), the history of her "21 Demands" made on the Chinese Republic in 1915, her invasion of Manchuria (1932) worked a change in their attitude of

an Asian Unity to be organized under Japan's leadership against the pretensions of the Western peoples.

The lining up of the Indian people by the side of the Chinese became vivid in the correspondence between the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi and Rabindra Nath Tagore (September-October, 1938). The former had appealed to the latter, and through him to the Indian people, "to study the Japanese stand-point" in this fight between two neighbours. Time was when the Indian poet had spoken of "the living bond of love and reverence" that had bound him to the land from beyond which the sun rises. In the correspondence under notice he spoke with sorrow of the causes and the many consequences of the "desolating mutual destruction" in which China and Japan had got "entangled". And this sorrow was intensified as he and his people contemplated the shattering of their hopes of an Asian renaissance in which Japan would be playing a helpful part :

"I can no longer point out with pride to the example of a great Japan. It is true that there are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and that the so-called civilized peoples of the West are proving equally barbarous and even less worthy of trust".

The Japanese poet drew attention to the ultimate harm that India's attitude of criticism and condemnation of Japan's adventure in China may lead to :

"What I fear most is the present atmosphere in India which tends to wilfully blacken Japan and to alienate her from your own country.....Believe me, it is the war of 'Asia for Asia'".

Rabindra Nath found no grace in this doctrine. And the developments that have taken place since then to the present day when Japan has made good by blood and iron her claim to be the leader of a "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia" have proved the hollowness of this propaganda, as unsubstantial as the idea of the unity of a Christian Europe. It was true that in our own country also the question of an Asiatic Federation had been canvassed for about the same length of time, for about 40 years since the Russo-Japanese war. In certain previous volumes of the *Register*, specially those of 1938 and 1940, we have tried to understand and explain the many personal and impersonal influences that have played their part in encouraging and discrediting belief in this propaganda. The proceedings of the Indian National Congress during the twenties and the latter thirties have to be studied to get a clear idea of the movement of thought on this subject.

At a time when the forces of progress and reaction in Eastern Asia have ranged themselves in distinct and definite positions, when Japan has become the disturber of the peace to all progressive peoples in Asia, when China has become the hope and friend of all that stands for human dignity, India has chosen her side. It is not possible to trace in full detail the history of the evolution of the new comradeship of India and China, during the recent decades. But students of international relations have not failed to take note of the fact that the Nationalist

Reflected in
Rabindra Nath's
correspondence
with Yone Noguchi

"Admit Asia"
or

Rabindra Nath &
renewal of Indo-
China comradeship

Movements in India and China have acted and reacted on each other. Others have tried to recall us to "the ancient bonds of history that unite the people of China and India as brothers," to quote Madame Chiang Kai-shek's felicitous expression. We had lost all traces of this history till Rabindra Nath Tagore recovered them from the debris of ages during his visit to China in 1924. The Chinese in appreciation of this great work, perhaps, conferred on him a Chinese name—*Chu-Chen-Tên*—"Thunder-voiced Rising Sun of India"—on the occasion of his 64th birthday. Rabindra Nath recalls this episode in lines of sensitive feeling :

Once I went to China. Those whom I had not met.
Put the mark of friendship on my forehead.
Calling me their own.

I took a Chinese name, dressed in Chinese clothes.
This I know in my mind—
Wherever I find my friend, there I am born anew."

In these words Rabindra Nath speaks as a representative of India. Through him India and China have come nearer to each other, renewing ancient relations. In one of our *Puranas*—records of old times—there is a reference to one of the *Rishis* and saints of the clan of Vasishta who went to *Maha-Chin*—Great China. In historic times since the rise of Buddhism the commerce of spiritual and material things between the two countries became brisk and remained so for more than a thousand years. The names of religious pilgrims, of seekers after truth, that became prominent and find a place in history are Kasyapa Matanga, Kumarajiva and Gunaratna among Indians ; Fa-Shien, Hsuan-Tsang and Ti-Tsing among Chinese. In the history of the *Tantrik Cult* there was mention of inter-communication between the two countries. How and why this profitable commerce shrank in value and volume, it is difficult to say. And there is no doubt that for about three centuries it ceased completely. From the side of China the pilgrims to Buddha Gaya and other holy places of Buddhism in India have kept up some sort of a relation. From the side of India there was hardly any appreciation of this avenue of spiritual give-and-take. It was Rabindra Nath, as we have said, who revived the old traditions. And in the *Cherna Bhavan* attached to the *Visva-Bharati*, the nucleus of a World University, established by him at Shantiniketan (Bengal), we have the sign and symbol of a renaissance in Asia that would build up a newer and better world.

For, there cannot be any manner of doubt that for better or for worse the life and labour of 90 crores of human beings will have to be counted in any world-development that we can foresee. As Will Durant put it in a magazine article, speaking of the Chinese :

"Surely the future must belong to a nation that can be happy without money, content without love, strong without good food, healthy without soap. And intelligent without knowledge !"

The coming together of this vast mass of humanity must have a meaning in the scheme of creation, hidden though it may be at

China's awakening & the world's future present from our limited comprehension. A sensing of this development was presented to the European world in a book by a pacifist who suffered for his belief during 1914—'18, Dr. G. F. Nicolai, sometime Professor of Physiology at the Berlin University. In *The Biology of War* he indicated the possibilities of a Chinese awakening in these words :

....."the Sons of Heaven have the enormous advantage of being able to work equally well under all heavens, whether under the icy waste of tundras or under the burning sun of Samsara. Apparently, this is a special Mongolian peculiarity ; even primitive Teutonic peoples simply melted away under the southern sun to which their impulses had led them, and Negro races got consumption if transferred to colder climates."

There may be a hint of "Yellow Peril" in the words quoted above. The late Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany who started and lost World War I. of the 20th Century is credited with raising the cry of "Yellow Peril" to Europe. That is no longer a factor in international affairs. New developments have started the growth of certain mental and material processes that, the world hopes and prays, will help to eliminate all narrow racial and colour conceits in the conduct of States. The joint efforts for the defeat of reactionary forces in which India and China are partners to-day indicates the possibilities of such a future. In a previous para we have referred to commerce in matters spiritual between India and China. In recovering fuller traces of it Indian and Chinese scholars and researchers will come upon many interesting things. The *Cheena Bhavan* at Shantiniketan under the guidance of Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan has been laying the foundations of a noble and necessary work—necessary for friendship between nations—friendship built on knowledge. The appreciation of the worth of this work has been more than handsome from the side of China. Funds have come from it to give the *Cheena Bhavan* a start ; the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have donated Rs. 80,000 for the development of "cultural fellowship between China and India, through the medium of the *Viswa-Bharati*."

This fellowship will also pave the way for the commerce in things material between our two countries. And in this connection it is significant of the future that the country that is to-day known as Bengal had a part to play in the evolution of China's economy. Havell's *History of India* made a reference to this fact. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* (September, 1934) has said that without a knowledge of bronze weapons and irrigated rice culture there could not have been increase in population and the foundation of large organized States in China. Referring to the development of the latter the article has the following :

"The cultivation of irrigated rice culture appears to have begun in North-eastern India, somewhere around the head of the Bay of Bengal. Its diffusion hence, both East and West, had commenced at least as far back as the second millennium B. C. It must have reached the Yang-tze Basin by the Burma-Yunnan route, and then travelled to the Red Basin of Szechuan. Thence it even worked up to Kansu where the painted pottery makers knew it. Eastward the growing of irrigated rice extended itself down the great river and latterly up its tributaries until it reached the coastal regions."

The relation between India and China has thus a longer history than we generally know of. The Burma-Yunnan Road is not a 20th century fact on which 20th-century books and newspapers have written so profusely. The necessities of survival in a 20th-century war might have brought China's South-west—the six provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan (Chunking, the war capital of China lies in this province) and Sikang—into the lime-light, as the base of China's national recovery and eventual victory in the war. We may excite ourselves over projects of building a railway between Burma and Yunnan; over the building of high roads between Assam and Szechuan. But in times beyond memory, four thousand years back, from the head of the Bay of Bengal area started a stream of culture, irrigated rice culture, material and concrete, that enriched China's life, and enabled her to build up organized States for herself. That stream flowed to meet the demands of a not less stronger urge to life. Thus through the expanse of four thousand years, India and China stretch their arms and link their fingers for the service of a common cause. And men and women with historic imagination in both the countries can view the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek as a natural event, as the renewal of a brotherhood in things material and in things spiritual.

Students of sociology have told us that there has been a mixture of Indian and Mongolian blood in the eastern provinces of India; one or two publicists of the Brahmaputra Valley (Assam) have told us that they are not Indian, that they belong to the Mongolian race, and that after centuries of "Indianness" they feel in themselves responses to the cry of common blood—the Mongolian blood. We do not know what the future holds in store for us of the two nations, how near we will be coming together through the highways and airways that are being erected in the now-unknown regions which once had been trodden by Indians and Chinese in their comings-in-and-goings-on. The dust of times and the jungles of Nature might have hidden these paths from us both. But in the 20th-century struggles for survival as self-respecting human beings, the Gods and men have brought Indians and Chinese together for the advancement of what national and international good only the future can say. In the living present we have been called upon to co-operate in a war of continents and oceans, in which old relations are being snapped and new ones forged. It is in the background of events far and near, in the perspective of revolutionary events shaking the foundations of social life far and near, that the visit to India of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek has to be viewed. And in this effort of imagination and intellect the meeting of two ancient friends, long lost sight of, gains a new meaning in the new world that is being shaped by the blood and tears of millions of men and women in all the parts of the globe.

The story told so far makes it clear that India and China have got to know more of each other if they were to co-operate in the

Can be realized
by process of re-
education

poems of world history in the near future. The politically-conscious people of India know more of Britain and Europe than of this immediate neighbour of theirs to the east; the politically-conscious classes of China know more of the life and conduct of the U. S. A. people across the Pacific Ocean, 5,000 miles distant, than of their immediate neighbour to the west. Pearl Buck has told us in an article in the New York monthly, *Asia*, that "Thanks to Japan", to Japanese bombers and the Japanese army, the intellectuals of China have been forced to know anew their country and their people which they had come to regard as non-existent beyond the coastal area of their country wherein had been built up by the "foreign devils" the towns and cities that drew into them all that was enterprising and adventurous amongst the Chinese. As Lin Yutang has written in his book—*My Country and My People*—"Shanghai is not China, but Shanghai is an ominous indication of what modern China may come to." Authors of books on countries that bowed low before the aggressive modernism of Western countries, accepted the political domination of white rulers, have written on the class of men and women produced by the methods of administration and enlightenment of their alien rulers—men and women "who frankly did not know how to live in their own country and in the age in which their country still was." In China also this phenomenon had developed, and would have continued longer if the West had not betrayed itself during the last world war, and had not been hit by slump and depression that followed after a year or two of the war profiteers' prosperity. The failure of science to control or regulate its innumerable progeny has created the mentality of disappointment and discomfort, of bitterness and resentment amongst the hitherto "master races"—amongst their toiling masses.

In every country this bitterness found expression in books, pamphlets and poems. The Victory in the last Great War and the betrayal of the peace that was to sanctify it were parents of vast revolutions in thought and action. Feelings generated then draw their inspiration from misery in material life. They burst out into view in poems like the following that appeared in the *Daily Herald* (London) entitled—"The Toast". It was addressed to England, it is true. It might have been addressed to the rulers of any country, victor or vanquished, great or small, Imperial or Colonial. England which had set herself up as an example to all the world or claimed to do so, England as guide to conduct to all people, England in this poem is taken as the representative of the ruling classes in all countries. The poem was written by "an unemployed Ex-Service man," Frank W. Howe of 35, Addington Road, Bow, London E.

Names in the
West weary &
disillusioned

"Protesters of wester nations, whether Arab, or Pole, or Greek;
Always ready to help abroad—'tis the second time we speak,
We have drunk before to thy greatness where the sunken roads ran red.
Some of us drink this second toast—but the lucky ones are dead.
Ocean and dock and harbour, where flaming warship sank;
Field and forest of Flanders are red with the first we drank.
Now—certain, homeless and hopeless—a second toast we give
To a land where heroes—and profiteers—but no one else—can live.

We're down in the gutter, England—down and damned and done—
 But we pledge a toast to thy greatness, thy greatness that we have won,
 With water stale from the gutter, we pledge thee, deep and strong,
 Oh land, where a man is free—to starve, if he doesn't take too long."

Interpreters of the new developments in world history known to us as Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism or the "Imperial Way" of Japan, have told us that the people, the toiling masses in almost all countries, have shown by their conduct that they were prepared to sacrifice their freedom and the democratic ways of their life if they could get an assurance of economic stability, of peace between men and men, between nation and nation. These experiments have not yet fulfilled the hopes and desires of the masses. They have, on the other hand, been called upon to more work, to sacrifice more, to bleed more, for the sake of hopes that are proving to be liars, for the sake of desires that are destined to remain unfulfilled. Faced by disappointments like these, thought-leaders amongst western nations have been surveying the world for a philosophy of conduct that would restore health to their twisted world. In this search they stumble on Eastern truths that appear to promise them peace, and deliverance from the fret and fever of which they are the victims. The story of this search suggest to "colonial" or "semi-colonial" peoples that they should return to their own institutions of society and state, and regaining their—*Swaraj*, contribute to the healing of the world. This appeal has helped to strengthen the nerves of understanding and the moral fibre of disinherited peoples. This come-down of the dominant nations, the description and demonstration of the failure of Western peoples to uphold human happiness have come to Asiatic and African peoples with a new message of assurance that perhaps their habits of thought and conduct were not "so bad" after all, that perhaps their quietude held in its bosom seeds of a completer life. In the 1936 volume of the *Annual Register* in tracing the evolution of the process by which the people of India re-captured confidence in the philosophy and practices of their composite national life, we dealt with this aspect of the matter in certain detail. The present stirring on the waters of life in all countries will start fresh comparisons between the social patterns of the Western and Eastern peoples, and we have no doubt that the latter will come out of the test quite honourably. Not only in the realms of thought but also in the practical conduct of affairs of State a new confidence is astir among Arabs and Persians, Egyptians and Afghans, Turks and Syrians, Indians and Chinese, that is the promise of a better world order.

For five years China has been meeting Japanese assaults on her honour and material interests. Single-handed she has been keeping up this fight. And when Japan has presented to her such valuable allies as the United States of America and Britain, she appears to be facing a greater danger in June, 1942, than in July, 1937 or 1938 when she had to leave her capital at Nanking to the tender mercies of the Jap soldiery. It was a tragic irony that Britain refused or declined her assistance at the early stage of the Burma campaign; and it was an eye-opener at a later stage, after the fall of Rangoon, that for about ten days

British failures &
 China's fears

since March 18 at Toungoo and round about, "a lone Chinese division" was left to fight "the Japanese motorized 55 Division and regiments from the 23rd Division," to quote from the chapter—"Military Affairs"—in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, and available at the Calcutta Branch. The book is made up of certain pamphlets written by Chinese publicists on various phases of Chinese life functioning under the pressure of a national war. The disappointing experiences of the Chinese divisions with British tactics in Burma must have been partly responsible for the Burma debacle, throwing light on the political and military deficiencies of British administration in eastern Asia. This discovery must have been one of the reasons that brought the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India to use their influence in setting right the political deficiency by persuading the leaders of political thought and conduct in our country to throw in their weight and prestige—their individual and party influence, into the defence-and-offence organization of India.

The Supreme Commander of China had a right to expect better results from his Mission to India. His people had demonstrated that they had the stature, moral and physical, to stand up and exchange blows with the Japanese, not for weeks or months, but year after year, for five long years. The *New York Times* has recorded this glorious chapter in China's history.

"His people had been beaten and battered from one end of China to the other. Their cities had been bombed; their soldiers gassed; their women raped. From Valley Forge through Valley Forge he has fought and gone on fighting. The aid that the democracies promised him was never enough. But he kept on. In earlier years he had fought a retiring battle. But in 1941 he fought the Japanese to a stand-still. That was an achievement neither British nor Americans have yet accomplished."

This epic of endurance is being written by men and women—crores of them—in their blood and tears. How the miracle has been achieved will be the theme of bards and poets of many lands which they will love to celebrate in words of pathos and of fire. Lin Yu-tang in the chapter entitled—"Story of Sino-Japanese War"—in his book—*My Country & my People*—has traced for us the process by which China did discover herself: how the bitter lesson in disillusionment first at the Versailles Conference, then at the League of Nations, and finally through a life-and-death struggle with Japan, rid her "of hesitancy and importunity and begging for mercy, of evasion and futile pleas for intercession, and useless crying over broken pledges," and at last enabled her to "nerve herself to the new atmosphere of the household" of modern aggressive and predatory nations. In *China after Five Years of War*, we have an informing record of the various organs of social life and institutions of constructive nationalism that have grown up under the auspices of the Kuo Min-tang. These "have undertaken the task of shaping "a sprawling mass of humanity" into a modern "fighting nation organized by railways and radios and propaganda bureaus and equipped and armed for carrying on or resisting international aggression." It, China's history of shame and disgrace since 1840, when Britain's "Opium War" started the era of aggression and encroachments on her sovereign

rights to 1892-'94 when pigmy Japan defeated her, to the "Boxer" outbreak in 1900—organised by "The Righteous Fraternity of Fists"—and the sack of Peking by the international army—this history discredited the Manchū Court beyond recovery. Then came the attempt at recovery by the Republic; the "21 Demands" presented by Japan which, if acted upon, would have reduced the country to a "colony," followed by persistent encroachments till Japan exposed her hands by the "rape of Manchuria"—this story of a diseased body politic recovering itself by the inner strength of its being is told us in the two books from which we have quoted above in many places.

Lin Yu-tang's book helps us to probe into the biology of the Chinese people and understand its psychology. The miracle of her survival through the centuries, as of India's, is an argument in support of the plea that these two ancients amongst the other nations of the world have continued in the world's stage for thousands of years because in the scheme of creation they have a definite

The General-
issime embodies
the spirit of new
China

contribution yet to make for the enrichment of the world's life. He has given us a character-study of the Generalissimo whom he calls "the supreme chess-player of the Far East and one of the greatest political chess-players of all time." His "inhuman coolness" has enabled him to stand the insults that Japan heaped on his people for about twenty years; the cultivation of this virtue has made it possible for him to rein in his people from making an ultimately outburst against the aggressor from the east. His coolness, his "fine calculations," his stubbornness, "unusually un-Chinese," have made him the recognized leader of "a new nation," the law-giver of "a new society," recognized all over the world as such—one of the builders of China—one of those few in every age and every clime whom Pearl Buck described as "a modern, whose roots are firmly in the past, but whose rich flowering is in the present." The spirit that moves these millions has embodied itself in the Generalissimo, the spirit that has enabled unknown men and unknown women to face the Japanese terror, to see their homes burnt over their heads, to see their children die, and yet go on building roads and dams and clearing waterways so that a better China may emerge out of the tribulations in the material conditions of their life. Watching from afar the hundreds of Chinese labourers building her roads, a Western writer broke out into this paen of praise :

The great Himalayas tower about the men, toiling at their task. Like white-capped giants the mountains look at labourers who seem like ants, scurrying hither and thither. But in the hearts of these men there is a great faith. And it is a faith which can move mountains."

This admiration, so poignantly felt and so vividly expressed sanctifies the sorrows and sufferings of our Chinese neighbours. And India would have been glad and proud to be of service to the noble cause represented by them. The Indian National Congress has been consistent in its sympathy with China.

The Indian
National Congress
& China

And we know that under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leadership the politically-conscious among the Chinese showed their awareness of the many events that was demonstrating the strength of the Nationalist Movement in India. The founder of the Chinese Republic in his lecture

on the methods and ideals of Chinese Nationalism delivered in 1922-24, which were later incorporated in *The Three Principles of the People*, drew attention to the Non-Co-operation Movement in India, and its application to the different conditions in his own country where the "foreigners" had not yet come to run into Governmental and administrative machinery. From the side of India the establishment of the Republic in China had been welcomed as paving the way to an "Asiatic Federation,"—a topic on which O. B. Das and Srinivasa Iyengar as Presidents of the Congress had expatiated in their inaugural speeches in 1922 and 1926. At the Madras session (1927) a proposal to send a Medical Mission to China was mooted; a resolution was passed recording protest against "the dispatch of Indian soldiers by the Government of India to suppress the Chinese national movement of freedom," demanding the recall of Indian troops from China and calling upon Indians never to go to that country "as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people." The Congress Medical Mission failed to go because the Government refused to allow the necessary passports. At the Calcutta Session (1928) the Congress sent greetings and congratulations to China for having "ended the era of foreign domination in their country." The next few years in India were years of intensive political fight against British Imperialism. The Lucknow, Faizpur and the Haripura Congress sessions were marked by an international out-look that had developed under the inspiration of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Basu; Japan's "China Incident", started in July, 1937, swung India's feelings and opinions wholly against the aggressor. And it was while the latter was head of the Congress Executive (1938) that the Indian Medical Unit could be arranged to be sent to China on September 1, 1938. A former President of the Congress, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, spoke of the unimportance of this Unit compared to China's needs. But its value lay in the fact that it was "a gesture of India's solidarity in endorsing China's valour." Dr. Atal who had experience of similar service in Spain was head of this Unit. Since those days the sympathy of India and her admiration for China has been constant and unwavering. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's flight to Chungking in August, 1938, linked the two countries more closely. Till to-day Japan's victorious march through Malaya and Burma has made the two countries comrades in feeling in a common fight for the defence of international decency and national self-respect.

Japan has turned China's flank, and both by land and sea she has made a threatening advance in her rear. Confronted by this new peril the Generalissimo and the Government of China had to know what was the position in their rear, represented at present by India. It was for getting this information first-hand that the leader of China paid his visit. The Calcutta British daily—*The Statesman*—thus described the purpose of this visit, and the impression the party carried with them from India;

To know where India stands, how solid she is in support and, if not solid, how she can become so, what potentiality and resources she can be counted on to develop and contribute, what is the country's morale—all these information is vital for China..... They are not satisfied with what they found. They have indicated clearly what is wrong and they return full of hope that under the

The Chinese Government had to know conditions in India

compelling impact of the world war India is about to find herself fully where she ought to be."

We have tried above to understand and explain the developments that led to this latest contact between India and China, forced by the conditions of war released by Japan upon the hundred crores of men and women in Eastern Asia. It was suggested in "die-hard" quarters that the leader of China by trying to interfere with the affairs of India did a thing which was unusual. But the times were unusual also. And China by her heroic endurance of five years has earned her right to say something on how the "grand strategy" of the "United Nations" should be carried on in her immediate neighbourhood.

China's life and death struggle, her concentration on war activities, form part of an evolution that was laid down by the founder of the Chinese Republic about 20 years back. It has not been possible for us to deal in detail with the basic ideas that started from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and have brought China into this war with Japan—the doctrine of the *Three Principles of the People*, and the three stages by which these have to be realized in the life of the people, and how they have responded to their message. The "The Principles" are :

- Basic Principles & policies of new China**
- (1) Independence of China as a nation ;
 - (2) Democratic control of the internal life of China ;
 - (3) Socialization of the more important units of economic activity, such as railroads, electric power etc.

The stages are—Militarism, Tutelage, and Constitutionalism. At the first period the revolutionaries are to subdue the war-lords and other provincial satraps who would try to take advantage of the transition created by the fall of the Manchu dynasty. These men tried to set up independent administrations thus threatening the unity of the country. Their defeat was the first duty imposed on the republican leaders by the conditions of their country's ultimate victory over all separatist and selfish interests. This stage—the Napoleonic stage of the Chinese Revolution—Dr. Sun Yat-sen defined as Militarism. The war against Japan has also been helping to strengthen this militarism. The second stage—Tutelage—was built on the belief that the Chinese people were not ready to undertake the form of representative and responsible government of the present times. On the party—the Kuo Min-Tang—devolved the exercise of the sovereign powers of government and the duty of preparing the people for the exercise of their political rights. The third stage—State Socialism—would work out the problem of decent "livelihood" for the people. The Re-organization Convention of the Kuo Min-Tang adopted, in January, 1921, a programme in this behalf ; a few items of which are given below :

- (1) all unequal treaties to be abrogated.
- (2) All loans that do not injure the country politically and economically to be repaid.
- (3) Loans contracted by militarists which do not serve the good of the people of China, not be paid.

These have been the basic principles and policies of the Chinese Nationalist Movement. Tactics have differed with different

Political affiliations of China's leaders in post-Republican days

different leaders. Dr. Sun-Yat-sen in his early life as a revolutionary, for instance in 1905, was rigid in his programme of the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, of the foundation of a Republic; at that time the Tong Min-hui in which were represented the three principal groups of Chinese revolutionaries had suggested or adopted as a plank of their party "an alliance between the Chinese and Japanese peoples." It is well-known that Dr. Sun received valuable help from Japanese civilians and militarists, and often found asylum there from the wrath of Manchu administrators, and of the reactionary politicians of China after the foundation of the Republic. Of these the most prominent was Yuan-Shi-kai, and the agents of foreign capitalist interests, the chief of whom was Chun Limpak, leader of the Canton Merchants' Party, the "campadors" (head business agent) of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Canton. This person organized a Merchants' Volunteer Force which aimed at the overthrow of the Canton Government. The Generalissimo himself had had his military training in a Staff College in Japan, and had served several years in the Japanese army. As a matter of tactics the Kuo Min-Tang had resolved in 1924 to co-operate with the Soviet Union, to allow communists into membership, and to organize the farmers and workers to build up a basis of mass support for the Party. In his last days Dr. Sun had leaned on Soviet help. The Russo-Chinese Agreement signed on May 31, 1924, had by its Art. IV abrogated all the treaties and agreements "concluded between the former Tsarist Governments and any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights or interests of China." For years the Soviet has been helping to uphold China's struggling democracy. But General Chiang Kai-shek, as he then was, did not appear to have much appreciated the value of this alliance. Lin Yu-tang has spoken of his "anti communist complex, born of his days of association with Borodin." His campaign against the labour unions, the peasant movement and the student organizations, begun in 1927, has cost China dear. The Nanking Government under the control of General Chiang Kai-shek had pledged itself to "the ruthless extermination of the communists", an activity that became "an obsession with him." For seven long years "he spent his best time and a very heavy part of China's national revenue in fighting them, in five successive campaigns, using more and more resources until in the Fifth Campaign, in late 1933, he mobilized nearly a million soldiers." In Edgar Snow's book—*Red Star Over China*—we have this epic story told; Lin Yu-tang has summarized it, and tells us why he dwelt on the "anti-communist complex" of the leader of China, the bias that

"made him commit the one mistake of policy in all those years and pass by the opportunity of making a definite alliance with Russia in 1935, which would have prevented the war" (between China and Japan).

This interpretation was based on insufficient data, as it appears from later events which came to light in January, 1939. Lin Yu-tang's book was first published in February, 1939; the edition we have seen is dated May 1939. This fuller knowledge makes necessary a modification of the criticism of the policy followed by the Chinese Government. We get

Soviet help and advice to China

it from Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, in a statement made on January 1, 1939. It appears that M. Bogomoloff, the Soviet ambassador to China, arrived at Nanking in April 1, 1937, with proposals for a full-dress Russo-Chinese Alliance, namely, that Russia and China should sign a Non-Aggression Pact as also a Mutual Assistance Pact; he also suggested that China should take the initiative in proposing the convocation of a Pacific (Peace) Conference. The Chinese Government "deliberately" postponed action on the lines suggested by the Soviet Government "for fear it might prejudice assistance from Great Britain and America". This expectation was not realised then, and even now when China is one of the pillars of the "United Nations", British and American help during these months since December 7, 1941, has been like a trickle. It was not any "anti-communist complex" that really stood in the way of a Russo-Chinese Alliance. All the same, it has to be deplored that the Soviet suggestion was not acted upon. Chinese initiative in convening a Pacific Conference would have turned the tide of world affairs, at least of affairs in Asia. By acting as suggested China would have come as a leader and not as a suppliant to the imperialistic Powers of the world. Such a Conference would not have confined itself to Japan's "special position," but would have dealt with the special privileges of other Powers—the presence of foreign troops in China, concessions, extra-territoriality, spheres of influence, control of China's Customs Administration, leased territories, naval bases, etc., etc.—problems that China had unsuccessfully raised at the Washington Conference (1921-22).

It appears also that Japan got scent of some such matter, and announced on July 4, 1937, its plan to call "a Continental Economic Conference to consolidate the economic relations of Korea, Manchuria and North China" and to establish a unified economic system under a comprehensive economic plan for the three areas. British capital was to assist the Japanese in the exploitation of this "Organic continental bloc"—particularly North China; and this "bloc" was to be closely linked, through capital investments, with Japanese industries. Questions in the House of Commons with regard to negotiations between leaders of British and Japanese industries could not wholly re-assure feeling in China, as Dr. Arnold Toynbee in his "Survey of International Affairs (1937)" commented:

".....there can be little doubt that the fears engendered by the London negotiations contributed to the determination of the Nanking Government to strengthen their grip on North China before any agreement among third parties had time to become effective."

We have told our story of the many recent events that have brought India and China nearer to each other in one of the greatest crises of their national life. Both the countries had adopted the "hermit policy" as a protective measure of their social and cultural values. Why they did so we will never know, when they did so we cannot point out to any exact date.

Four thousand five hundred years back India and China were not hermit nations. Historians have commented on a remarkable fact that during the century, five hundred years previous to the Christian era, a galaxy of prophets appeared almost at the same time in countries as far apart as China and Italy—Laotse and Confucius in China, Buddha and Mahavira in India, Zoroaster in Iran, Ezekiel and

A remarkable
century & its
prophets

the Second Isaiah in Judea, Thales in Ionia and Pythagoras in Southern Italy. Their advent can be explained by a wide-spread social disintegration threatening the life and conduct of millions of men and women. These path-finders must have appeared in response to keenly-felt distress and doubt felt by the Chinese, the Indians, the Iranians, the Jews, the Greeks and the pre-Roman Italians. This distress and doubt must have been a link between peoples so distant from one another. And the prophets must have been moved by a common impulse to have appeared almost at the same time and to have pointed to the way of salvation to so many millions of people. This history ought to have prepared them for a League of Nations where their representatives would meet and discuss the many ills from which their societies suffered. But experience proved otherwise. And our ancestors more than four thousand years back who had thrilled to the message of these prophets in the different countries were followed by men and women who knew not their common heritage.

To-day it requires no little effort of imagination to draw inspiration from this history. But world events, the threats of barbaric appetites and ambitions, have made us all, in all countries, into partners in an adventure on the result of which the self-respect and happiness of mankind depends in ways not fully understood at present. Humanity may be divided into warring nations to-day.

Through rivalry
of material interests
to co-partnership

But the forces released by modern science and the present war must compel us, if we desire to survive, to build a world-scheme of partnership in a common work. The visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India, and the manner in which the Indian people welcomed them, have spun new threads of fellowship for ninety crores of human beings, counting almost half the population of the world. We may hope that this will be no short-time war-arrangement. India and China might not have gained the immediate object desired by both of them. But the events of February, 1942, will stand as a land-mark in the history of their two countries, and will influence world-history, and its future evolution. Men and women conversant with international affairs, in touch with vital forces of present-day history, have begun to speculate on the outcome of an Indo-Chinese Alliance, and its influence on "the inevitable Consortium of Asiatic Powers". Thirty years back Bipin Chandra Pal in *Nationality & Empire* discussed the consequences of the awakening of the giant nation of eastern Asia. Upton Close in *Revolt of Asia* prophesied that Asia's rise to consequence would remove the centre of world affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific Basin; that Russia, China and the U. S. A. would assume the importance which the size of their populations and the wealth of their resources would enable them to do, that the U. S. A. will "succeed Great Britain as the spokesman of Western Civilization and the vanguard of the white peoples in their front against a revived Asia." Scott Nearing in his book—*Whither China*—published in the latter part of 1927, looked forward to "a rivalry of races and cultures as well as of economic interests" in which he placed a "Eurasian Bloc," consisting of Soviet China, and Japan "as a subordinate but powerful

of the world's population—in opposition to “the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the Great Empires”—Great Britain and the U. S. A. He arrived at another interesting conclusion from these stated premises.

“The Soviet Union will continue to be the spiritual father of the new social order. But the Chinese will be its business manager.”

World War II of the 20th century has, however, modified, for the time being at least, the alignment of forces in the international field. Japan has moved out of the bloc; the Soviet Union, China and the United States are allies in a “global War”. India, the second largest country in the world in point of population, is an uncertain and unknown factor as her man-power is under the direction and control of a non-Indian State. But when India comes by her own and is able to make her own decisions in national and international affairs, she will have a decisive say in the development of human relations. Placed almost at the centre of the continent of Asia it may well be her destiny as well as her desire that she should play a “co-ordinating role” in the clash of races, cultures and economic interests which Scott Nearing had prophesied. An Indian publicist, long resident in the United States, Krishnadal Shridharani in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, entitled—“India In A Changing Asia”—has indicated this role for his country. He sees India as “the centre of the coming consortium of Asiatic Nations.” Geographically, the Sinkiang province of China may look as a probable. But the logic of economic forces would weigh the scale on the side of India. And the Hindu-Muslim rivalry within India herself would be playing a decisive part in the matter.

“.....the Muhammedans are dragging India westward towards the Muslim world, while the Hindus are accelerating India's eastward orientation towards the Buddhist world. This tug-of-war may result in a tie and turn India into a meeting place of the two great arms of Asia.”

This study in power politics puts a narrow interpretation on the role that India may have to play in the near future. Thought-leaders of India from times beyond recorded history has reserved a nobler part for their sacred land to play. As the meeting-ground of many races, of many cultures, now lost in a new composition, her social legislators had risen over creeds; they spoke not of racial or national creeds but of *Manava Dharma*—the law of being of humanity. In our own days and in our own times, the prophets and poets of Indian Nationalism have spoken and sung of their country as the ocean into which many streams from the right and the left empty their waters and find their fulfilment in this loss of identity in the heart of a great immensity. All the living cultures have their followers in this country—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, to name only a few of them. By their neighbourhood to one another they have had to arrive at some sort of a synthesis and reconciliation. This spirit of give-and-take will have influence in all other spheres of life—in politics and economics also. Therefore has it been thought that India offers the best testing-house of the many problems of racial, political and economic conflicts and competitions that twist and disfigure the life of the modern world. India has developed

The ideal role
that India can
play

the mind fit to receive and impart a wider and all-embracing view of human relations. It is felt that being the meeting-ground of all the living cultures of the world India has gained the experience and earned the right to act as the co-ordinator of all separatist conceits and ambitions of the various nations of the world. An identical service to the Western world, to Europe and to the Americas, could have been rendered by the United States which has been called the "melting-pot" of races, of Western races specially. It was expected that she would act as the arbitrator between the warring nations of the West. But the experience of the two world wars have belied these hopes, and there is none in the world, individual or nation, who by reason of his or their prestige and tradition of disinterestedness can act as the peace-maker between modern States. Perhaps, hopes like these are never realized in actual life or never have been. The experiences of India during the centuries of her history supports the hopelessness of such hope. In her epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, are recorded how attempts at peace and reconciliation proved failures, and Vivishena and Sri-Krishna had to be witnesses of mass-murders which they did their best to halt and stop.

Feelings like these assail our minds as we survey the battle-fields in all parts of the globe. Old men and old nations are said to be cynics with regard to the talk about justice and international friendship; they know that it is merely a diplomatic mode of speech and sheer "rubbish", and that all international diplomacy is based not on sentiment but on the conflict or community of interests. Indians and Chinese have acquired this knowledge through their bitter experiences of the remembered and recent past. In the case of the former, being a dependent country, this feeling stands between her and Britain who has been using her man-power and her natural wealth for the purposes of her survival as a Great Power. The Generalissimo could understand this during his visit, and the reasons for the failure of his efforts at reconciliation. His appeal to the people of India and to the British, carried in his parting message, has not borne the fruit desired and expected. The British Government made, however, an offer sent through Sir Stafford Cripps which did not in any sense transfer "real political power" to the people of India and their representatives and accredited leaders. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek returned to their country in the third week of February, 1942.

And on the 11th March a discussion was held in the House of Commons in course of which the British Premier made an important statement bearing on the Indian situation—important not for any positive change to be brought about in the irritated relations between the two countries but for the recognition on the part of a "die-hard" politician that a change was required.

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese invasion of the East has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the invader."

As Leader of the House of Commons Sir Stafford Cripps announced that "a debate will be held possibly very shortly upon the

basis of a Government decision in the matter." This came off on the 28th of April after his return from his mission to India. These announcements did not, however, seem to assure world opinion, or "United Nations" opinion, though many regarded them as some sort of a response to the Generalissimo's parting appeal to the British Government and people. A sample of the opinion expressed in those days spoke of the fear that "Britain's something would not only be late but far from enough," that when the war was bearing down fast on "India's disunited, disaffected Hindus, Moslems, Princes and untouchables," Britain's "shortly" was much too far away for "either action or debate on India." The retention of Mr. Leopold Amery as Secretary of State for India during many of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet re-shufflings was also regarded by many as "a bad sign for India's political hopes." The British Labour Party issued a statement in the first week of March, 1942, in course of which they said that it was "the duty of the British Government to take every possible step to promote Indian Agreement." And as preliminaries thereto the British Government should give "all posts in the Viceroy's Executive Council of 14 to Indians," that this Council should immediately take steps towards the drafting of a new Indian Constitution to be ratified after the war. There were other indications that the British and other peoples who were organized in the "United Nations" were uneasy with happenings in Malaya; they were justly suspicious of a regime that could betray their cause in the way it was done there.

The debate in the House of Lords held in the first week of February was expressive of anxiety widely felt, and of "die-hard" mischief-making. Lord Farrington who initiated the debate put the Labour point of view with moderation; Lord Bannockburn in putting forth the Conservative view doubted whether the calling into the Governor-General's Council of more Indians, the releasing of political prisoners, would avail more in conciliating extremist Indian opinion than the remittance of Southern Ireland's debts and the handing over of naval ports had done. The official view was put forward by the Under-Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Devonshire. The difficulty in India to-day was not with regard to transference of power by the British Government but "what Indian Government or Governments were to take over" the reins of administration from British hands. The use of the word—"Governments"—is significant, for it occurs in one or two other places of the speech, showing that even more than a month before the Cripps Mission was thought of the mind of the London Government had been dallying with the idea of more than one Government for India. The Duke of Devonshire was son of a family whose the-then head did his best or worst to kill the first Home Rule Bill for Ireland in the eighties of the last century. The father of the present Premier of Britain was the inspirer of revolt in Ulster when he declared—"Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right". And the Duke of Devonshire was carrying on a very venerable tradition, when he declared :

"The Moslem and Hindu communities do not want the same thing, and to think of them as a majority and a minority is to risk a serious error, for that line

of thought will suggest that it is the duty of the minority to bow to the wishes of the majority. The minority has no more duty to bow to the wishes of the majority merely because it is a majority than the smaller peoples of Europe, such as the Greeks had to bow to the wishes of the Germans merely because they were a minority."

The Under-Secretary of State did not rest satisfied with granting this "charter of intransigence" to all minorities in every part of the world; he spoke of "chaos" into which India would be plunged if the British Government transferred "control of the Government" without securing some measure of agreement between various elements of the population of India. We have our doubts with regard to any good coming out of any argument, mild or heated, on this imperialistic plea. We have grown so familiar with it that we propose to dismiss it with quoting what the Calcutta Indo-British daily said so neatly in noticing this speech.

"The British Government continually adjures Indians to get together. It omits to say what it is prepared to transfer to them as soon as they do so. That is the root of the trouble. Hindus and Moslems will not face the fact that neither of them can have all the cake they want till they are offered the cake between them.

We have to recognize that in getting hopeful over the proposals that Sir Stafford Cripps was carrying to India it was not possible for any one, even in those days, to forget this history. Politicians both in India and Britain might speak of the British War Cabinet sending Sir Stafford to India as a move in the right direction, as a proof of British sincerity.

But the majority of the politically-minded people in India could not help feeling anxiety over last-minute penances. The Press of the "United Nations" did their best to boost the Mission. The people of India became recipients of advice from all and sundry. From far and near flowed into our country these streams of advice and veiled threats. It was difficult to resist resenting all this solicitude. From the United States came most of the pleadings passing through the sieve of a discriminating censorship the control of which was in British hands. We propose to sample out some of these for the benefit of nations. As was but natural the reported intervention in the Cripps negotiations by Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's "envoy in New Delhi" in those days, was given a wide Press in his country. The majority of the U. S. Press cuttings that we have come across asked us to take note of and understand the significance of this intervention. They made this the text of their preachings.

"This should bring home to India the United States' profound concern at the Indo-British negotiation. That concern is not limited simply to the desire to see an agreement as such between Britain and India but it extends to the details of the agreement. India's fortunes and ours now are so inter-locked that the gates of India at which the Japanese are hammering have become as vital to our security as if they were our own frontiers.....The agreement which Colonel Johnson is urging in New Delhi, as the Indian people must know, has the support of the neighbouring China as well as of a friendly America."—*Washington Post*.

"We in the United States are inexperienced in the means of Indian politics but we can see with perfect clearness that if no agreement is reached the lot of India and Britain, our own too, will be infinitely worse than even if an imperfect compromise is accepted. Final failing would be devastating to the cause of freedom for India and the United Nations. If such occurs and if persons responsible can be identified the burden of their public guilt will be enormous."—*New York Times*.

"The notion that the United States could do so (impose a solution) tends to stultify the position which nationalist leaders themselves have claimed that India should be free to work out her own destiny without artificial hindrances or restrictions by the British. That opportunity Britain seemed categorically to promise in her latest offer, but now the objection to it is that various Indian leaders are not now asking for greater freedom to meet their own problems. Instead they seem to be insisting that the problems should be fore-closed in their favour. The way in which the offer has been received has not increased American estimate of the realism of Indian political leaders. The most that any of us can hope for in this desperate world is the chance to solve our own problems and not guarantee that they be solved for us."—*New York Herald Tribune*.

"If Indian leaders reject Britain's amended terms it means they cannot agree between themselves on the alternative proposal; for, it is evident that Mr. Churchill, probably prodded by President Roosevelt, is ready to accept almost any compromise that would be backed by the two main groups in British India—the Congress Party and the Moslem League. Whatever is the answer to the British offer India is at war. The military problem remains the same. The immediate decision of India's leaders cannot affect the effort of the other fighting nations to defend India to the utmost against the common enemy."—*Ann McCormick in New York Times*.

"There is every indication that the military situation will soon run over the political, that no matter what decision is reached there will be no time to put it into effect before the Japanese are on India's door-step. What happens on the fighting fronts in Burma is likely to mean more to the future of India than what happens in New Delhi."—*Philadelphia Recorder*.

"India's decision is almost as important to the United States as to Britain. The United States with Britain and other nations fighting the Axis has a right to ask India's acceptance of freedom which is qualified only by the demands of war itself."—*Nation (Weekly)*.

"India will not fight for any kind of empire personified by Mr. Amery, and we gloomily see a major disaster ahead for the United Nations."—*Chicago Times*.

"The crux of the situation in India does not lie so much in the character or degree of Indian independence—or rather of English dominion—offered by the British Government. It lies in the unwillingness of Asia any longer to recognize any form of foreign dominion. Asia for Asia is the principle around which the people of Asia are for the most part rallying. The first obligation of England, the first step in framing a practical plan for the defence of India, is to overcome that sentiment and completely convince the leaders and people of India that co-operation with the United Nations means not only freedom from the Japanese aggression but from English domination. There is only one requirement necessary in the situation and it is sincerity."—*From the Hearst chain of newspapers*.

We present this sample of U. S. A. opinion to enable our people to see themselves as others see them. A similar result will be

A sample of
British opinion

gained if they cared to study the debate in the House of Commons on April 28, 1942, that ensued on the report submitted to it by Sir Stafford Cripps on his Indian Mission. The impression is left on the mind that the members of the House could not make out why the negotiations failed. Mr. Gordon Macdonald who spoke on behalf of the Opposition drew attention to the "authoritative statement on the break-down of the New Delhi negotiation," made by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, "which presents a different viewpoint and puts an entirely different complexion upon what happened." His analysis of the character of Sir Stafford Cripps, and the manner in which he presented his case, is so interesting that it should be shared with our readers.

"Mr. Gandhi has been defined as a saint brought up in a lawyer's office."

"Sir Stafford was a lawyer brought up in a saintly home."

"He seemed to do his job pretty well like a lawyer this morning, and I detected here and there, especially in the closing passages of his speech, a hint of the saint,

but I saw more of the lawyer from the beginning. I would not expect anything else from him."

His reference to the Secretary of State for India was perfectly courteous but devastatingly cruel.

".....I know that policy sometimes fails because of certain types of personality. I am just wondering.....I have already said that the best man fitted to be sent out to India was sent out. That in itself is a reflection on the Secretary of State.....I do not want any man who has not the confidence of the Indian people, and whose words do not carry the weight that the words of a Secretary of State ought to carry, to remain in office too long."

Sir Alfred Knox quoted two un-named Muslims, "one very responsible and highly placed" and another "who has done great service for the

British Government in his own country," slanging the Indian National Congress. The former represented it as "a body of industrialists and capitalists, essentially of non-martial elements" which will try to "save itself and the

moneyed people.....in the manner and fashion of Thailand"; the latter complained that the Government has "given latitude to Congress Fifth Columnists and others." Earl Winterton attempted a bit of psycho-analysis of the Hindus and Muslims of India. "Unfortunately" in many cases the former seemed to produce better briefs for the information of the members of the House of Commons than did the latter. "Possibly the latter are not as acute politicians." He represented the Muslims as feeling that "partly connected with the extremely intellectual character of the Hindu religion," the Hindus were good in putting a case. But this is an old story; they do not or need not feel like that today. For, they have found in Mr Jinnah "one of the most acute and analytical brains that any community has had in India for many years." He also threw a bouquet at Mr. M. N. Roy—"a very remarkable man of whom much will be heard in the future"—who was "prophetic" when he said that as in China so in India as a result of the "revolution," old ideas and regimes would be destroyed; and that when power came into the hands of the workers and peasants not much would be heard of "the type of leaders like Mr. Nehru." Sir Stanley Reed instructed the world on the reason why the word "Union" was used in preference to the word "Federation" in the declaration that Sir Stafford had carried with him to India. The latter meant "a supreme Central Government handing something back to the constituent units which are the Provinces," while the use of the former meant "that the Provinces are the constituent units giving powers to the Central Government for the purpose of unity, strength and direction." Mr Sorensen believed that he was right in saying that "the actual breakdown in negotiations was precisely on the question of the transfer of power." Mr. Richards confessed that he was "left with the feeling that even he (Sir Stafford Cripps) finds it rather difficult, when he analyses the position, to say exactly why the negotiations should have broken down."

One member, Mr. Cove, expressed the opinion that Mr Churchill's Indian record should have prepared them for the failure of the

Cripps Mission. He quoted from the British Premier's "Speeches on India," picked up from a second-hand shop, extracts to drive home his point. During discussions on the Government of India Bill, Mr Churchill had blurted out in the House of Commons

the truth of the hypocritical side of British policy in India

The Churchill tradition & failure of the Cripps Mission

"It was even pretended, or at any rate allowed to appear, that Indian disunity was the only or the main obstacle to our speedy departure."

And to give colour to his picture of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in India, Mr. Churchill used very picturesque language indeed :

"Side by side with this Brahmin theocracy and the immense Hindu population there dwell in India 70 millions of Muslims, a race of far greater physical vigour and fierceness, armed with a religion which lends itself too readily to war and conquest. While the Hindu elaborates his argument, the Muslim sharpens his sword."

Three extracts from Sir Stafford Cripps's speech of this day, his presentation of the New Delhi negotiations, will enable us then to turn to India, to her parties, to her official and non-official participants in the Delhi talks. Sir Stafford stated thus the difficulties that stood in the way of the success of his Mission.

"I was not prepared to bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive."

"But once self-determination has been promised to India as was proposed in the Draft Declaration it would be impossible for his Majesty's Government to impose terms in the new Indian constitution."

".....the position of complete power asked by the Congress—which was not demanded by any other section of India—would leave the matter in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to any one but themselves, or in a somewhat looser way, perhaps, to their political or communal associations, and there would have been no protection, therefore, for any of the minorities....."

In the days when the Cripps negotiations opened at New Delhi, there were high hopes in the "United Nations" that Britain was doing the right thing, and India could do no less. *The New York Times* could, therefore, write : "The prayers of all who pray, the hopes of all who hope, are with her (India) at this terrible moment." After the publication of the Draft Declaration of the British Government, the paper

How they missed
the central issue
of the contro-
versy

came on solid ground, and could appreciate the stand-point of India : "There is justice in the Indian demand for participation in the direction of the war. Nor can the Americans consistently quarrel with the objection raised against the right of secession from the All-India Union which the British proposal provides." Then followed the days of exhortation and bectoring, of the growth of "a tendency to indulge in judgment of this group or that, and this leader or that, and so bringing bitterness to the controversy", to quote the words of Dr. William Temple, the Archbishop-designate of Canterbury. The *Washington Post* could go so far as to write : "Congress control would be a dissolvent rather than a cement of resistance to a Japanese invasion." In their anxiety for the success of the Cripps Mission many a British and U. S. A. publicist did lose sight of the central issue of the controversy as it emerged out of the vague generalizations of the "Draft Declaration"—the issue stated so succinctly by Mr. Brailsford in the *Reynold's News*.

"Does Englishmen shrink from serving under an Indian Minister of Defense ? This is a misunderstanding we dare not risk. Our white skins are not at this moment an asset. This is by all accounts the main issue which endangers the Government's offer, and its substantial issue because it touches India's self-respect so closely."

By bringing into a focus the view-points of U. S. A. and British people, as reflected in the Press and in the House of Commons

respectively, we get a clear view of the argument that has been agitating the relations between India and Britain. The fortunes of war, the defeats suffered by the "United Nations" in course of the first six months of 1942, have made this Indo-British quarrel a concern of the whole world, despite the desperate attempts of the British authorities to keep it a "domestic question." The impact of Japan's war and the unpreparedness and incompetence of British strategists, however, forced on the British Government this unpleasant task of making advances to Indian Nationalism. This may be true. But the time chosen was or seemed to be in March, 1942, "too late". British troops had begun retreating out of Burma. Singapore, the bastion of the British domination in the Far East, had long ago fallen; Rangoon had been left a burnt city; by the time Sir Stafford Cripps reached India the Andaman Islands with its bases had been captured by the Japanese. And the feeling even amongst loyalists, and beneficiaries from British connection, was expressed by a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: ".....we have been left in the lurch. Goodness knows how we are to defend ourselves!" There is bitterness in these words, there is helplessness in them. Prof Coupland in his book—*The Cripps Mission*—has tried to indicate the various ways in which people in India reacted to the happenings that had brought the dangers of war to the frontiers of their country.

".....it is understandable enough that people who had been so often told that, if British had taken away their freedom, she had paid for it by giving them the *Pax Britannica*, should vent their rage on the British Government. And this new bitterness inevitably sharpened the nationalists' earlier resentment at the false position, as they conceive it, which had been forced on India from the very outset of the war."

An Indian participator in the Cripps negotiations has speculated what would have been the result of a Mission like what brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India if it had come before the fall of Singapore, before the fall of Rangoon, before the Japs began bombing India itself. The Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanganar, has suggested that if Japs bombs had not fallen on Vizagapatam and Coconada, Colombo and Trincomalee, the response of the various political parties in India, specially of the Congress, would have been different. Candid friends of the Indian Nationalist Movement have charitably probed into the feeling of Congress leaders thus—"this was no time to be accepting any increase of political power whatever." This kindly interpretation was put in face of the words used by the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his letter dated April 11, 1942, the last letter that he wrote to Sir Stafford Cripps:

"But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's Government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power."

Another factor that must have had its influence in creating difficulties for the negotiations, apart from the imminence of Jap attack

on India, was the story that was brought from Burma by the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing from the Japs and Burmese. This evacuation had extensively started in the last week of December, 1941, when Rangoon had begun to be bombed. And in handling this vast problem, the racial discrimination as between Indians on the one side and Anglo-Burmans, Anglo-Indians and the "allied communities" on the other, stirred feelings of disgust the like of which we have not witnessed during recent years. From the statement issued over the signatures of two members of the Central Legislature—Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru (Council of State) and Sri Ananga Mohan Dam (Legislative Assembly) who accompanied the Hon'ble Mr Aney, Member-in-Charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, in his tour through border stations in Assam including the State of Manipur, this feeling can be gauged. The experiences of the "White Road" and the "Black Road" will long be remembered; the bitterness carried in the hearts of evacuees and transferred to their friends, relatives and neighbours has like the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy lengthened over the whole of India. By the time Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, these experiences and details of them had become the talk of the country. Jack Belden, the correspondent of the New York Weekly, *Time*, who accompanied Major-General Stillwell in his retreat from North Burma, in his letter to his paper that appeared on May 11, wrote of "the utmost misery" that he witnessed—"roads were lined with belongings abandoned by refugees"; on the day before he wrote this letter 20,000 of these had crossed the Irrawady, "hoping to get to India, but their chance is very slight." Even those who escaped into Indian territory, at Tammu for instance, "were unanimous in complaining bitterly of the callous and insulting attitude of the evacuation officers and their principal subordinates," (we are quoting from the statement issued by the two members of the Central Legislature):

"It appears that Indian refugees are treated in such a way as to humiliate them and make them feel that they belong to an inferior race."

"In this matter, as in some others connected with evacuation, we are paying the penalty of our political subjection."

We have tried to indicate the adverse conditions under the shadow of which the Cripps negotiations were carried on. Prof. R. Coupland,

Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, came to India in the autumn of 1941, to study the constitutional problem under the auspices of Nuffield College." When he was on the point of

returning to England, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, and at his request the Professor "joined his staff." He has attempted a brief record of the Mission's work, seen at "close quarters" and while his "impressions were still fresh." This record has been prefaced by a record of the mental and moral reactions of India to the British handling of affairs since September, 1939. A title of one of his chapters is—*Distrust and Disunion*. In tracing the growth of the "distrust of British intentions" he found it difficult "to exaggerate the disquieting effect of.....Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, that the Atlantic Charter was primarily intended to apply to Europe." He found a new suspicion spreading "beyond nationalist circles"; he reports the confes-

sion of a "highly intelligent Indian official"—the anxiety and uncertainty which "this business of the Charter had for the first time implanted in his mind"—and there was little doubt that "many of his colleagues felt the same." And it seemed to Prof. Coupland

"more than probable too, that many of the young Indians who were obtaining commissions in the fast-expanding Indian Army were affected by something of the same uneasiness about the future."

Then he traced the "intensification of the old antagonism between the great Indian communities, Hindus and Moslems"—how the rivalry between them "has now become a struggle for political power". He dealt with Mr. Jinnah's "atrocities" story—and came to the conclusion that "the case against the Congress Governments as deliberately pursuing an anti-Muslem policy was certainly not proved." The

The story of the
"intensification of
antagonism be-
tween Hindus &
Muslims

Oxford professor then reports on the evolution of the idea of Indian Muslims being a separate "nation"—how what had hitherto been a "vague dream," a theme for poets or young visionaries became a "definite political objective—Pakistan". The adoption of this theory has tended to stiffen the political dead-lock in India. Sooner or later the grim words, 'civil war', were uttered by most of those with whom Prof. Coupland had occasion to discuss the communal question; Mahatmaji has talked of its possibility "coolly enough". And he reports further that many sober-minded men, indeed, are thinking that India may have to tread the Chinese road before she attains a final solution of her major problem, be it union or partition. As a report of developments in India, one may not quarrel with its authenticity. For these are impressions gathered by him during his tour. And impressions depended so much on one's mental attitude. Even an Oxford professor, however, may miss some of the other factors that have contributed to the "disunion" in India that he came here to diagnose. For a full and truthful report he ought to have at least hinted at the contribution that his own people, men and women, official and non-official, made to encourage and patronise the many forces, personal and impersonal, that add to the volume and extent of this "disunion". Men and women do not welcome the dread prospect that Professor Coupland's "sober-minded men" hold before us, unless something more valuable than peace was involved in the matter. The United States through whose help Britain hopes to tide over the present crisis will appreciate the choice that the Indian people may be called upon to make. China has made it, and come out victorious over separatist conceits and ambitions. Britain with all her proud boasts has not been able to save us from this choice. The verdict of history will amend Prof. Coupland's report on this point at least. Till then we have to suffer this misrepresentation. We know that Sir Stafford Cripps and many British public men and publicists have been trying to represent the failure of this mission as due to communal bickerings in India; in his report to the House of Commons Sir Stafford stated that the shadow of communal differences constantly lowered over his attempts to negotiate acceptance by the Hindus and the Muslims of the "Draft Declaration" of the British War Cabinet—the "Declaration of Independence". Professor Coupland calls it in his enthusiasm. How unsubstantial was the structure sought to be built up by the Declaration has been proved during the last few months as the smoke-screen, raised by British public men and publicists,

has had time to get thin. The hectoring of U. S. papers has grown weak and silent. British propagandists have found their occupation discredited. The truth of Abraham Lincoln's words has been again vindicated that—you can mislead some people for all time; all people for but you cannot mislead all the people for all the time.

Writing after about seven months of the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India, it is easy to lose sight of the many psychological

India's lack of
faith & Britain's
suspicion

factors that played havoc with the negotiations during the last week of March and the first ten days of April. It becomes necessary, therefore, to labour to build up the back-ground of these three weeks which were regarded as fatal. The seven months that have followed have not realized all the fears entertained then. But one fact has remained unchallenged yet—as a U.S.A. paper, *The New York Times*, put it then—"the significance of the proposal (Cripps) lies in the fact that Britain does not feel confident in their ability to defend a reluctant and divided India." The compulsion of an apprehended full-scale invasion by Japan was the driving force of British and Indian policy—Britain recognized the need of the help of the "unbribed" mind and body of India; India was anxious to play her legitimate part in the defence of her hearth and home, but she was not quite confident of the competence of British military leadership to do this; Britain was even then suspicious of the *bona-fides* of Indian opposition to the Axis Powers, specially to Japan; India saw Britain planting Ulsters all over her territory. On this lack of confidence (Indian) and on the rock of suspicion (British) the Cripps Mission was wrecked. The Indian point of view was confirmed by what happened in Malaya, Burma and Borneo; the British point of view was asserted by Sir Stafford Cripps in the first Press Conference held by him at New Delhi on March 29, 1942. In reply to a series of questions on the defence of India and whose responsibility it would be, he said:

"The defence of India will not be in Indian hands, even if all the parties want it. It would be the best thing for the defence of India."

The representatives of the Congress to talk with Sir Stafford Cripps—its President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad with his interpreters—

Leave me of the
words—"National
Government"—
by Sir Stafford
Cripps

at first Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A., (Central) of Delhi and then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—knew of this declaration of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. Yet for twelve days they carried on negotiations with him. They, perhaps, believed that they would be able to pin him down to his talk about "National Cabinet" and of the Governor-General acting as the king in did—reigning but not ruling. There is no denial from any quarter that even at his first interview with the Congress President Sir Stafford Cripps did use the words. In various public statements and in private talks also he used these words. In his letter dated April 7, 1942, to the Congress President there were the words—"New National Government." It appears now that he used the words in a sense that is different from what is attached to them by

public and by the general public. And the Congress President was right in his suggestion that Sir Stafford was playing with these words.

"There have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet with the Viceroy acting as a

The above appeared in the letter dated April 10 from the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps. And in his letter dated April 11 intimating the rejection of the "Draft Declaration," there is an element of bitterness felt by negotiators who found out rather late that they had been misled and misunderstood.

"The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview."

This bitterness has characterized all reference to Sir Stafford Cripps and his Mission in the controversy that ensued on the failure of the March-April (1942) negotiations. The public do not know details of the many conversations that Indian leaders of various parties and schools of politics had with him. *The Congress Bulletin*, issued by the office of the All-India Congress Committee, containing the "Congress Resolution and other Papers Relating to Negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps," is the fullest that we have so far seen. The Congress resolution rejecting the "Draft Declaration," and a few letters that were exchanged between the Congress President and the negotiator of the British Government, are given in full; the other papers and statements are published therein in summary. The other organizations and their representatives—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the "Scheduled Castes," the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and others—have not cared to help the public with even this much in understanding the various issues involved in the proposals of the British Government. The failure of the Muslim League to do this obvious duty has given opportunity to Sir Stafford Cripps and British propagandists, big and small, to beat the big drum of the "absolute dictatorship of the majority," of subjecting all the minorities to "a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet," to quote from Sir Stafford's letter to the Congress President, dated April 11, 1942.

On behalf of the Indian National Congress it has been asserted times without number that the "communal question" did not occupy any important part during the whole of the negotiations. In his letter to Sir Stafford dated 11th April, 1942, the Congress President made the positive assertion that

"In my first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal and like questions did not arise at this stage. As the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach."

Of course, there is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League released to the Press on April 11, in course of which it is said that "as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the

Reports of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps

Communal question did not form a major subject of discussion

Muslim League & All-India Muslim Conference

immediate arrangements." But there is no reference in it nor in the speech of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah as President of the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad, to the difficulties in the way of accepting the Cripps proposals so far as these applied to the immediate present. The Muslim League appeared to have had no concern for the self-determination of India; it asked for the self-determination of Muslims only; it demanded the unequivocal acceptance of "Pakistan" which required the division or partition of the country of India that geography and history has made one and indivisible. But not all Muslims in India are of this politico-religious persuasion. The All-India Muslim Conference claiming to represent 44 millions of the Muslims of India, about half of the Muslim population of India, spoke with another voice. Its Working Committee adopted a resolution declaring their firm belief that

"the solidarity, integrity and unity of India is vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India";

"that such communal dissensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India."

The Committee further held that

"the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised in-as-much-as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulsters' in India."

And a constructive suggestion was made with a view to meeting the fears and suspicions of "minorities" in the following modification:

"That no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for ten years."

The Congress negotiators had exerted their utmost powers of persuasion on Sir Stafford Cripps for acceptance of the "National Government" and "National Cabinet" ideas on which he had expatiated with eloquence in his talks with some of the Indian leaders. Except the Muslim League, all other organizations, national and sectional, were startled into flaming opposition to the whole of the "Draft Declaration" owing principally to the presence in it of Clause (C) which ran as follows:

"His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to (1) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

"With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union....."

The Hindu Maha Sabha based its rejection of the scheme on religious and cultural grounds, on the "basic principle" of its being—that India is one and undivisible. It takes another objection which we think goes into the heart of the pretence that the British Government was giving India "an opportunity...to determine for herself and organize in all liberty of choice her freedom and unity..." to quote words from Sri Aurobindo's message of appreciation sent to Sir Stafford Cripps. It contended that

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be

justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority."

The British Government by indicating how the "New Indian Union" should be formed has tried to "determine" the future development of

The Sikh All-
Parties
Committee's Stand

India, thereby taking away from the principle of self-determination its very pith and marrow. The Indian people are not left any "liberty of choice" to frame their constitution, to mould its shape and size. And the

British offer to accord to non-seceding provinces the opportunity to enter into a new State-organization having the same status as the "Indian Union" creates a competition or rivalry between different conceptions of the future State in India that will be approaching conditions of civil war in the country. This promise or readiness to promise recognition to any and every recalcitrant element in India's vast population has taken the grace away from the promise to completely transfer responsibility for the governance of India from British to Indian hands." How intense was the feeling raised by this part of the "Draft Declaration" was vividly brought to view by the representation made to Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the Sikh All-Parties Committee. It characterized "the specific provision" made for the separation of provinces as a blow to the "integrity of India," as "a betrayal of the Sikh cause." And the bitterness was expressed in language instinct with the sentiment of outrage to moral prestige and injury to material interests.

"Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battle-field of the Empire and this is our reward that our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position, has been finally liquidated.

In their despair of receiving any consideration from the British Government, the Sikh All-Parties Committee has, strange to say,

They call for a
redistribution of
the Punjab

succumbed to the very temptation that is the parent of all the separatist fears, conceits and ambitions in the country. By its very question—"why could not the population of an area opposed to separation be given

the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?"—it supplies an argument to the separationists organized at present, for instance, under the leadership of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah. Their objection to the "extraneous trans-Jhelum population"—the people of the districts of Jhang and Multan—dominating "the future of the Punjab," raises the question of the proper redistribution of the Punjab as at present constituted. The Committee tells the world that "the Punjab proper extended up to the banks of the Jhelum;" that the trans-Jhelum area, the districts of Jhang and Multan, were "added by the conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British for administrative convenience." The purpose of reciting this history is, evidently, to suggest that it is the huge Muslim percentage in these two districts that has made the Punjab the "Muslim majority Province" that at present it is represented to be, that the elimination of these two districts from the Punjab would weaken the basis of the claim made by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah that along with Bengal which will be corner-stone of Eastern Pakistan the Punjab should be the "centre-piece" of Western Pakistan. By quoting figures from census reports the Sikh All-Parties Committee prove their contention. We quote from their

"From the boundary of Delhi to the basin of the Ravi river the population is divided as follows : Muslims—45,05,000 ; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—75,46,000.

"From the Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Jhang and Multan districts : Muslims—82,89,000 ; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—38,48,000.

"To this may be added the population of the Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26,00,000. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of the Muslim population still further.

The facts stated and the claims built thereon by the Sikh All-Parties Committee would require the overturning of the boundaries of all the provinces in India. They indicate that every group, class, caste and community in India are preparing their body and mind for cutting their country's body into slices. People have begun to think and speak of it as a "struggle for political power." For the capture of this very material thing the help of religion, philosophy, history and even of mysticism has been requisitioned—the memories of wrongs done by dead men and women to dead men and women have been sought to be stirred into life. The cynicism and materialism at the back of this mind was best brought out in the speech of Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf as Chairman of the Reception Committee to the delegates and visitors of the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League on April 3, 1942.....

".....The conception of a strong unitary form of Government is all right as long as the British Government is there as the third party to hold the balance evenly between the Hindu and the Muslim nations. But the moment we think of the British withdrawal and the mooted question of transfer of power to India, they manifestly give rise to some pertinent questions such as "Who will be heir of the British Government ? On whom should the power devolve ?" Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus although they happen to be in majority because the Mussalmans do not agree to it. Similarly the power cannot be handed over to the Mussalmans simply because the British Government snatched away the empire from them. If no agreement could be reached then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Government, or the British Commonwealth of Nations....."

The "Depressed Classes" or the "Scheduled Castes" opposed the Crippa proposals for reasons not stated in their letter to Sir Stafford Crippa. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Rai Bahadur M. C. Rajah told the world that they had stated these reasons at their meeting with the British negotiator on March 30, 1942, why they were "convinced that the British proposals would do the greatest harm to the depressed classes and are sure to place them under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule." They also asked him to impress upon his Government that they look upon it

"as a breach of faith if his Majesty's Government should decide to force upon the depressed classes a constitution to which they have not given their free and voluntary consent and which does not contain within itself all the provisions that are necessary for safeguarding their interests.

We do not know what they proposed to obviate the necessity of their being placed "under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule", the "safeguards" that they would require in a democratic State in India.

For this is the consummation towards which all public men and publicists, all reformers in every sphere of our life, since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, have been taking their people. This State or social organization in the bosom of which all men, women and children will have assurance of the full flowering of their personality, in which their self-respect will have a secure anchor in the awakened conscience of all of them, where the descent of material life will be made possible for them from their birth to their death—the foundation of such a State or social organization has been the dream of these path-finders amongst us, has engaged every thought and activity of their active hours, has lived in their unconscious minds as the patterns of conduct to be realized in the life of every man, woman and child of India. Every one of us who draws his breath under the Indian sky, who draws sustenance from the soil of India, has this duty imposed on them to strive to build this life beautiful in the land of their birth. There may be controversy with regard to the ways and methods of realizing this dream, of bringing into being all the institutions that will work towards enriching our common life by freeing individual lives from the cramping conditions of selfishness and ignorance. Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Rajah may have very good reasons, very well-documented histories, to support the brief they placed before Sir Stafford Cripps. But the public statement that we have seen in the Press issued over their signatures has not told us the constructive suggestions that the Indian public may consider with a view to ameliorate the conditions of our life in its various phases.

A section of the Muslim community feels and thinks that they will find their salvation in "Pakistan", though it is difficult to say how they propose to bring the same solace to their co-religionists who happen to find themselves in areas where they are in a minority. We have not yet heard of any such scheme of "Ghettos"—"reserved plantations"—being suggested for the "Depressed Classes"—the "Scheduled Castes" of the British Government's manufacture. Dispersed as they are all over the country, forming countless racial varieties, they have either to remain as they are and be prepared to play their legitimate part in the composite life of their neighbourhood or fall back upon what has been indicated for them by Dr. Abdul Latif—"the fullest freedom to select their place in either the Hindu Nationality or the Muslim or the Christian." By supporting or seeking advantage under the "Communal Award" of the MacDonald Government, the leaders of the "Depressed Classes" or "Scheduled Castes" must bear on their foreheads the hall-mark of one of the religious communities—hall-mark that has been given a "vote-value", a hall-mark that has become the most important qualification of voters in India, of the rulers, potential and legal, of the country.

The census reports tell us that there are six crores of people placed in the enumeration of these classes. Their number can have a deciding influence on the future of the country, either for good or for evil. Many of these classes supplied from amongst their number

rulers over various areas of India. Rightly may they claim to have a share of the future democratic rule in India. The builders of India-to-be Their numbers awakened after centuries of torpor will secure them this right. The instinct for the right and the true that is implanted in every human heart will not long allow them to be used for separatist purposes. From certain points of view they are the upholders of the patterns of life sanctified by Indian tradition; they have been holding fast to these, unknown to most of us though the reason for existence of these social and cultural habits may be. And it may be that our intelligence illumined by modern science and thought may enable us to find in them answers to the riddles of the many discontents and despair that infect the life of modern humanity. If such illumination ever comes to us, then will there be reason for all of us to feel grateful to the millions who far away from the glare and speed of 20th century life have been nursing in their neglected hamlets the seeds of the ancient wisdom made pregnant by modern knowledge and experience.

The two leaders of the "Depressed Classes" had, as we have said, no constructive suggestions to make with regard to the transfer of real political power at the present moment, a moment of crisis when their country stood in apprehension of Japanese invasion. It is this apprehension that had forced the British Government to propose to make the "Draft Declaration". It is conceivable that without the compulsion of the events in East Asia the British Government would not have cared to make a move in the matter of constitutional liberalization in India. The Congress had for decades been working for the root-and-branch re-form and re-construction of the State organization in India. In this it represented the most advanced school of political thought in the country, giving voice to its heart's desire—the desire that builds the character of individuals and nations.

Other political parties not tinged with sectionalism or communalism have been working for the evolution of an Indian State owing allegiance to the British Crown, satisfied with the position of a Dominion in a "Commonwealth of Nations"-to-be. Of these, that organized as "The Non-Party-Leaders' Conference" under the leadership of the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has for about two years been trying to use their prestige as friends of the British connection for the complete Indianization of the Governor-General's Executive Council. This step they have been pressing for its psychological effect on the people. An Indian in charge of the defence of the country as Minister would alter the present indifference of the people by appealing to their sense of self-esteem so long insulted by the military policy of the British Government. Concrete proposals in this behalf were sent to the British Premier by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in January, 1942. To the proposal for recognition of India's equal status with the principal members of the "United Nations", Mr. Churchill sent a reply intimating that the Government of India had been invited to send representatives to the British War Cabinet and the Pacific Council. This reply has been regarded by some as going "some way at least to meet Sir Tej on the point of national status." So, when on March 11, it was announced that Sir

Representative
character of the
Non-Party Lead-
ers' Conference

Stafford Cripps, a new member of the British War Cabinet, leader of the House of Commons, with a new prestige gained as the patient diplomat who had "brought Russia into the war", was being sent out to India, it was natural that hopes would be raised high amongst the sedate and sober politicians in our country—the old Liberals who, soured by many disappointments, yet retained their faith in Britain doing the proper thing by India. Even amongst people represented in the Congress there was discernible a little flutter of hope. For, has not Sir Stafford Cripps mixed mostly with Congress leaders, and has not Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah publicly complained when the news of this "gesture" was made public that "he (Sir Stafford) is a friend of the Congress?" Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru represented even this sector of Congress opinion.

And the Memorandum that he and the Rt. Hon'ble Mukunda Ram Jayakar presented to Sir Stafford gave expression to their disappointment with the measures proposed by the British Government for the transference of "real power in the Central Government at the present moment". This Memorandum, which appeared in the Press on April 4, 1942, was a carefully prepared criticism of the scheme brought out to India. Half of it was occupied with consideration of the problem of the "defence of India" which has gained a new significance since the advent of Japan on the eastern frontier of our country and in the Bay of Bengal. They pleaded for the abandonment of "the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of un-armed helplessness, and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which has led to this policy....." They pleaded for the appointment of an Indian Defence Member as "an unmistakable token" of the reality of the transfer of real political power from British to Indian hands, and "as a symbol of the confidence" of the London Government in the people of this country. Those who have gone even carelessly through the "literature" that has grown round the Cripps Mission must know what has been the response of Mr. Churchill's Government to these pleadings. The Sapru-Jayakar idea of a Defence Member was transformed beyond all recognition into a mockery and a parody. To meet the criticism of the Indian public on Clause (e) of the original "Draft Declaration", Sir Stafford Cripps was authorized to make some amendments to this part of the scheme. In his letter to the Congress President dated April 7, he proposed a way out of the present difficulties.

The Defence Membership was bifurcated—the Commander-in-Chief was to retain his seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council as "war member"; an "Indian representative member would be added" to the Council who would take over "those sections of the Department of Defence which can be organizationally separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's war Department....." These were specified in an enclosure sent with this letter. The matters thus to be transferred to a "Defence Co-ordination Department" are as follows :

British Cabinet's
idea of an Indian
Defence member

- (i)
 - (a) Public Relations.
 - (b) Demobilization & Post-War Reconstruction.
 - (c) Petroleum Officer
 - (d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.

(a) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependants, including Indian soldiers abroad.

(b) All canteen organizations.

(c) Certain non-technical educational institutions, e.g., Lawrence schools, K.G.R.I.M. Schools and the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.

(d) Stationery, Printing and Forms for the Army.

(i) Reception, accommodation, and social arrangements for all missions, representatives and officers.

(ii)

In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing department.

Examples are :

Defence policy.

Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.

Signals Co-ordination.

Economic Warfare.

A lot of negotiation was carried on between the Congress representatives and Sir Stafford Cripps. The former asked for a list of the subjects to be transferred to the Defence Minister when a new "formula" was presented by a "third party." Was it Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's representative? Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has told the world that this "formula" afforded, in the Congress Working Committee's opinion, "a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence." The list was never sent. Instead, the Congress negotiators were treated to "a long disquisition on the Indian Army," that "it was really an offshoot of the British Army, controlled by the British Government, through their representative the Commander-in-Chief." From the report, summary of the report, given by Pundit Jawaharlal, it appears that the two Congress representatives were rather quiet listeners to this pedantry. They took eager pains to explain to the pedagogue that "it was not their intention to do anything to upset arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian army feel that the Army was theirs". But the pedagogue was "rigid", instructed from London and by his New-Delhi surroundings to be "rigid". We got an inside view of these interesting talks from what the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, told a Press Conference, held on April 11, 1942, when the negotiations had completely broken down. Referring to these talks on the Defence problem, he said :

"In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had some technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side better."

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert

The discussion at such length of this "Mission that failed" has become necessary to expose the propaganda of British public men and their dupes that Sir Stafford Cripps returned to England without being

able to deliver the Dominion Status because there was none in India with authority to receive it, because the Hindus wanted one thing, the Muslims another, and the others something else. Sir Stafford Cripps took infinite pains to propagate this fiction. But within the course of four months or so we have seen it exploded. A

The crux of the
difference—
Clause (e)

U. S. A. publicist and lecturer, Mr. Louis Fischer, who was in India during these negotiations, told the world that the Mission had failed not because there was the Hindu-Muslim dissimilarity but because Sir Stafford Cripps could not make or was not allowed to make good his assurance about the "National Government". In an article in the New York weekly, *The Nation*, he said that he had interviewed "the British official" whom Sir Stafford Cripps met "late every evening" to report on his conversations with Indian leaders. This high personage told him that negotiations had failed because of political reasons, because the Congress negotiations had "reverted to the question of the Viceroy's rights in relation to the Indian members of the Government." He had interviewed a high-ranking military man who told him that in talking about "National Government", Sir Stafford Cripps was saying something which he had no "authority" to do. The "British official" could be no other than His Excellency Lord Linlithgow. For, it was to him that Sir Stafford had to report every day. The high-ranking military man could be no other than one of the two—General Huxley and Major-General Molerworth—who were present when the Congress President and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had met General Wavell to get enlightenment on India's military compliances. Yet, even to the uninstructed Indian, the matter was simple. Long before Sir Stafford Cripps was heard of we had known that the Indian Army was an instrument of Britain's imperialist policy, used in countries as far apart as South Africa, Egypt and China; since 1914 it is being called to Europe to fight the Empire's battles. Control over this Army, power to order its movement to any part of the world, is not a military problem. It is the major political problem on the rocks of which the Cripps Mission was wrecked. Clause (e) of the "Draft Declaration" wherein it is claimed that the British Government "must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort"—was the crux of this problem. We do not know whether or not the two Congress negotiators did put any question with regard to the basis of this conceit of the British strategists which after the bitter experiences of the Malaya and Burma campaigns could think of using the words "must" and "inevitably" in connection with their self-inflicted sense of responsibility for the defence of India. The British Government has never shown imagination to understand the insult to the self-respect of India implied in the assumption of this responsibility. Sir Stafford Cripps with all his radicalism did not show himself any way better; he most naturally fit himself into this assumption of superiority. And his Mission "inevitably" failed, as it deserved to do.

The bitterness of disappointment with this much-applauded — was symbolized in Mahatma Gandhi who made himself the mouth-

of the programme for the "orderly and timely British withdrawal from India." These words appeared in an article in *Harijan* dated April 26, 1942. From an article in the same paper dated July 5, over the pen-name of M.D., entitled—"Friends' Ambulance Unit in India"—we are able to get a glimpse of the genesis of this idea in Gandhiji's mind. In a letter written to Prof. Horace Alexander of Wood-brooke College (Birmingham), sent by air-mail on the 22nd April, voice was given to this idea for the first time. As M. D. said: "he was the first person with whom Gandhiji had shared his great thought." Again: "He had not discussed it with any soul on earth, but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind ever since his return from Delhi, came to his pen". The relevant words were put thus :

"My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma. That act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right doing by India.

In this letter Gandhiji described his feelings with regard to the "dismal mission" that had brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India; the meeting between them; how he did not want to go to New Delhi ;

The history of his conversion to this idea.

how—he being "anti-all-wars"—all his suggestions were brushed aside as "not practical". All this he narrated to give Prof. Alexander and through him all progressive men and women "the background" of the developments in India. This he tried to draw up for the world in successive issues of *Harijan* all through May, June, and July, 1942. In an article that appeared in May 17, entitled—"To Every Briton"—Gandhiji analysed the glib British talk of "India's participation in the war"; described the British "ingenuity" in making even "an anti-all-war register" like him pay for the war in a variety of ways—he is made to pay two pice as an indirect war-tax on every letter he posted, one pice on every post-card, two annas on every wire sent. Even before the Japanese menace approached India her homesteads were being occupied by British troops—Indian and non-Indian; the dwellers were summarily ejected and were expected to shift for themselves; they were paid a paltry vacating expense which carried them nowhere; their occupation was gone; people in East Bengal may be regarded as amphibious—living partly on land and partly on the waters of their rivers; light canoes enable them to go from place to place. "For fear of the Japanese using the canoes the people have been called upon to surrender these". This is like cutting a limb of theirs. And to complete the most prominent of the details of this background, more in sorrow than in anger he wrote what appeared in the issue of May 24 :

"But it is from the frustration of every effort made to bring about unity by me among many others, that has arisen the for me, logical step that now, until British power is wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity. Because all parties will be looking to the foreign power".

From that time on it became "the fixed determination behind every act" of Gandhiji's that "the British must withdraw". By the first week of May, 1942, this demand and request of his gained world-

wide publicity. In the "Question Box" columns of *Hurijian* dated May 8, a correspondent put him the straight question—".....are you not inviting the Japanese to invade India, by asking the British rulers to withdraw?" The answer was as explicit: "I am not, I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the

Struggle with
the implications
of his own ideas.

Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans. The very novelty of the British stroke will confound the Japanese, dissolve the subdued hatred against the British....." Questions like these began to pour in on him, and in trying to answer these he was helped to clarify to himself the various issues involved in this suggestion, charged with the destiny of nations, of 50 crores of men, women and children. For an "orderly withdrawal" of British domination would require a moral revolution in India and Britain, in all the peoples—Briton and non-Briton—who are united to-day in a disagreeable companionship. It is the realisation of this unpleasant state of things that led Gandhiji to reverse the story of Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea in its general application to the relation between India and Britain. This he did in course of a conversation that he had with Mr. Preston Grover, the representative of the *Associated Press of America* (News Agency). M. D. in the issue of *Hurijian*, dated June June 21, has reported this interview from which we quote the words :

".....Gandhiji reversed the simile and likened Britain and the Allies to Sindbad carrying a heavy carcass on his shoulders.....India is thus a corpse—a heavy carcass of which the weight might make your victory impossible. If by some chance England comes to her senses—the Allies come to their senses—and say, 'let us get rid of this carcass', that single act will give them a power which no military skill or resources and no amount of American help can give them."

"To-day the Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain, I would even say at the feet of the Allies. For, America is the predominant partner, financing the war, giving her mechanical ability and her resources which are inexhaustible. America is thus a partner in the guilt."

It was natural for Mr. Grover to try to get a clear idea of the implications of Gandhiji's ideas on the matter. He asked the question—"Do you see a situation when after full independence is granted, American and Allied troops can operate from India? whether you contemplated complete shifting of the present troops from India?" Gandhiji's answer to the second

question was—"Not necessarily"—ought to have removed the "lot of misconception" which Mr. Grover wanted removed. When India is free, the Allies, the "United Nations"—will see "real co-operation"; it will be "real help from a free India". In the same issue, in its "Question Box" columns, Gandhiji was more explicit.

"But I would recognize their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as allies of free India.....The terms on which the Allied Powers may operate will be purely for the Government of the Free State to determine."

In an article in *Horizon* of the 28th of June, entitled—"A Power"—Gandhiji returned to the same problem. He accepted the reasonableness of the contention that the "abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops" from India might result in the "Japanese occupation of our country and China's sure fall".

"I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I feel that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the National Government..... But India must not by any act of hers short of national suicide let China down or put the Allied Powers in jeopardy."

There were critics, friendly critics, who regarded this concession to Allied necessities as a derogation from India's independent status.

There were others who criticized Gandhiji's "reconciliation" to the presence of Allied troops in India as "a descent" from his position of non-violence. The first class of critics argued that if India had or attained independent status as a nation, she might not get

entangled in the present war or might remain neutral as Eire (Southern Ireland) has been though she is part of the British imperial organization. We have seen it suggested that it was Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's anti-Fascism or anti-Nazism and his adhesion to the cause of China's freedom, his hatred of Japan's "Imperial Way" that has forced Gandhiji to make this compromise with his creed of non-violence by agreeing to the idea of India taking part in the present war, by recognizing the Allied necessity for India being made "a vast arsenal and supply base" for the organized offense against Japan, for the campaign in north Africa, for the support of Soviet Russia through Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. Reading through all these articles one can detect the unexpressed regret that India, even free India, should have had this choice forced on her of joining in this suicide of nations. Gandhiji could only plead that his "non-violence dictated a recognition of the vital necessity" of the Allies, that he was "unable to state that the non-violent effort will make India proof against Japanese or any other aggression"; that the "whole of India not being non-violent in the sense required," it would be honest to say that the policy of free India would be a mixture of non-violence and "militarism of a modified character." The existence of so many martial races in India would incline our people towards the latter development. This reasoning showed that Gandhiji was not the impatient idealist that he is represented to be. It also showed the mental worry and struggle that he was working under, the effort that he was making to make his proposal "fool-proof".

But there remained one objection that appeared to baffle the intellect. "To whom are they to entrust the administration?"—asked

the representative of the *Daily Chronicle* (London) on May 14, 1942. The reply was: "Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance to anarchy, and this anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained atrocities. From these a true India will rise in place of

A "free India" could not "let China down"

Non-violence & recognition of "United Nations" necessities.

The fear of anarchy & Gandhiji's prescription

the false one we see." When the same enquirer pointed out that "already there were signs of civil insecurity", that life would be more insecure if the present administration were suddenly to withdraw, Gandhiji replied that the present insecurity has been "chronic", and, therefore, "not much felt". He said the same thing to the representatives of the Bombay Press: ".....we are living today in a state of ordered insecurity.....this ordered disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a result, I would risk it....." The anxiety of Allied peoples with regard to this matter was not abated, however. It became manifest in the many interviews that were sought of Gandhiji in order to get enlightenment or in order to persuade him to reconsider the steps that he proposed. The columns of *Hurijan* were full of questions and answers on this subject during the months of May, June, and July, 1942. A few of these we have already noticed in course of our interpretation and chronicle of the developments that had forced Gandhiji to propose the "orderly and timely withdrawal" of British Power from India.

It was quite natural for Britain to get furious with the demand made by him. We can also understand the cause of this fury. The

The anger of a
section of the
U. S. Press &
publics

demand required such a revolution in the thought and the conduct of the ruling classes of Britain, required such a sacrifice of conceit and arrogance born of it, that we were not surprised at the strength of this fury and the vigorous language in which it was expressed. We have long been habituated to the manners of the British public and its Press. But the reaction of a section of the Press of the United States to Gandhiji's proposal came as a surprise to many in the country. Not that many of us were much impressed with the window-dressing in the life of that country. We have discussed in previous volumes of the *Indian Annual Register*, specially those of 1940 and 1941, the many ties, mental and material, that bind the two peoples of Britain and United States, and traced the development of the many common material interests that have made the latter come forward for the defence of the former in two World Wars. We can, therefore, understand why a section of the Press of the United States should be joining in the howl raised by their opposite number in Britain, should be slinging at India and her leaders threats and insults. A sample of this method of controversy was selected by *Reuter* from the *Herald-Tribune* of New York and wired for our benefit. We were told by this organ of a section of U. S. A. opinion that if India, as represented by Gandhiji, did expect that the "United Nations" other than Britain could be frightened into a demand upon the latter for a greater concession to nationalist "fasc" than Sir Stafford Cripps had made, then they were going to "learn that American public opinion which Mr. Gandhi rates so low, does not react that way to a stick-up."

This ill-mannered outburst came naturally from that section of U. S. A. feeling and opinion which has constituted itself as the protector and guardian of the various vast assets that Britain commands. Some such development was foreseen by public men and publicists long ago. A book on the Anglo-American relationship of economic competition

Why they have
accepted the
British brief

has quoted a predecessor in office of Mr. Churchill, William Ewart Gladstone, as prepared to accept such a dispensation.

"It is she (the United States) alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will wrest from us our commercial supremacy. We have no title, I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the requisition by the right of the strong and the best. We have no more title against her than Venice, Genoa, and Holland against us."

In Bertrand Russell's *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* we have the same reading of the future :

"It is, of course, obvious that the next Power to make a bid for world-empire will be America. She may not, as yet, consciously desire such a position, but no nation with such resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony."

Politicians and diplomats of the United States were not, however, as unconscious of the destiny that awaited their country as Bertrand Russell thought. We find Joseph Davis, ambassador to Britain during World War I. and to the Soviet Republic twenty years later, writing to President Wilson in 1917 :

"The future of the world belongs to us. The English are spending their capital.....Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands? And how can we use the British for the highest uses of democracy."

In an article in the pages of the *Empire Review* of August, 1941, Lord Queensborough wrote :

The needs of the first World War, and the more dire necessities of the second World War, have forced Great Britain into a position of dependency upon American friendship and goodwill ... the Lease & Lend Act, and the ceding of certain power to America over our territorial bases in her hemisphere, have made formal this dependency, which confers dignity upon both parties to the common bond."

But it is not political ambitions alone that have driven the United States to assume this responsibility. Finance-capital which seeks outlets as naturally as rivers tend towards the sea has been creating conditions for the emergence of U. S. A. leadership of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc of world Powers.

The driving force
of U. S. finance
-capital

We have seen an estimate of the growing strength of U. S. capitalism. It showed that in 1918 investment by foreigners in America amounted to a little over 1,500 crores of rupees while the foreign investments of U. S. citizens were half of that amount only; in 1938 foreign holdings of U. S. citizens has risen over 5,000 crores of rupees, and those of foreigners in the U. S. has risen to a little over 2,100 hundred crores of rupees only. This huge accumulation of capital in the hands of a single nation—the U. S. A.—has posed a problem for solution by the leaders of that country. It has presented to them a strict alternative—either their country's productive power be switched to all corners of the globe and American capital becomes instrumental in such "long distance transmission" or American superiority, the American standard of life, could not be maintained in the long run. This alternative has dictated the policy that has brought the U. S. A. into Britain's wars and even into the internal concerns of her far-flung empire. Britain represents today, even after the loss of Malaya, Burma and Borneo, incalculable riches hidden in the purchasing power of 40 crores of Indians, of 6 or 7 crores of Africans, of another 7

or 8 scores of the "colourless" people of Great Britain, Hirs, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The challenge of the Axis Powers to British capitalist-imperialism has thrown it almost helpless into the arms of U. S. A. capitalism. And it would be more than human for the latter to refuse to exploit this grand opportunity for the use of her abounding powers. A U. S. A. publicist has speculated whether his country can more successfully make a stand against "the economic nationalism of the West" by under-writing the imperialism of Britain, by accepting the managing directorship of this firm, than by rendering assistance to "the struggle for economic and political independence in the East." We have a certain feeling that the dominant classes of the United States have made their choice.

The threats and warnings that appeared in the Press of that country during the time of the Cripps Mission to India and the months following have given the show of detachment away. And we in India need not take a too tragic view of the discrediting of the many slogans in the name of which Britain and the United States have been leading or misleading the "United Nations" today. For us the issues of the war in the Far East, at least, have been made vivid by what B. H. Parker, an I. C. S.-man, enjoying a pension from India, said in course of a paper read at a meeting of the East India Association (London).

"If our victory destroys Japan as a Power on the Western model we at the same time destroy the grounds upon which Indian claims rested,.....India in part claims equality because Japan has risen to equality."

The response or reaction of the Anglo-Saxon leaders of the "United Nations" to Gandhiji's challenge to the sincerity of their professions has not helped to ease feelings in our country. The conceit and arrogance that have been characteristic of their conduct has had wider repercussions. What the leaders of the Soviet Republic have been thinking and saying on the political deadlock in India we do not know, because censorship has thrown a smoke-screen around the matter. What China feels, thinks and says we know from the Generalissimo's parting message to us in the third week of February, 1942. China's Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, brother of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, projected these on the wider screen of Asia. This he did in course of a speech delivered by him in the second week of June, 1942, returning thanks for conferring on him the honorary Doctorate of Laws by the Yale University: "Asia is tired of being regarded only in terms of markets and concessions, or as the source of rubber, tin and oil or as furnishing human chattel to work raw materials."

This sensitiveness of China and India with regard to their status in the comity of modern nations has been at the bottom of the many disasters that have overtaken the modern world. The tactics of British and U. S. A. politicians and publicists do not, however, appear to show that they appreciate the danger to world peace from an unreconciled India and China. Even in their anxious speculations on the shape of the world they would like to have in the near future when the smoke of war will have rolled away from over the

Post-war world
envisioned by
U. S. publicists

face of the earth, they develop a curious short-sightedness. A sample of this was presented to the world in the third week of April, 1942. It was prepared by a Committee headed by Raymond Leslie Buell, chief editor of the weekly, *Fortune* (New York), belonging to the same organisation that runs the two other weeklies *Times* and *Life*. The Committee was helped by the various editors of these weeklies, and obtained "over a period of several months unofficial advice and criticism from diplomats of the 'United Nations', from U. S. officials and many an expert on world affairs, internationalists and isolationists alike." The purpose of this round-table discussion was to explore the problems of post-war economic, political and social existence and arrive at thoughtful, "if still debatable", conclusions. A pamphlet entitled—*Relations with Britain*—started with three "frank assumptions":

- (1) The "United Nations" will win the war;
- (2) That in the post-war world the centre of gravity of all military and economic power will rest in the U. S. A.;
- (3) That a peaceful world cannot be attained without "profound collaboration between the U. S. A. and Britain.

We are told that the members of the Committee were "no imperialists," as the statement of their belief—political belief—went to show: "The time for an American or British

The conflict
between "collectivism"
& the "free enterprise system"

Empire in the old sense of the word has passed, but the U.S. can and should work out with Britain and the Dominions a programme of leadership, outmoding past imperialism, while working toward eventual world unity." Those of us who can remember the slogans with which President Wilson enthralled the world during the latter part of World War I. of the 20th century, can remember how the European leaders of the victorious Powers sabotaged these, and can remember how "Mandates" were invented to do duty for naked imperialism—those of us who remember this betrayal of the world's hopes, will smile at the innocence of Editor Buell's political belief. This criticism apart, we detect in the economic programme drawn up by the Committee, in their economic "conviction", the hint of a conflict between two schools of economic thought and two systems of economic organisation which may well be the seed-plot of another world war. This "conviction" has been bifurcated thus:

- (1) That a free enterprise system must be made safe against any assault of collectivism;
- (2) That a "free market area" must be established between the U. S. and the United Kingdom, aimed towards universal free trade as the ultimate goal of a peaceful world.

In Vol. 1. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register* we have indicated the various elements that go to make up the economic "conviction" of Editor Buell's Committee. In driving home the point of this argument we summarised the statistics to support it that had appeared in the book—*A Trade Policy for National Defence*—written by Percy Bidwell, Director of Studies, Council of Foreign Relations, and of Arthur Upson, Associate Professor of Economics at the School of Business Administration in the University of Minnesota. We showed how the eager search by U. S. A.

leaders of industry and finance-capital for a "free market area", for the maintenance of "free economy" and of the "free enterprise system", has found its harbour of safety in the British Empire. The argument of this part of the present study is our excuse for referring again to this book, for quoting the following from it.

"The British Empire area furnishes the markets and supplies the materials which can keep the western Hemisphere a going concern. We are interested, therefore, in preserving the British Empire as a political entity so that its markets may remain open to our exporters, and so that its raw materials may remain accessible to our importers".

Here we get at the material basis of the concern felt by the leaders of the United States of America for the people of India and China. Japan had shown by her treatment of U. S. trade and finance-capital in Manchuria and the territories in China that she

India's instinct
understands the
meaning of this
"collaboration"

dominates that she entertained no respect for "free economy", for the "free enterprise system." This attitude created all the bitterness between these two countries and has driven them to the present war.

Britain has been content to follow U. S. A. lead in matters concerning the countries of the Pacific area, and the U. S. A. has been found to be acting as the protector of her honour and interests therein. The cruel necessities of the present war, specially Japan's victories in Malaya, Burma and Borneo, have extended the area of this protection. This is the psychological back-ground of the excitement that has been prevailing in the United States over the controversy between India and Britain. Indian irritation and resentment can also be explained by the fear of a rising capitalist-imperialism that would step into British shoes. The evolution of the development which we have indicated above may not be known to many in our country. But their instinct has helped them to appreciate this danger. When Mr. Churchill repudiated the meaning and application of the "Atlantic Charter" to the British Empire, his co-signatory who is President of the United States kept silent over it. Since then we have had occasion to read reports of many a "fire-side talk" of Mr. Roosevelt holding forth on the many "freedoms" that the world would be enjoying as a consequence of the defeat of the Axis Powers. But of concrete steps in this behalf in any part of the "subject" countries under the rule of Mr. Roosevelt's co-signatory, we have had no sign. Considering this history U. S. concern for India is not above suspicion.

We have tried to trace above the many factors that have broadened and deepened the sense of frustration that has prevailed in India during the first six months of 1942. The handling

Failure of the
Government & the
helplessness of
the people

ing of the problems of the military and civil defence of India, of the provision of food and clothing for the millions of this country, of the organization of industries serving the needs of peace and war—the handling of these by the bureaucracy in India has not helped to ease the situation. As the Japanese marched through north Burma to the borders of Assam, as their ships of war rode over the waves of the Bay of Bengal, panic seemed to paralyse all coherent activities in the country. The masses yielded to the sweep of the current, while

the politically-minded amongst the people—the majority of them—made futile attempts to harness the power of the State in India to the slowly awakening resolve of the people to do something for the defence of their hearths and homes. Lord Linlithgow's Government did practically nothing to encourage and quicken this resolve. When in their bewilderment people began to think and talk of "Home Guards", the Government could only say that they had no instructors to train "Home Guards" for India, and no equipment to put into their hands. When it was pointed out that in Britain itself the instructors were old soldier-pensioners, that for weapons the civilian people there had only "pitch-forks, sharp-edged spades, old swords, shot-guns, pistols and revolvers of varying ages, knuckle-dusters and sand-bags—anything calculated to stop the enemy if caught unawares"—the reply of the Government was stolid silence, and some sort of a stony stare. The fear of "Fifth-Column" people utilising the "Home Guards" for their own purposes may have been partly responsible for this official unresponsiveness. As the "martial races" theory of the Army Headquarters at Delhi-Simla has killed in the major part of the country all military traditions, we, therefore, find foreign correspondents in early May (1942) writing of "the uncertain, undependable Province of Bengal", and of "the doubt that the soft pliant masses of Southern India would be much of a help for the military defence of India." The British bureaucracy must have supplied this brief to these correspondents, little suspecting that it was a reflection on their own policy—a policy that could be responsible for the disgrace that only 20,00,000 persons out of India's 40,00,00,000 population have ever seen a rifle. As this military policy has affected even the "civil defence" organization of the country, it touched on the whole of the Indo-British disagreement and made "civil defence" even a problem of politics—a "contention" between the self-respect of India and the self-interest of Britain.

This political discontent born of helplessness found the country ill prepared to meet the onslaught of the attack on the roots of India's economic life, on the very fibre of its being. Published statistics showed the movement of mounting prices of the necessaries of life during the 33 months of the war. We quote from a statement the following index numbers of whole-sale prices :

August, 1939.....	100.
Average of 1939-'40.....	115.
Average of 1940-'41.....	119.
Average of 1941-'42.....	144.
April, 1942.....	157.
May, 1942.....	169.
June, 1942.....	182.

The Government in India has been looking helplessly on this crisis in the life of the millions of this country created by the war and intensified by their want of foresight. The needs of war appears to have monopolised all their thoughts and activities; they appear to have had no time to think of the many factors that uphold civilian morale—the most important of which is the provision of food and raiment for the people. Distribution of men and things through the

normal channels of communication—railways, motor lorries, boats and steamers, bullock-carts—has broken down so far as the needs of the people are concerned. 200 locomotives and 12,000 were reported to have been sent to the Middle East from India, explaining part of the difficulty in our transport system. This aspect of the matter was brought out very prominently in the debate initiated by Sri Kabitish Chandra Neogy on behalf of the Nationalist Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly during its March session at Delhi. He cited instances of the remissness of the railway administration in the matter of wagon supply even to factories that had been doing war work, one of which deserves record. The Indian Mining Federation of Calcutta authorized him to state that on a particular day "there were not less than 600 wagons standing idle between the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway". The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Minister of Bengal, brought a graver charge in course of a discussion held on March 3, 1942, in the Bengal Council:

"The position at present was that it was not the price of coal (in the mines) that counted, but it was the price of wagon. Whoever succeeded in unrestricted competition to pay for the wagon secured the coal".

We have read of the self-complacency of the ruling classes of Britain; in India it has been the theme of more than one Royal

Commission report. The irony of the thing in the present case is that this stringency in food supply occurred during the regime of a Governor-General

whose name has long been associated with agricultural and bovine improvement, both in Great Britain and India. He pushed this country into a "total war" without, it appears, understanding its implications, without caring to organise the food front. Lloyd George who was organiser of victory on the British side during the last great war appeared to give more credit for foresight in this respect to Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, and M. Stalin than to the rulers of what has been called the "democratic front". In course of a House of Commons discussion on the food problem in Britain, he called the Governments they headed as "war governments" because they had regarded war as "inevitable", because they had prepared for it, and also because they had regarded "increased food production as about the most important part of their programme for a war". The British Government and their "subordinate branch"—the Government in India—have played with the idea of war for about six or seven years before the present war caught them unawares, since the days when Mr. Baldwin had talked of the frontier of Britain being on the Rhine. In India they have also played with the problem of food production even after three years of war.

Lord Linlithgow has been seven years in India; half of his time has been peace years when he talked much of rural economy and of the cultivator being the corner-stone of India's economic life; the other half has been war years when his Government has been found helpless in face of soaring prices, of profiteering, of scarcity of food grains that has reached famine conditions in different areas of the country. The absurdity of the situation became vivid as we compared the price of loaf in Britain with that in our country. The Ministry of Food

Comparison between India and Britain

In the former announced in March (1942) that the price of a 2-pounds (one seer) loaf in the former was 5 pence (about 5 annas) while it cost us double that amount. The wheat from which the loaf was made in Britain came from a distance of more than 4,000 thousand miles of which 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean were infested by submarines. And the wheat that came from the Punjab to Bengal, for instance, has to move on trains, motor lorries and bullock carts over a distance of 1,500 hundred miles only. Since the declaration of war any number of Price Control Conferences have been held in India, the fifth being held in the second week of April 1942. Conditions have grown worse with each of them. Price Control attempts have failed, increasing the confusion and distress of the people. Any benefit from them went to the bureaucracy—the big fish and the small fry. For they had not to stand in the queues before shops. A "Grow More Food" propaganda was started, the member in charge of Lands, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, dilating on a planned attack on the problem, on the "ploughing up" campaign that was reported to have notably expanded the area under crops and increased their production in Britain, in America and in Russia. The book—*Science in War*—does not support the story of this achievement. They talked of "standard cloth", samples of which was displayed at the fifth Price Control Conference. None of these have appeared in the markets and eased conditions for the millions of this country. And cotton grows at our door-steps. The same futility attended the supply of sugar in a country which produced more of it than it could consume. The disappearance of small coins from the markets of India has pressed heavily on the life of the poorest in the land who could not sell their homely things and buy the homely needs of their existence. Trade that enabled the poor man and woman to live was thus restricted.

It is an arguable proposition that a certain amount of discomfort and suffering must be our lot in a war whose dimensions are world-wide. Technological improvement in the means of transport has made the earth smaller and brought distant countries nearer one another. And the picture of the cultivator driving his plough undisturbed by a battle being fought somewhere near is a pleasant imagining today. "Black markets" flourish as vigorously in India as in other countries. Rationing of food threatens to become a habit with peoples in all parts of the globe. In Britain the egg ration was 8 a month; "most people have forgotten the taste of cheese or what they could forget it." Restaurants have not served real butter for months, and the portions of margarine are half the size of a postage stamp and nearly as thin." Cauliflowers are a shilling and six pence a head. The consequence has been that "most Britons are already thinner—as much as 10 lbs. per man." This discomfort may appear comfortable placed against the back-ground of conditions that prevail in the conquered countries in Europe, and in China where more than two crores of men, women and children are reported to have died owing to scarcity created by war. The self-satisfied bureaucracy in India may find satisfaction that things are not as bad here as in other countries. But we are just at the beginning of hard time.

The masses in India have habituated themselves to habits of life and comfort that are by modern standards abnormally low; and their acceptance of the decrees either of fate or of the *Shahar Bahadur* has given the State in India a charter of indifference to what they felt or needed. In other countries the Governments have been more careful, if not very much more successful. A "Chinese economist" writing to an Indian weekly on "Japan's war-time Economy" has told us of the ineffectiveness of the many measures taken by the Government to control and regulate the soaring commodity prices. The ordinance in Britain that "limited" meals to "three courses" only and banned the sale of fish, game and poultry on "certain days" of the week, tells the same story of discomfort and suffering. Perhaps, no human Government can pass the test of a "total war."

But in our country owing to alien leadership of the State the people do not feel any exhilaration in the many sacrifices that people in other countries have been doing. The latter accept

"Grow More Food" campaign

these as part of their duty to their nation; here in India they grudge these sacrifices, and sufferings. "Grow More Food" campaigns they watch with a certain air of unconcern, because it is led by people who do not know the country, do not appreciate its habits of work. Therefore this campaign has made so much noise and printed so much "literature" with so little to show. "Experts" imported from Britain wilt and wither under the Indian sun. But such is the conceit of our rulers that they have been importing ship-loads of them. The widow-dressing of an Indian member presiding over the department has not been able to hide the poverty in the country. The "experts" from Britain judge the requirements of this country by the standards of a foggy country, and they fail, as they have been failing since the beginning of British rule. To discuss this "Grow More Food" campaign. It does not require much imagination to realize that in the growing of food under war conditions the whole attention should be centred on getting the food in the quickest possible time. The cultivator is being called upon to plough more lands. For that he must be provided with the lands—with more lands; with more labourers to help him; with many more ploughs; with many more cattle; with more seed. We have not yet seen an organization equal to such an effort. Land there is in plenty, even Government land. But it has remained in the state in which nature left it. Labourers there are plenty, but unorganized. Ploughs—the simple Indian plough—can be made by any village black-smith and carpenter. Cattle in India we have been told number more than there is necessity for. There is no assurance that there is enough seed to make a success of this campaign. The co-ordination of all these elements of the work that would produce more food has been absent. Otherwise, there would not have been the wide-spread scarcity that has created bitterness in the country. It has been estimated that our shortage in the principal food crops—rice and wheat—amount to about 19 crore maunds of rice and about 1 crore 25 lakh maunds of wheat; that about 6 crores of people in India go without sufficient food during 264 days of the year. The demands of "total war" have worsened conditions for them and many more crores of our people.

We do not know if the scarcity of food in India has been caused by the arrangement undertaken by the British Government to partly feed the people of Iran, Iraq and the countries near about; by the feeding of other peoples for strategic reasons. We know that Indian troops have been fighting in Egypt and the deserts around her, that it is expected that India should not only finance a part of their upkeep but must arrange for their food carried across the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea. We know that India has also to think of feeding the 60 lakhs of the people of Ceylon included in which are 10 lakhs of Indian-born men, women and children, the majority of whom has made the island their home for generations. The Government of Ceylon who desire to see the last Indian leave their shores at the quickest possible moment appear to have found a new use for their Indians—as a lever for the larger importation of rice from India to the homes of their people. The nature of this pressure can be understood from the fact that the quantity of rice consumed by Indians in Ceylon before rationing was introduced was 20 per cent of the total imports; that the percentage allotted to them in April, (1942) is only 11 per cent of the imports. Indians in Ceylon who have made what she is economically and financially to-day are being required to be fed from India. But their share is getting less every month.

In the field of industrial development and organization, in the opportunities offered by the war for the starting of new industries in India and the expansion of the old, the differences between the British bureaucracy and the Indian people has remained as keen as ever. These are as old as the East India Company whose policies and practices killed Indian industries. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Romesh Chunder Dutt and William Digby have done pioneer research in exposing the processes of this destructive work. No student of affairs, Indian or foreign, does question today the truth and validity of this indictment; no writer on India's life and institutions can pass by this fact without commenting on it. One of the latest, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, a member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council taken into it at its last enlargement, can be quoted in this connection:

"Ever since the Industrial Revolution, British-Indian tariffs have shaped India as a raw material producer for British industry, a market for British finished goods, ... British-made goods drove India's handicrafts out of business, forced millions back to the over-populated soil."

The bad traditions of those days have been persisting even unto these days in the inner counsels of the British empire. The little modern industrialism that one finds in India has grown in opposition to these traditions, in spite of the frowns of the *Burma Shaks* in the Delhi-Simsa Secretariat and in face of the anger of their opposite numbers in merchant offices of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Cawnpore, and the other industrial centres of India. Even during the present war when India is being proclaimed as the "arsenal" of the "United Nations" in the Indian and Pacific Oceans areas, this bias has been halting India's industrial efforts on their behalf, and has been a point of contention

British monopoly
of war-work in
India

between the Government and the leading Indian industrialists. The latter view with suspicion and apprehension the enthronement of British commercial and industrial leaders in the seats of the mighty in the various departments called into being in India to serve the multitudinous needs of a "total war". In the Legislative Assembly at Delhi a member made a grievance of the fact that the appointment of purchasers of various war materials had gone invariably to British industrialists: that there is only one Indian name amongst these. The list of names is interesting. Mr. Owen Roberts is purchaser of wheat and cereals; Mr. Inskip of hide and leather goods; the wool adviser is Mr. Watts; the adviser on jute fabrics is Mr. Walker; the supplier of *ghee* is Mr. Alopī Pershad. The criticism of this British monopoly is another proof that British capitalists and industrialists who have passed the best years of their life in India, making their pile here, have not been able to make themselves into Indians, to be accepted as Indians. The ways in which the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy tried to give effect to the recommendations of the American Technical Mission, popularly known as the Grady Mission after the name of its Chairman, Dr. Henry Grady, brought out this spirit of monopoly. In the absence of a full report of the Mission submitted to the President of the United States, it is not possible to make constructive criticism on it. The summary published by the Government of Lord Linlithgow has been challenged by American correspondents as inaccurate. Sir Henry Mody as Supply Member was spokesman of the Government in this matter. His comments giving a summary of the Grady recommendations left the impression of a tepid interest in the matter; he appeared to dismiss these with faint praise. The Mission had suggested some sort of a "War Cabinet." Lord Linlithgow gave it shape in a "War Resources Committee of the Council" (his Executive Council), a re-shuffle of the old Economic Sub-Committee of the Governor-General's Executive Council. This War Resources Committee consisted of His Excellency the Governor-General as its President, His Excellency the Defence Member (the Commander-in-chief), the Supply Member (Vice-President), the Commerce Member, the Finance Member and the Communications Member. Four of the members are non-Indians; the Secretary of the Committee also belongs to this category. Power and influence in non-Indian hands is thus preserved. Resentment with this state of affairs found expression through the words of Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, and a leader of Indian industrialists: "just as the Indian element is entirely absent from the higher ranks of the army, navy and air force services, so heavy industries have been excluded from the orders placed with Indian industrialists or firms."

There is another factor in this criticism—the presence during war-time of business leaders in Government Directorates raises the question of private interests influencing or being in a position to influence State policy and practice towards their own profit.

A question of political ethics

Their being honorary workers offering their experience to the State during a crisis in its life makes the problem delicate and difficult. During the last great war the Munitions Board scandal in India pointed to this danger; during the present war there have been instances of it in Britain herself; there is a second

that "in at least one case an important 'Trade' official has been, simultaneously with performing his duties in the Ministry, engaged as a Trade Representative in negotiating with the Ministry as regards the operating margins to be allowed to his own trade." Biplab Chandra Pal in his book—*The New Economic Menace to India*—based on the experiences of the last war, devoted more than one chapter to this source of evil. The experiences of the present war have not re-assured the world that the evil has been scotched either here or outside.

Here we must conclude our interpretation of the many happenings during the first six months of 1942. The attempt to understand and

A note of
interrogation
described India

explain their significance has not been an easy one. The minds of crores of people have been disturbed as never before, except once in 1857, during the last one hundred and eighty-six years. The throb of the war drum in Europe had left the vast majority of them indifferent for about two years. But Japan's vaulting ambition and her successes in Malaya and Burma, in the Bay of Bengal, have changed all that. She has entrenched herself in her new strong-holds, aiming her thunders at India, leaving the rulers and the ruled guessing where the blow would fall. She had expected that under this threat and under her blockade India would "soften and crumble". The intervention of the monsoon has postponed the realization of this expectation. And India has remained the enigma that she has been to history. The British Government has elected to carry on without the support of the "unbribed intellect" of India. The leaders of organized public opinion in India have remained unreconciled to the ways of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Unprepared and kept untrained by the State policy followed in India to face the danger such as Japan has projected, the reaction to it on the part of our people has been resentment against the managers of this policy, as Prof. Coupland has indicated. This reaction has coloured all the thoughts and activities of our people during the whole period. At the end of which they appear to have resigned themselves to whatever the future might bring, trying to find solace and strength in the traditions of their country built up by thousands of years of various experiences. Whether this policy will be maintained when real danger approached their homes is more than one could say. This note of interrogation lengthened over India described her at the end of June, 1942.—*Specialty contributed by Sri Gurnak Chandra Deb.*

The Government of Bengal

Financial Statement for 1942—43

A provision of Rs. one crore and twenty-five lakhs for civil defence measures and a lump provision of one lakh for promotion of communal harmony are the outstanding features of the Bengal Government's budget for 1942-43, which was presented by the Finance Minister, the hon. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee before the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the opening day of its budget session at Calcutta on the 16th February 1942.

This is the first budget for the new Ministry which was constituted two months ago under the leadership of the hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq.

The budget discloses a deficit in revenue account of Rs. one crore and five lakhs. The year starts with an opening balance of one crore and fifteen lakhs which is the anticipated closing balance for the current year. Revenue receipts are placed at fifteen crores seventy lakhs, or fortyone lakhs higher than the revised estimates for the current year. The estimate of expenditure on revenue account stands at sixteen crores seventy-five lakhs, which is forty-four lakhs greater than the anticipated expenditure in the current year. On the basis of these estimates, the deficit on revenue account amounts to one crore and five lakhs. Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a net surplus of sixty-nine lakhs. The joint effect of the revenue deficit of one crore five lakhs and the surplus of 69 lakhs in the capital and debt deposit section of the budget is to reduce the opening balance by thirty-six lakhs. The year is accordingly expected to end with a closing balance of seventy-nine lakhs.

Pointing out that, in a limited sense his budget was in the nature of a "war budget," dealing as it did with the schemes of civil defence of considerable magnitude, Dr. Mookherjee explained that in the estimates that he was placing before the House, "nation-saving" took the place of "nation-building". After referring to the international situation which had brought the war to the very doors of India, the Finance Minister observed: "All parties in the House will agree that, so long as the present emergency continues, there can be no diversion of the resources of the Province to purposes that can wait. This must be the guiding principle of our budgetary plans for the coming year. We must bid adieu for a time—short or long as Providence may ordain, to the normal standards of peace-time budgeting."

FOUR CRORES FOR CIVIL DEFENCE

Out of total estimated expenditure of four crores provided in the next year's budget for civil defence measures, two crores will be required for the payment to the personnel of various A.R.P. services, thirty-five lakhs for construction of shelters, fifteen lakhs for the relief of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, forty-nine lakhs for supply of stirrup pumps, respirators, helmets and eye-shields, nine lakhs for the civil nursing scheme, five lakhs for expansion of the Fire Brigade, fifteen lakhs for organisation of street fire-fighting services, eight lakhs for rescue service, thirty-one lakhs for hospital accommodation for air raid casualties in vulnerable areas, two lakhs for mass inoculation against cholera and small-pox and six lakhs for the establishment of infectious diseases hospitals.

The revised civil defence expenditure estimates in the current year including fifteen lakhs for temporary housing and feeding of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, sixteen lakhs for an alternative water supply in Calcutta by means of tube-well, nine lakhs for expansion of the Calcutta Fire Brigade, five lakhs for fire-fighting services in industrial areas outside Calcutta, nine lakhs for protection of essential Government buildings and emergency hospitals by means of barbed-wire and ten lakhs for provision of emergency hospitals and motor ambulances for the treatment of persons injured in air raids.

ONE LAKE FOR PROMOTION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

As regards the lump provision of one lakh under the head, General Administration, for the promotion of communal harmony, the Finance Minister emphasised that it would be one of the foremost concerns of the present Ministry to secure unity and co-operation between the two communities that have a common interest in the development of the Province. He said that the present low income in comparison to the current year of the Muslims was caused by the other part of the question that a heavy drain on the provincial exchequer

was caused by the protracted communal disturbances in the towns and the district of Dunes.

After pointing out that the Ministry had barely three weeks' time to formulate its budget proposals, Dr. Mookerjee said that a Ministry taking office at the end of the year did not take over a clean slate but a running concern with all its commitments, good and bad. "Some of these commitments", he said, "may well call for reconsideration and revision in the wider interest of the Province. I can assure the House that, if on further scrutiny, we are of opinion that it will be in the best interests of the Province, to revise any such commitments, that revision will be undertaken."

In conclusion, Dr. Mookerjee made a fervent appeal for help and co-operation from all sections of the people to enable the Ministry to serve the needs of the Province.

Government of the Punjab Financial Statement for 1942—43

"The coming year's budget makes a provision of over Rs. one crore to meet the situation created by the war, and I make bold to affirm that, when we consider our total resources and the exigencies of provincial finance, this will compare favourably with any province in India," observed Sir Mansoor Lal, Finance Minister, presenting the budget estimates for 1942-43 in the Punjab Assembly at Lahore on the 27th. February 1943.

The salient features of the Budget, which discloses a deficit of Rs 10 lakhs, are the provision of Rs. 6½ lakhs for air raid precautions, an additional Rs. 25 lakhs for Pottos, Rs. 14 lakhs for grain compensation allowances on account of the heavy rise in prices, Rs. 2 lakhs for war publicity and Rs. one lakh for the promotion of communal harmony.

The revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 13.55 lakhs and the revenue expenditure at Rs. 15.05 lakhs, resulting in a small deficit of Rs. 1½ lakhs.

Sir Mansoor Lal said: The deficit is due to the fact that a large provision of Rs. 6½ lakhs had to be made for air raid precautions. If this exceptional expenditure had not been incurred, there would be a normal surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs; or what would be a more correct way of describing the position—this Rs. 50 lakhs more would have been available for Government's other activities, mainly in the beneficent departments.

Reviewing the accounts for 1940-41, the Finance Minister said: "When revised estimates were available at this time last year, a surplus of Rs. 24 lakhs was in sight. Actually the year has ended with a surplus of Rs. 60 lakhs."

INCREASED SURPLUS IN 1941-42

Coming to 1941-42, the Finance Minister said that when the estimates were presented last year a surplus of Rs. 4½ lakhs was expected. About two months ago a position of substantial surplus definitely emerged in sight and it was realized that the surplus would certainly be not less than Rs. 50 lakhs. The final revised estimates would have shown a surplus of over Rs. 85 lakhs but for the decision of the Government to add a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs to the Special Development Fund and create a new fund called the Peasants' Welfare Fund with a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. Even after making this provision of Rs. 60 lakhs and after allowing for exceptional expenditure under air raid precautions of nearly Rs. 25 lakhs, the year is expected to end with a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs. The total revenue receipts are now estimated to be Rs. 14.19 lakhs as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.00 lakhs i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.50 lakhs. On the side of expenditure the revised estimates disclose a figure of nearly Rs. 14 crores as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.56 lakhs, i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.35 lakhs, leaving a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs.

ESTIMATES FOR 1942-43

As regards the year 1942-43, Sir Mansoor Lal said, the ordinary revenue receipts of Rs. 13.55 lakhs marked an advance of Rs. 65 lakhs on the accounts

of the year 1940-41. These include Rs. 83.68 lakhs under the head "Taxes on income other than corporation tax," received from the Government of India, Rs. 22.80 lakhs under other taxes and duties and Rs. 9.38 lakhs under provincial excise. The main fall is under irrigation where the direct receipts show a decline of Rs. 10 lakhs and working expenses an increase of Rs. 7 lakhs. The receipts under the Motor Vehicles Act also show a drop of Rs 5 lakhs, which is a direct result of petrol rationing.

Revenue expenditure proposed for 1942-43 stands at Rs. 18,63,50,000. This marks a drop of Rs. 31 lakhs on the revised estimate for the current year, but almost the whole of it is explicable in terms of smaller expenditure on strategical roads that were a special feature of the current year, financed from increased transfer from the Central Road Fund.

INCREASED PROVISION FOR INDUSTRIES

Dealing with the beneficent departments, the Finance Minister said: "Though there is an advance of Rs. 21 lakhs on the accounts of 1940-41, and of Rs. 13 lakhs on the revised estimate of 1941-42, the expansion has not taken place on the scale we all should have desired because of the heavy call of famine and now of war. The Industries Department has an additional grant of nearly Rs. 4½ lakhs. The problems of the production and industrial utilisation of Punjab coals are to be studied, cottage and small-scale woollen industries are to be developed, subsidies under the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act, 1935, to the extent of Rs. 75,000, are to be given and a huge glue factory at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs is to be established."

Dealing with irrigation, the Finance Minister said that during the current year a sum of Rs. 32 lakhs had been provided for the Thal project and in the next the provision stood at Rs. 55 lakhs.

Government of Sind

Financial Statement for 1942—43

A revenue deficit of Rs. 15.27 lakhs is revealed in the budget estimates for the year 1942-43 which were presented before the Sind Legislative Assembly at Karachi on the 4th, March 1942.

The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 4,80,74,000 and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 4,96,01,000. This deficit is proposed to be met from the free balance which at present amounts to Rs. 1,27,29,000. No fresh taxation is proposed.

Major heads of expenditure include Rs. 13 lakhs on irrigation schemes and A.R.P. and civil defence for the province get an appropriation of Rs. 10 lakhs.

The province has benefited from the large expansion of war industries in the country and the large expenditure on supplies not merely on behalf of the Government of India but also on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Allied Governments and Sind's share of income-tax revenue has risen considerably. The estimated revenue under this head is Rs. 17,38,000 against Rs. 14,54,000 in 1941-42 and has become, next to the land revenue and the provincial excise, the most important source of revenue for the province.

The estimates under civil defence include Rs. 2,26,000 for air-raid precautions, Rs. 20,000 for civic guards, out of which Rs. 10,000 is received from the Government of India, and Rs. 7,65,000 on civil defence works. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is earmarked for construction of air-raid shelters for the civil population at Karachi, Rs. 126,000 on A.R.P. for public utility services in Karachi, Rs. 3 lakhs for fire-fighting in Karachi, Rs. 40,000 for A.R.P. measures in Sukkur and Rs. 1 lakh for A.R.P. in connection with electrical undertakings.

The rationing of petrol supply has affected the provincial revenues in the coming year to the extent of nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs under the Motor Vehicles Act and the Sind Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act, due to the fall in the number of motor vehicles anticipated and the difficulty in importing motor cars because of the international situation.

A special provision for a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 has been made in the budget this year for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

LLOYD BARRAGE DEBT

The Lloyd Barrage debt position is very satisfactory. The current year marks the end of the interim period. Before the introduction of regular funding of the Lloyd Barrage debt up to March 31, 1942, the repayment of debt is entirely dependent on receipt from the system. From the next year, however, the debt is to be refunded by the payment of fixed blocks of capital beginning with Rs. 75 lakhs and decreasing gradually together with interest at a fixed rate of 4½ per cent on all debt outstanding in each year. In 1940-41 Sind was able to repay more than Rs. 75 lakhs and again in the current year it hopes to re-pay considerably more than Rs. 75 lakhs, thanks largely to increased realisation of instalments of Malkana. From 1942-43 onwards, if the barrage yields more than is required to meet the funding arrangements, the surplus goes to the benefit of provincial revenues. If, however, there is a short fall, the deficit must be made good from provincial revenues.

So far as the next year's budget estimates are concerned, it is expected that the revenue receipts of the Lloyd Barrage system will be sufficient to repay the interest plus Rs. 75 lakhs and yield a small balance of Rs. 3 lakhs. From the latest review of the prospects of the system, it is expected that for the next five years receipts will produce sufficient revenue to cover the debt charges.

NO FRESH TAXATION

Though no fresh taxation is proposed, the Government expect that if the Bill before the Assembly to amend the Local Boards Act is passed in this session it would add Rs. 2,25,000 towards their revenue, by way of Government's share of the local fund cess for improvement and maintenance of the local board roads.

Sind has now completed almost six years as a separate province and nearly five years of autonomy. During this period, Sind has not merely been able to pay its way but has been able to build up a reassuring balance. It has met all its obligations and can continue to do so.

A word of caution is, however, sounded in the budget note. "The war situation is liable at any moment to give rise to expenditure on a very considerable scale on measures of defence which brook no postponement. There is also the ever present fear of inflation which has already begun to lift its ugly head. It should also be remembered that the province was separated when India as a whole was beginning to recover from a deep depression and the past six years cover an upward curve of the trade cycle. The future years may not reveal such satisfactory financial results as have been achieved in the last five or six years. Nevertheless there is reason to suppose that the province will be able to keep an even keel and ride successfully the inevitable ups and downs of the financial sea."

Government of Bombay

Financial Statement for 1942-43

A provision of Rs. 50 lakhs for any intensified A.R.P. measures that may become necessary and of a further amount of Rs. 20 lakhs for other expenditure indirectly arising from the war is made in the Bombay Government Budget estimates for 1942-43. The estimates provide for a revenue surplus of Rs. 98,000, the revenue receipts being Rs. 1,518.16 lakhs and expenditure being Rs. 1,517.18 lakhs.

It has been decided that all existing forms of provincial taxation should continue during the Budget year.

In regard to the Urban Immovable Property Tax, the rates of which were reduced at the commencement of the current year from 10 to 8 per cent and from 5 to 4 per cent, account has been taken of a further slight reduction in rates, viz. from 8 to 7½ per cent and from 4 to 3½ per cent, with effect from April 1, 1942. The reduction corresponds to an increase of Rs. 4 lakhs in the extra revenue anticipated to accrue to the Government on account of the relaxation of Prohibition measures. This extra revenue was placed at Rs. 24 lakhs for 1941-42 and is expected to be Rs. 28 lakhs for 1942-43. In pursuance of the stated policy of the Govern-

ment the benefit of the extra revenue so accruing is to be passed on this body of taxpayers.

GOVERNOR EXPLAINS BUDGET DETAILS

His Excellency *Sir Roger Lumley*, Governor of Bombay explained the Budget proposals in a press conference in the Secretariat on the 27th. March 1943. His Excellency said that the year 1941-42 had from the financial point a view been very satisfactory. The revised estimates of Revenue and Expenditure based on the results of eight months showed a surplus of Rs. 187.79 lakhs as against a surplus of Rs. 65,000 anticipated at the time of the Budget. The most important sources of increased revenue were Income-tax, Provincial Excise, Land Revenue, Stamps and Forests. On account of increase in the total amount of income-tax to be distributed by the Central Government to the Provinces, Bombay's share of income-tax receipts was Rs. 56.20 lakhs more than was anticipated at the time of the Budget.

Provincial excise had given Rs. 42.03 lakhs more, due largely to increased consumption both of country and foreign liquor. His Excellency explained that of this amount only Rs. 4 lakhs could be attributed to the changes made in the Prohibition policy during the year 1940-41. Land revenue collections showed an increase of Rs. 28.93 lakhs over the Budget figure. The war did not seem to have affected the volume of business transactions as much as was anticipated, and there was an addition of Rs. 20.90 lakhs under 'Stamps.' The sale of trees uprooted by a cyclone and supplies of timber to the army and railway had caused an increase of Rs. 21.27 lakhs in the receipts under 'Forests.'

Provision is made in the new Budget for transfer of Rs. 100 lakhs to the Special Development Fund, Rs. 94,000 for the establishment of a pre-cadet school at Poona for giving preliminary training to candidates for emergency commissions, who are not up to the standard required for the army, Rs. 12 lakhs estimated increase for the grant of a dearness allowance to Government servants drawing below Rs. 50 a month in Bombay and Rs. 35 a month in the mofussil, and an increase of Rs. 19 lakhs towards social services. In this Budget provision has also been made for setting apart Rs. 224 lakhs to form the nucleus of a Post-War Reconstruction Fund.

His Excellency added it was not proposed to borrow and a reserve had been kept in hand of Rs. 161 lakhs in cash and Rs. 75 lakhs in securities. Other allocations made in the Budget include Rs. 208 lakhs for education, which includes Rs. 85,000 as additional grants to local authorities for compulsory education, Rs. 46,000 as direct grants to primary schools under the mass literacy scheme, Rs. 56½ lakhs for Medical Relief; Rs. 56 lakhs towards Public Health, which includes Rs. 15 lakhs for village water supply; Rs. 114.25 lakhs as grant for roads next year, including repairs to original works, and Rs. 10.5 lakhs grant for the Industries Department. It is proposed to spend Rs. 14 lakhs towards minor irrigation works.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

His Excellency said that the sum of Rs. 50 lakhs allotted to A.R.P. work in the Budget includes Rs. 8 lakhs to deal with casualties in case of raids, Rs. 6½ lakhs for the purchase of trainer pumps and tenders to deal with fires, an appreciable amount for the construction of 48 static tanks in the City and for the reopening of most of the 1,600 wells and sinking of tube-wells, Rs. 13 lakhs for the purchase of materials for A.R.P., including ten million sand bags, and Rs. 8 lakhs for protecting municipal water mains and sewage installations.

Public Health schemes which the Government have undertaken for the current financial year include a scheme for serum manufacture at the Haffkine Institute, the appointment of a staff for dealing with epidemics, malarial survey and the establishment of a permanent malarial organization.

Government of Bihar

Financial Statement for 1942-43

An apparent surplus of Rs. 62,83,000 is envisaged in the Budget Estimates of the Bihar Government for the year 1942-43 published from Patna on the 26th. March 1943. The total estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 5,42,25,000 against an expenditure of Rs. 5,85,42,000.

The estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 6,48,25,000 as against Rs. 6,50,99,000 for 1941-42. There is a drop of Rs. 22 lakhs under industries mainly due to a decrease of Rs. 92 lakhs in receipts from cess on sugar cane and of Rs. 24 lakhs in the provincial share of the jute export duty. Forests have gone down by Rs. 14 lakhs and Pilies by 18 lakhs. Bihar's share of the income-tax revenue is, however, expected to be Rs. 18 lakhs better than the revised figure of 1941-42.

A large part of the surplus is due to the very appreciable increase in the share of income-tax receipts and this, in turn, has mostly resulted from war conditions.

On the debit side, very heavy expenditure is anticipated on civil defence measures including expenditure on air raid precautions.

According to the revised estimates for 1940-41 there was to have been a surplus on revenue account to the extent of Rs. 6,48,000. Actually there has been a revenue surplus of Rs. 2,62,400 due to a slight improvement of revenue (18 lakhs) under different heads and to a decrease in expenditure of Rs. 22 lakhs.

The year 1941-42 will close with a total balance of Rs. 3,40,50,000 including Rs. 2,00,00,000 in the cash balance investment account of which Rs. 1,31,40,000 is ordinary balance and Rs. 1,59,10,000 other balance for specified purposes or in deposit accounts. There is an estimated increase of Rs. 46,46,000 in the former and of Rs. 43,98,000 in the latter.

Government of The Central Provinces

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The budget of the C. P. and Berar (Government for 1941-43 published from Nagpur on the 24th. March 1943 discloses a surplus of Rs. 3.21 lakhs. The revenue is estimated at Rs. 525.63 lakhs and expenditure on Revenue Account at Rs. 523.39 lakhs.

The accounts for the year 1940-41 closed with a Revenue surplus of Rs. 20.93 lakhs. The revised estimates for 1941-42 show a revenue surplus of Rs. 4.32 lakhs, an improvement of Rs. 2.54 lakhs over the Budget estimates.

In the Budget for 1942-43, a lump provision is made for the present of four lakhs for air raid precautions and for providing hospital accommodation to air raid casualties. There has been a considerable improvement in the Ways and Means position.

The year 1942-43 is expected to commence with an opening balance of Rs. 89.08 lakhs and to close with a balance of Rs. 109.55 lakhs.

Government of The United Provinces

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The United Provinces' fourth budget since the outbreak of the war estimates a surplus of over four lakhs. The Budget was published from Lucknow on the 19th. March 1943.

The Budget has an opening balance of Rs. 1,28,61,000. The revenue receipts total Rs. 17,12,32,000 and charges amount to Rs. 17,08,30,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 4,02 lakhs.

The year 1940-41 finished more favourably than was anticipated and at the close there was a balance of Rs. 2.49 lakhs or Rs. 1.19 lakhs better than the budget estimates. In 1941-42 when the Government first considered the revised estimates of receipts and expenditure, a revenue surplus of Rs. 98 lakhs was anticipated, nearly half of which was a direct result of the war. The Government then thought it prudent to set aside the major portion of the anticipated surplus in such a way that it might be available in future for emergency purposes. With this end in view

they created a Revenue Reserved Fund, the primary object of which would be to finance expenditure on Civil Defence.

Revenue receipts for 1942-43 have been taken at Rs. 17.12 lakhs, on increase of Rs. 65 lakhs on the revised estimates of the current year. There will be no fresh taxation. Capital expenditure is being restricted as much as possible and has been taken at Rs. 33 lakhs. The result of all transaction will be an improvement of Rs. 55 lakhs, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 215 lakhs. In the current and coming years this province will receive Rs. 1.07 lakhs more as its share from income-tax. The first charge on this unexpected windfall will be the expenditure on Civil Defence and other purposes connected with the war. The Governor has decided that sixty lakhs from the surplus of the current year and another forty lakhs should be placed in the Revenue Reserve Fund on this account, and it is hoped that the Government will be able to meet all expenditure on civil defence in the present and coming years, which is at present estimated at Rs. 75 lakhs but may be considerably more, without having recourse to any contribution from the Government of India.

Estimate for receipts from forests for the coming year is Rs. 90 lakhs and the large increase is due to the orders for timber from the Supply and Defence Departments.

INCREASE IN POLICE FORCE

Of the provincial departments, the one most affected by the war was the Police Department the expenditure on which rose from Rs. 175 lakhs in 1939-40 to Rs. 181 lakhs in 1940-41. The budget estimate for the current year is Rs. 189 lakhs and the estimate for the coming year is Rs. 211 lakhs. The most important recent development was the formation of special armed constabulary, which alone accounted for twelve lakhs of rupees, besides the money spent on the expansion of the regular police force. Expenditure on jail was unusually heavy owing to the abnormal number of prisoners and the high prices of grain.

The Government propose to spend Rs. 71 lakhs during the coming year over maintenance and repair of communications. The Department of Industries will have at its disposal during the coming year a sum of Rs. 94 lakhs, which is fourteen lakhs more than the current year's estimates. The explanation is the large orders for blankets, coats and camouflage nets and other smaller orders received from the Government of India. The activities of the Department are to be further expanded with the object of developing small scale industries to meet war demands.

Total liabilities at the end of the current year are estimated at Rs. 87.08 lakhs and at the end of the budget year at Rs. 87.46 lakhs. The increase is entirely due to the expectation of a large issue of bonds under the Encumbered Estates Act. The ways and means position has been exceptionally easy throughout the current year and is likely to remain so next year. The U. P. Government now hold about one and a half crores worth of defence loans.

Government of Madras

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The Madras Presidency's Budget for 1942-43, published from Madras on the 16th March 1942 estimates the revenue at Rs. 18,97.87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 18,94.28 lakhs, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 3.59 lakhs.

Explaining the reasons why no reduction in taxation is proposed, the Government state:

"The Government have considered very carefully whether the favourable revenue situation in which they find themselves justifies any reduction of taxation or the suspension of any of the commercial taxes. They have come to the conclusion that the course of events during the coming year is so uncertain that there is a possibility that revenues may be seriously affected, that expenditure on Air Raid Precautions or on relief of distress may far exceed what has been provided, and for this reason they have reluctantly come to the conclusion that any such proposal must be abandoned and that all resources must be conserved for employment in any emergency which may develop."

The budget estimates provide for the grant of small land revenue concessions and for the continuance of all the existing taxes at their present rates. Owing

to the uncertainty of the political situation no provision has been made for a Ministry or for the pay or travelling allowances of the Members of the Legislature or for elections to the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Provision has, however, been made for the revision of electoral rolls and for the triennial elections to the Legislative Council.

An increase of Rs. 19.20 lakhs is anticipated in the Income-tax revenue, while the revenue from Provincial Excise is expected to fall by Rs. 29.18 lakhs. The Revenue from the Motor Vehicles and Petrol Taxes shows a decrease on account of petrol rationing. On the expenditure side, provision has been made for payment to local bodies of an additional toll compensation amounting to Rs. 21.57 lakhs for payment of an additional contribution of Rs. 9.75 lakhs to the Sinking Fund, for a block grant of Rs. 5.70 lakhs, inclusive of the half grant expected from the Government of India, for the relief of groundnut cultivators, and for an expenditure of Rs. 15.00 lakhs for the relief of distress among handloom weavers. A sum of Rs. 60.10 lakhs has been provided for expenditure on Civil Defence measures, while additions to the Police Force are also to be made to bring it up to the strength considered necessary to deal with any emergency.

Provision has been made for schemes of new expenditure involving a net liability of Rs. 41.24 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 22.23 lakhs recurring and an expenditure in 1942-1943 of Rs. 28.85 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 17.67 lakhs recurring.

Provision has been made for the multiplication of good cotton seeds and their distribution to ryots who grow cotton, for the creation of five new posts to touring Veterinary Assistant Surgeons and for the opening of four new veterinary dispensaries and also for the establishment of village shearing and grading centres in the tracts of the Province where woolly sheep are bred and for the opening of a buffalo-breeding station at Pratur in Guntur district. Nearly Rs. 10 lakhs have been provided for new educational schemes, which include grants to the Annamalai and Andhra Universities, provision for opening of a B.Sc. Course in "Home Science" in Queen Mary's College, Madras, grants for the opening of new schools, hostels and farms, teaching, building and equipment grants to local bodies for public libraries and for acquisition of play-grounds. A sum of Rs. 2.10 lakhs is provided for further extension of the facilities for education and the provision of midday meals for school children among the communities eligible for help by the labour Department, for the construction of more wells and for the acquisition of house-sites for them.

Government of Orissa

Financial Statement for 1942-43

A revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 was revealed by the budget proposals of the Government of Orissa for the year 1942-43 which were placed in the Provincial Legislative Assembly at Cuttack on the 5th. March 1943 by the hon. *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister. The total revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 1,97,07,000 while the total expenditure on revenue account amounts to Rs. 1,96,95,000.

Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a receipt of Rs. 4,29.00 lakhs and expenditure of Rs. 3,01.81 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 37.19 lakhs. The combined effect of the revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 and the surplus of Rs. 37.19 lakhs in the capital-debt-deposit section is that the opening balance of Rs. 12.2 lakhs at the beginning of the year will be raised to Rs. 49.39 lakhs at the end of the year which will be the closing balance of the year's budget.

On the revenue side, a drop of about Rs. 4.87 lakhs is expected under "land" mainly on account of arrear payment to local bodies in South Orissa for land and cesses collected on their behalf amounting to about Rs. four lakhs. Forest revenues are likely to fall by Rs. 0.91 lakhs, the primary reason being that extra sales of timber for supply to the War Board may not be on such a large scale as in the current year.

On the expenditure side, one of the noticeable features is the provision of

Rs. 1.25 lakhs for civil defence. Provisions under Education, Agriculture, Industries and Medical have been increased by Rs. 0.49 lakh, Rs. 0.58 lakh, Rs. 0.54 lakh and Rs. 0.55 lakh respectively. Expenditure under "Police" is expected to be Rs. 0.58 lakhs more than in the current year.

After explaining the budgetary position of the province, the Minister referred to the various schemes which the Government proposed to give effect to for the improvement of education in the province. The schemes included opening of a pre-medical course of study in biology at the Ravenshaw College, introduction of vocational and industrial education in the middle English and middle schools managed by local bodies and conversion of the Board Higher Elementary Schools at Korum into a Middle English School.

Pandit Miara said that the expenditure under "Education" had increased. But the problem still lay where it had lain when the province was created six years ago. "Little in the field of education can be done without solving the most important question of inaugurating a University of our own. There is a widespread feeling that a University should be started immediately. I am trying to expedite preliminaries and to come before the House within a few months' time, with a University Bill drafted on the lines suggested in the report of the University Committee and also with a supplementary demand for the necessary money."

Referring to public health, Pandit Miara informed the House that a provision had been made in the Budget for the appointment of a Committee for establishing a link between the Public Health Department and the public. Pandit Miara also referred to the various schemes proposed to be undertaken by the Government during the ensuing year for the improvement of agriculture and industries in the Province.

CIVIL DEFENCE

Dealing with civil defence measures, Pandit Miara said that there was now a full-fledged province which must be able to carry on its civil defence as worthily as possible. So far as military defence was concerned, necessary preparations were being made. "The Government are conscious of their responsibility at the present crisis. Therefore, necessary funds are being provided even at the sacrifice of nation-building developments; because nation saving is more important than nation building. I assure the honourable members that everything possible within our means will be done to ward off danger."

Concluding, Pandit Miara observed: "We have long and probably too long relied on external protection. That has unfortunately proved now to be the weakest spot in our national character, a fact which is being realised by our rulers in Britain. However, we must prove that in spite of our want of equipment, the defence of our province is our first concern."

The Council of State

LIST OF MEMBERS

President : THE HON. SIB MANECKJI
BYRAMJI DADARHOT

Nominated— including the President—(26)

(a) **Officials— (12)**

H. E. GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD
PERCIVAL WARELL
THE HON. MAJIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON
" MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO
" GENERAL SIR ALAN FLEMING
HARTLEY

THE HON. SIR ALAN LLOYD
" MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH
" A. DRG. WILLIAMS
" C. E. JONES
" G. C. BOZHAN
" JOHN D. TYSON
" C. M. TRIVEDI
" SHAYAN A. LAL

(b) **Non-Officials—(14)**

THE HON. SIR DAVID DEVADOSS
" DIWAN BAHADUR SIR K.
RAMUNNI MENON
" SIR A. P. PATTEO
" RAHINTOOJA CHIMYO
" JOSHNA GHOSAL
" RAI BAHADUR SATYENDRA
KUMAR DAS

THE HON. RAI BAHADUR SIR SATYA
CHARAN MUKHERJEE
THE HON. SIR MOHAMMAD YAKUB
" SIRDAR Nihal SINGH
" RAJA CHARANJIT SINGH
" MR. KHURSHID ALI KHAN
" SIR MANECKJI BYRAMJI DADARHOT
" LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S.
HIRMAN-UD-DIN BAHADUR

THE HON. SARDAR BDR. SOBHA SINGH
Elected—Non-Officials—(32)
THE HON. RAO BDR. K. GOVINDACHARI

THE HON. MR. M. OT. M. CHIDAMBARAM
CHETTIAR

THE HON. MR. NARAYANAS CHIDHARIDAS
" V. RAMADAS PARTOLU
SAIYAD MOHAMED PADMAN
NAMIS BAHADUR

THE HON. MR. GOVINDLAL S. MOTILAL
THE HON. MR. SHANTIDAS ASKURAN
" MR. MANOCKJI N. DALAL
THE HON. SIRDAR SAMES SIR SULEMAN
" CASSUM HAJI MITHA
THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR ALLI BUKSH
MOHAMED HUSAIN

THE HON. MR. R. H. PARKER
KUNAWANKAR RAY
CHAUDHURY

THE HON. KUNAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN
SINHA OF NARINFOR
THE HON. MR. SUBIL KUMAR ROY
CHOWDHURY

THE HON. KHAN BAHADUR SYED INTISHAM
HYDER CHAUDHURY
THE HON. MR. ABDOL RAZAK HAJER
ABDOL BUTTAR

THE HON. MR. R. R. HADDOW
" RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH
" PANDIT HIRDAY N. KUMERO
THE HON. PANDIT PRATAP N. NARU
THE HON. HAJI SYED MOHAMED HUSAIN
" CHAUDHRI NIAMATULLAH
" RAI BAHADUR LALA
RAMSARAN DAS

THE HON. SARDAR BUTA SINGH
" CHAUDHRI ATAULLAH KHAN
THE HON. NABARAJADHIRAJA SIR
KAMSHWAR SINGH

THE HON. RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN
MANTRA
THE HON. MR. NIKUNJA KISHORE DAS
" HOSSEIN IMAN
" V. V. KALIKAR
" BRJILAL NANDLAL BIYANI
" MAULATI ALI ASGAR KHAN

The Central Legislative Assembly

LIST OF MEMBERS

President : THE HON. SIB ABDUR RAHIM

Elected—Non-Officials—(102)

(1) **Madras—16**

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K. SANTHANAM, Esq.
SHEMATI K. RADHA BAI SUNDARAYAN
SRI K. B. JIVARAYA HOODE
UNAR ALY SHAN, Esq.

MAULVI SYED MURTUSA SAMI BAHADUR
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SIR F. E. JAMES
RAJA T. MANAVENDAN
M. R. RY. SAMI YFECATACHILAM
CHETTY GARU

(2) Bombay—16

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BHULABHAI JIVANJI DESAI, Esq.
HOOSHEEBHOY A. LALLJEE, Esq.
JANNADAS M. MEHTA, Esq.
RAJMAL LAKHICHAND, Esq.
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MAHOMED ALI JINNAH, Esq.
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MD. SHAHRAH
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(3) Bengal—17

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CHATTOPADHYAYA
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K. C. NEOGY, Esq.
AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, Esq.
SIR 'ABDUR RAHIM
HAJEE CHOWDHURY MOHAMMUD ISMAIL
KHAN

SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUSENAVI
CHOWDHURY SEKANDER ALL, Esq.
SHAIKH RAFIUDDIN AHMAD SIDDIQUEE
DR. HAMEED RAHMAN
G. C. MILLER, Esq.
C. P. LAWSON, Esq.
T. CHAPMAN-MORTIMER, Esq.
SIRJUT DHIRENDRA KANTA LAHIRI
CHAUDHURY

BABU BALJNATH BAJORIA

(4) United Provinces—16

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BADR DATT PANDY, Esq.
SRI PRABASA, Esq.
KHEDAR LAL, Esq.
SRI MOHAN LAL SAKSENA
RAJA JAGADAMBKA PRATAP NARAIN
SINGH

SIR SYED RASA ALI
QASI MOHAMMAD AHMAD KASMI
SIR MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN
NAWABZADA MUHAMMAD LIAQUAT ALI
KHAN

DR. SIR ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

MOHAMMED AZHAR ALI, Esq.
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RAJA BAHADUR KUTIAL PAL SINGH

(5) Panjab—13

LALA SHAN LAL
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BHAI PARMA NAND
SYED GHULAM SHIK NAIRANG
MAULANA ZAFAR ALI KHAN
H. M. ABDULLAH, Esq.
NAWAB KHAZADADA SAYAD SIR
MOHAMMAD MEHR SHAM
KHAN BAHADUR SHAIKH FAZL-I-HAQ
PIRACHA
KHAN BAHADUR NAWAB MAHDUM
MUMID HOSSEIN QURESHI
SARDAR MANGAL SINGH
SARDAR SANT SINGH
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(6) Bihar and Orissa—13

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RAMAYAN PRASAD, Esq.
GAURI SHANKAR SINGH, Esq.
KAILASH BIHARI LALL, Esq.
BABU RAM NARAYAN SINGH
MUHAMMAD NAUMAN, Esq.
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RAI BAHADUR SETH BHAGCHAND SONI

(11) North-West Frontier Province—1.

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NOMINATED—(30)

(a) Officals—(30)

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MAXWELL
THE HONOURABLE SIR ANDREW CLOW
THE HONOURABLE SIR JEREMY RAJMAN

THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BANADUR
 SIR ARCOT RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR
 THE HONOURABLE SIR H. P. MODY
 THE HONOURABLE SIR SULTAN AHMED
 THE HON. MR. N. R. SARKER
 THE HON. MR. M. S. AHY
 T. S. SANKARA AYYAR, Esq.
 SIR GEORGE SPENCE
 O. K. GABOR, Esq.
 V. T. DREWILA, Esq.
 SIR GURUNATH BEWORE
 T. S. PILLAY, Esq.
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 H. C. PRIOR, Esq.
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(b) Non-Officials (19)

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 RINGH
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 DR. R. D. DALAL
 DR. FRANCIS XAVIER DESOUZA

MAJOR NAWAR SIR AHMAD NAWAR KHAN
 KHAN BANADUR SIR ABDUL HAMID
 RAO SAKH N. SIVA RAJ
 "SHAMS-UL-ULHMA" KAMALUDDIN AHMAI
 LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR HENRY GIDSEY
 DR. RAJAN SIR ANANALAI CHETTIAR
 MUHAMMAD MUHAMMAD SAHIB BANADUR
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 KUNWAR HAJER ISMAEL ALIKHAN
 HON. CAPTAIN BANADUR BANADUR
 DALPAT SINGH

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 MAJOR THAKUR SINGH
 SIR HENRY RICHARDSON
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Deputy Secretary—M. N. KAUL, Esq.
Assistant Secretary—KHAN BANADUR
 S. G. HASWAIN
Marshal—CAPTAIN HAJI BANADUR NUR
 AHMAD KHAN

The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—18th. February to 2nd. April 1942

C-M-C's TRIBUTE TO INDIAN ARMY

The Council of State held the first meeting of the Budget Session at New Delhi on the 18th. February 1942. The *President* welcomed the Commander-in-Chief who took his seat to-day and added he had no doubt that he would follow in the footsteps of his two immediate predecessors. The following is the statement of His Excellency General Sir Alan Hartley, the Commander-in-Chief:

"Sir, as one who has served in the Indian Army for nearly forty years, and whose proud privilege it is to conclude that service as Commander-in-Chief, it is, as hon'ble members must appreciate, a source of great pride and satisfaction to have seen that the army acquit itself with outstanding distinction in this greatest war of all time. Unlike my two distinguished predecessors, I have not, so far, had the opportunity of seeing or commanding formations of British and Indian troops from this country in the actual fields of operation against the Axis. But, many of the units whose skill and determination were, in a large part, responsible for some of the most outstanding victories achieved by the British Commonwealth in the Middle East, previously served with me on our North-West Frontier. I know them, and I know the stuff of which they are made, and I never doubted that their performance would fail to equal that of any of their comrades in the field.

"Events have moved fast and far since my predecessor, General Wavell, in last November, gave an account, to this house, of the achievements of Indian troops in the various theatres of war. A few days after he spoke to you last November, General Auchinleck struck at the German and Italian armoured strength arrayed on the borders of Cyrenaica. It was the first offensive in the shape of an armoured and aerial blitz, which the Commonwealth has been in a position to launch since the war began. Scarcely three weeks later Japan, while talking peace, dealt those heavy and treacherous blows which spread the flame of war to the Far East. On both the fronts, which as you know we have always alluded to as the bastions of India's defence, and which, as long as they are securely held, prevent active warfare reaching the shores of India, Indian and British formations from this country were immediately involved.

But while to the West, our troops reported the triumphs of Sidi Barrani, East Africa, Syria, Iraq and Iran, those in the East were exposed to the concentrated might of a great and long prepared military and naval Power.

INDIAN TROOP: HEROISM IN MALAYA

"The self-sacrifice and the heroism of those from India who fought step by step as they withdrew, in the face of overwhelming odds, on the Malayan Peninsula, merit no less recognition than the great part played by the 4th Indian Division in North Africa.

The hon'ble members will not expect me to describe in detail the actions in which the 4th Indian Division so distinguished itself in the battle with General Rommel. Suffice it to say that the Division never failed to achieve the successive objectives for which it was made responsible. The reduction of Sidi Omar and Libyan Omar, the battle of Bir-el Gubi, and the final full-dress action in the vicinity of Gazala represented the four main stages, from the Division's point of view, of the giant operation, which broke the hold which the Axis then had in Cyrenaica.

"It is fitting too, I conceive, that due recognition should be given on the floor of this House to the magnificent fighting spirit and achievements in this particular operation of the British Battalions and British Gunners with the 4th Indian Division. The Royal Sussex Regiment at Sidi Omar, the Camerons at El Gubi, and the stand of the Buffs at Gazala, were outstanding contributors to the success and to the high tradition of the 4th Indian Division. Nor must we forget the artillery. In many respects, the battle in Cyrenaica turned out to be a gunners' battle, and to them goes no small share of the credit for the destruction of a high proportion of the German and Italian armoured formations.

"As hon'ble members must have seen in the newspapers, the 4th Indian Division was actively engaged in maintaining contact with the enemy on the Egyptian border throughout the pause between June of last year and the middle of November. There were a series of small actions arising from patrols seeking to find out as much as possible about the enemy's dispositions. When our assault in November began, the 4th Indian Division first deprived the German raiding column of a tank-proof sanctuary provided by the fortified positions round Sidi Omar. Following further successes, at Libyan Omar, the division drove on as the leaders of the infantry advanced behind the British Armoured forces, and finally became involved in the pursuit of the defeated Axis armies from Gazala onwards. Taking the coastal route by Derna and Giovanni Berta, units of the division beat down in quick succession every delaying position the enemy tried to hold and lost little time in reaching Cirene, Barce and Benghazi.

SYRIAN OPERATIONS

"Formations from the Fourth Indian Division, particularly the Fifth Indian Infantry Brigade, which was involved in the Syrian operations have been almost continuously in the action since late in 1940. And never once have their exemplary discipline and fighting spirit flagged.

"Reference must also be made here to certain units of the Fifth Indian Division which accomplished a striking thrust, from Siwa, in the south of the Egyptian desert and captured the Italian garrison of the useful but lonely oasis of Jalo far in the interior of Cyrenaica. That little operation was carried out with a dash and determination which achieved a well deserved and conspicuously inexpensive success.

"By this time General Rommel had withdrawn south of Jedahya where a combination of terrible weather and communications which were stretched to many hundreds of miles prevented General Auchinleck from following him up in force. The hon'ble members will recall that, at the beginning of our Western Desert Offensive in November last, rain in Cyrenaica seriously handicapped the German Air arms giving support to their ground forces. Unprecedented storms and rain swept over Cyrenaica in January where this time it was our forces who had to suffer all the impediment of bogged communications, and unserviceable aerodromes. As a result, General Rommel was able to reform his battered units and with the help of reinforcements, which had got through at some cost across the Mediterranean, to launch a counter-offensive against the forward units of the Eighth Army. This counter-offensive began in early January. The Fourth Division for which there had been some prospect of well-earned rest and respite at Benghazi, naturally became again immediately involved and fighting took place.

"The Seventh Indian Infantry Brigade was south of Benghazi and was cut off

by columns of German tanks which cut the road north of the town. Efforts by the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division to break through to the rescue of the beleaguered party were unavailing and it appeared that the whole of the Seventh Brigade and also a part of the Fifth Brigade would be lost. For two days there was silence, and the worst was feared. Then the Seventh Brigade suddenly appeared back in our lines west of Tobruk. It is one of the most thrilling stories of the war. The brigade was led out of the trap, not to the north and east as the Germans expected, but to the south-west. Right through the German lines they went, and, then turning east, made their way back. On the way they frequently passed enemy columns; but by a combination of bluff and boldness managed to deceive the Germans and so got through safely. Full details are not yet available, but it is believed that most of this personnel of the Brigade have escaped, although they lost a certain amount of vehicles and equipment.

"To the meantime, the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division was carrying out a fighting retreat to the north of the hills. Closely followed by the enemy, who constantly attempted to encircle them or break through the rear guards, the Fifth and Eleventh Indian Infantry Brigades safely rejoined the main body of the Eighth Army near Gazala. This retreat was excellently carried out. I can now say that the military education of this great division is complete; for now they have had their first experience of what a retreat means.

TRIBUTE TO THE 4TH INDIAN DIVISION

"I should like to tell the hon. Members what a highly placed British service officer on a visit from the Middle East to Delhi said to me the other day about the Fourth Indian Division. He said that it was the finest fighting formation at present in the Empire. It is pleasant to hear that from a completely unprejudiced observer. And in a message received from the Middle East a week ago, I was delighted to read that, in spite of their present setbacks, the morale of this famous Division is just as high as ever.

"I must now turn to the grim picture on our Eastern flank. Here our Indian soldiers have been engaged in a number of retreats and desperate defence, and I fear our losses have been heavy. The first serious reverse, in which Indian troops shared with British and Canadians a heavy sacrifice, was in Hong Kong. Then the Fifth Battalion, the Fourteenth Punjab Regiment, the Hong Kong-Singapore Royal Artillery and medical personnel, were involved in the capitulation after a short, but determined, struggle. They had to hold great frontages with little force—four miles to a battalion. They had been faced by odds of about four to one without any air support at all. A contributory cause of the surrender was the destruction of the water-supply. The garrison had done its best. It is an honourable defeat. A British Army officer who managed to escape has spoken enthusiastically of the great fight put up by our Indian soldiers.

"To turn to another theatre of war. In North Malaya, Gurkha and British Battalions, including Indian States Forces Battalions, met the initial Japanese onslaught. Without any declaration of war, the Japanese launched large forces, amounting to four divisions, from Southern Siam and drove head-headed for Northern Malaya. Admirably equipped for the purpose and with large numbers which enabled them to hold strong bodies on the coast in the rear of our positions, their direct assault could not possibly be stemmed for any length of time with the forces at our disposal. As hon. members are well aware, the enemy had, in addition, superiority at sea and in the air. The fall of Singapore is a great though not crushing defeat. I have few details of the actual events in which our men took part, and how it is unlikely that we shall know the full story until later.

AT SINGAPORE AND BURMA

"You will have seen in the papers to-day the list of units present in Singapore. I must not give any further details; as to do so would merely give the Japanese information with which to check their captures. It is not likely that any whole units have escaped, but small parties may have been able to get away. I cannot, however, hold out much hope. The loss of these brave men, as well as of their valuable equipment, is, of course, most serious. There is just one thing I should like to mention. Fantastic stories have been put about by the enemy of desertions by Indian troops. All I can say is this. Far from deserting in the heartbreaking conditions in which they found themselves, large bodies which were from time to time cut off by Japanese landings in the rear, or by infiltration, refused to surrender and forced their way back by jungle tracks after immense exertions. And this

happened, I would have you note, time and time again, when it would have been so easy to surrender and have done with it all."

In Burma also, as you know, the Indian troops have been fighting against a strong attack, and have been slowly pushed back. The stoutness of their defence has given time for some reinforcements to reach that country. In the north, Chinese troops have come into Burma and taken over a section of the front in the protection of their life line, the Burma Road. The unity and common interest of India and China is shown by the visit of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Our troops and his are now fighting alongside each other.

"In spite of our present situation, there is no cause to lose heart. Admittedly our losses are grievous and the situation is serious, but in other wars, as well as in this, we have pulled through from even greater situations."

"But I must warn you. We must be prepared for more bad news before the tide turns. We must be prepared for attacks on our shipping on the seas; and we must be prepared for attacks on this land of India from the air and by bombardment from the sea, and we may even have to face the possibility of a landing. One thing I feel quite certain, and that is that the enemy will lose no opportunity for spreading panic and undermining the morale of the people."

"We must face these threats in a spirit of calmness. To brave men danger is an incentive to additional effort. I am able to give you that military preparations to meet the new situation are well in hand. But we must have equipment to replace our losses; and I urge all men in the factories, in the mills and in the workshops to work as they have never worked before. I will repeat the Prime Minister's famous message: 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job.' We, in this case, means the soldiers, sailors and airmen of India. And I say that on the workmen of India lies the responsibility for providing the sinews of war to keep the horrors of conflict away from our fields and from our cities."

After the Commander-in-Chief's statement, the House adjourned till the 23rd.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

23rd. FEBRUARY:—Within thirty minutes this morning, the Council passed, without discussion or amendment, seven bills recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. Four of them were sponsored by the Commerce Secretary, Sir *Alan Lloyd*. They were Bills to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and the Indus Vessels Act and a Bill to continue the provision made under an Ordinance for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The Bills to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province were sponsored by Mr. *Tyson*, Secretary, Education Department. Lastly, Sir *Feroz Khan Noon* had a Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act.

AID TO BURMA EVACUEES

Earlier in the morning, on a motion to elect four non-official members to serve on the Standing Emigration Committee, Pandit *Hriday Nath Kuneru* referred to Indians in Burma and Malaya. He said that owing to war conditions in Burma, Indians were compelled to return to India and about 40,000 had already reached this country, mostly by sea. The sea route, however, had become unsafe on account of the Japanese submarine menace, and he urged that the Government should make every endeavour to develop land routes to Burma without the least possible delay. The Pandit next referred to reception arrangements for the evacuees in India and suggested that timely information should be given to the reception committees at the ports to cope with the rush. He also suggested that the staff of the Protector of Immigrants should be strengthened and greater latitude should be given to him in the matter of incurring expenditure. Lastly, the Pandit urged that the Government should take steps to afford facilities to evacuees, most of whom might be starting life afresh.

Messrs. *P. N. Saprta*, *Padshah* and *Hossain Imam* participated in the discussion.

Mr. *G. S. Bozman*, Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, replying to the discussion, said that so far 65,000 Indians had left Burma, but exact figures of the evacuees from Malaya were still unobtainable. Mr. Bozman said that there were two land routes to Burma from India, both of which were freely used without any restrictions. The Government were also making arrangements to provide shelter, food and medical aid all along the route. As for shipping information, Mr. Bozman said that the difficulty was that none knew when a ship

would arrive. They could only know when a ship left a port. Mr. Rozman also assured the Council that all steps were being taken to strengthen the organisation of the Protector of Immigrants, and the problem of finding employment for the evacuees had not escaped the notice of the Government. He added that the Government of Burma were taking all possible steps to protect the lives and property of the Indians still in Burma.

Referring to the allegations of racial discrimination, Mr. Rozman said that the Council and the public would be wise to defer passing judgment till conditions settled down. The information which came out to India in regard to these allegations was generally tainted information. In conclusion, Mr. Rozman assured the House that the Government would do all in their power to ease the lot of Indian evacuees and make them feel that they were returning to their homes.

DISCUSSION ON RAILWAY BUDGET

24th. FEBRUARY:—The Council held the general discussion on the Railway Budget to-day. Sir A. P. Patra, who opened the debate, regretted that the Budget gave no relief to the people of India, who had decidedly contributed to the huge surplus. He asked what the Railway Board had done to increase amenities and facilities for the travelling public and to help the ryot in the transport of his raw produce direct to the Central market eliminating middlemen. Sir A. P. Patra considered that it was not possible for the small cultivator to indent a whole wagon and the proposed levy of two annas in the rupee on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grain was bound to act as a great hardship on him. The speaker complained that no initiative had been taken for effective co-ordination of transport facilities and the railway authorities had not given up their attitude of systematic apathy towards indigenous industries.

Sir *Shantidas Askuram* hoped that the Communications Member would take immediate steps to consult non-official and business interests with a view to solving the increasingly difficult transport problem. He hoped that in the light of non official criticism of the proposal to increase freight rates and fares, which was expected to yield only one crore of rupees, the Communications Member would give up the proposal.

Mr. *Dalal* deplored the Government's obstinacy in refusing to encourage locomotive production in India. He hoped that in future the Central Railway Advisory Council would be consulted before any railway lines were lifted.

Mr. *Hussain Imam* suggested that instead of increasing freights on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grains and fares of passengers, the railway authorities should effect economies by doing away with saloons, and free passes. He expressed the opinion that His Majesty's Government should bear a good proportion of the cost of the dismantled railway lines which were made over to them for war purposes.

Mr. *Kalihar* characterised the Government's refusal to encourage Indian industries as a short-sighted policy intended to placate vested interests. He complained of acute shortage of wagons in the countryside, aggravating the hardships of the poor cultivator.

Pandit *Hridaynath Kunzru* charged the Government with under-estimating their revenues and wanted to know why the net cost of the dismantled lines had been debited to the Depreciation Account when this money had to be recovered from the British Government. Referring to the curtailment of services, Pandit Kunzru said that it would not be a wise policy to further dismantle the railway lines when the war was threatening to come to the shores of India. In this connection, he characterised the railway policy as "bellying and short-sighted", in not providing to meet emergencies in peace time, particularly in the matter of construction of locomotives and machine tools. He said: "Had the Government thought less of vested interests and more of the future of the country itself, India would have been in a position to make a much larger contribution to war effort. The Government's decision to take over the B. N. W. and R. Y. Railways was due to the efforts of the members of the expanded Council, and he urged that the Government should take advantage of the present situation and take over the remaining three company-managed railways forthwith. As for the Depreciation Fund, Pandit Kunzru urged the appointment of a committee of the Central Legislature to enquire both into the size of the Fund and the Separation Convention.

Mr. *P. N. Saprú* referred to the recent railway accident on the E. I Railway and wanted the fullest details and a message of sympathy to be sent to the victims of the accident. Referring to the Budget Mr. Saprú criticised the curtailment of

transport facilities at a time when other means of transport had already been contracted to the lowest limit. He felt that it was entirely unjustifiable to enhance rates and fares when the means of transport in general had shrunk and prices had gone up. He regarded this an indirect taxation which he characterized as the worst form of taxation. In this connection, Mr. Sapru referred to the use of saloons and of free passes to railwaymen and said that the railways were reducing the facilities for transport for the public, but not for their own men. Mr. Sapru also enquired if the policy of dismantling railways was being followed by the Dominions and the Colonies.

Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member, replying to the debate, referred to Sir A. P. Patro's observation that the phenomenal surplus was not due to the careful management but due to the war. He was the last to claim, said the Railway Member, that the efficiency of the railways should be measured by a deficit or a surplus, although some members of the House applied that test when the dark days of depression were with us. Management, nevertheless, played a great part in the earning of revenue: surplus did represent additional work done by an immense army of men.

Replying to criticisms made by Mr. R. H. Parker and others as regards the Depression Fund, the Railway Member declared that so far from the fund having too much in it, it had, on the whole, too little in it, and there was little ground for complacency until it stood at a higher figure than it did at present.

After explaining the changes proposed in the rates for food grains, he said that the increase proposal was intended not to raise half a crore, but to secure better use of wagons which, members would agree, was a laudable object.

In giving an increase in wages, railways were, in many cases, following private employers. It was true that an increase of purchasing power at a time when the supply of goods had not increased had its dangers, and it was well to be reminded of that fact. As regards the emigration in favour of some form of deferred expenditure the railways were following it to some extent by extending the provident fund; but to give a benefit which was going to accrue after the war, meant that the men who had accustomed himself to a certain standard of living on his present wages had to tighten his belt. That was a hard thing to ask a man to do on a very low scale of pay. Speaking of the extensions given to officers, the Railway Member asked for the sympathy of the House in the acute paucity of experienced officers which railways were experiencing as a result of a large number of men going overseas. He explained that these officers, sent abroad, received their railway salary or the salary of their military rank, whichever was higher, and in most cases, the railway salary was found to be higher. In the ranks of General Managers, suitable officers did not flourish in large numbers, and the posts of General Managers were such that it was not desirable to have a rapid change of officers. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 26th.

TRANSFER OF DEFENCE TO AN INDIAN

26th. FEBRUARY :—Pt. H. N. Kuzma's resolution urging the transfer of the Defence portfolio to a non-official Indian, which was passed to-day by 11 votes to 5, official members remaining neutral, evoked a keen debate. The Pandit said that there was nothing new in his proposal, as the Federation Scheme envisaged that the Commander-in-Chief would cease to be a member of the Governor-General's Council. He maintained that it was entirely within the competence of the Secretary of State for India to effect the change asked for without an amendment of the Act. Pandit Kuzma felt that political and military considerations demanded that the Commander-in-Chief should be relieved of his political duties and left free to devote his whole time to pressing military duties. He averred that the present arrangement had not roused popular enthusiasm for war and maintained that the proposed change would go a long way to mobilise public support for war effort. He, therefore, appealed to Britain to act before the situation became still graver.

Sir Shantisingh Askaran supported the resolution from the conviction that the defence of India was the primary responsibility of Indians themselves and as Indian Defence Member would be in a better position to strengthen the people's morale and inspire them with confidence necessary to face the future with courage and fortitude.

Sir A. P. Patro thought that Indians should be increasingly associated with the defence of the country and therefore considered that no patriotic Indian would differ from the general principle underlying the proposal contained in the

resolution. He declared that patchwork arrangements would not satisfy Indian aspirations, and advocated a radical change in the structure of Indian administration. In his opinion, there was no justification whatsoever for the Government withholding responsibility for the defence of the country from Indians.

Sir Mohamed Yakoob said that the situation was so serious that they could not pass any judgment on an important point like the one under discussion without thoroughly going into it. He maintained that the time was past for preparing the country as desired by the mover of the resolution and the gravity of the situation demanded all-out action. He pointed out that the defence policy was not framed in India and asked what would be the position of an Indian Defence Member if there was a clash of interests between Britain and India and between the Indian Defence Member and the Commander-in-Chief. There were complicated questions not amenable of yielding easy solutions at the present juncture.

Mr. P. M. Sagar maintained that all except die-hards should accept the proposal. He deplored the wide cleavage between the Government and the people in the country and urged that the question should be approached not purely from the military point of view but from the psychological point of view also. He asked what particular experience of war strategy Sir James Grigg had to merit his elevation to the post of Secretary of State for War. Given equal opportunities and proper environment, Indians could do much better than Britishers.

Sir Ramnath Menon felt that the present was an inopportune time to make the changes advocated in the resolution. They should not make drastic changes in the constitution during war. He also doubted whether the appointment of an Indian as Defence Member would bring about the necessary war enthusiasm in the country.

Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh supported the resolution on the ground that there were capable Indians to take charge of the portfolio.

Messrs Padashah and Mohammed Hussain, members of the Muslim League Party, opposed the resolution. They were not opposed to Indianisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council. On the contrary, they supported it but they felt that no useful purpose would be served by appointing another Indian on the Council, unless he had the backing of the peoples of India.

Messrs Dalal, Kalikar and Nikunja Behari Das supported the resolution. Messrs Dalal and Kalikar emphasising the urgent necessity of making Indians responsible for the defence of India.

Pandit Khasru, in his reply to the debate, asserted that even now, an Indian Defence Member would strengthen India's position, and that nothing short of complete Indianisation of the Central Executive would satisfy the demands of the country. He referred to the British attitude towards the defence of the Pacific and the consequent protest of Australia which was responsible for a partial meeting of the Australian demand. An Indian Defence member could make similar demands on behalf of India, which would be met more expeditiously than at present. The resolution was carried by 11 votes against 5, the Government remaining neutral.

COMPANIES ACT AMENDING BILL

The Council allowed Mr. Parker to introduce a Bill to amend the Companies Act. The Bill, *inter alia*, seeks to delete Section 54 of the Companies Act to bring the Indian law into line with the British Act. It also provides that an 'arrangement' under Section 153 included a re-organisation of share capital by consolidation or sub-division of shares.

The Council then adjourned till the 26th. February when the General Budget was presented and thereafter adjourned till March 5.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

26th. MARCH :—Opening the general discussion on the Budget to-day, Sir A. P. Padoe welcomed the Government's decision to meet 85 crores of the deficit by resorting to loans instead of imposing still further taxation on an already overtaxed people. He considered the lowering of income tax liable for assessment as practically a compulsory national savings scheme, and he looked at the repatriation of sterling loans as a real blessing as the drain on India's resources would be minimised.

Pandit Hiradgobind Khasru earnestly pleaded for the early establishment of a National Government at the Centre and said that the country did not require the vast sums of money which were being spent on the defence of India. He, however, inquired to what extent this expenditure was being utilised to build up the national morale.

Mr. R. H. Parker regretted the lack of co-ordination of control of expenditure to ensure the maximum benefit in connexion with A.R.P. and urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked to bear in mind that their surpluses should be spent on immediate requirements of an essential nature and that it would be beneficial to reserve what could be set aside for expenditure at a later date.

Mr. P. N. Sanyal emphasized that the expenditure should be directed towards the production and organization of national resources. "We want a total war effort," he said. He laid special emphasis on the urgent need for efficient organization for internal security and wanted the creation of a "Home Security" Department forthwith.

Sir Shantidas Askaran said that the people would most willingly bear even larger financial burdens if they were convinced that the expenditure was most economically incurred for building up efficient defence services for the country and that the fruits of this expenditure would be available in the form of active defence of this country when necessary. Stating that whatever confidence the people had in the security of life and property had been rudely shaken by the events of the last few months, Sir Shantidas observed that such confidence could be inspired only if trusted leaders of the people were put in power. He appealed to the Government to put into operation war risks insurance for buildings and machinery. For strengthening the country's gold reserves he suggested that India's sterling resources might be converted to gold and kept in the United States. He thought that the Government's frequent sale of silver at low rates was ruinous both to Government finance and also to the poor man whose silver stocks depreciated in value.

Replying to the debate, Sir Jeremy Ratsmen, Finance Member, said he was glad that the general tone of comment on the Budget had been restrained and members recognized the difficulties of the situation and realized that it was a problem for both the public as well as the Government. The Finance Member said he did not want to enter into arguments on the political issues raised by Mr. Sanyal, but he felt it rather difficult to accept the argument that whereas a National Government might call for heavier sacrifices the present Government was not wise in imposing tax on incomes less than Rs. 1,200 per year. He maintained that in times of crisis every section of the people must share the sacrifices. Sir Jeremy entirely agreed with the suggestion that relief should be found in greater production of foodstuffs and clothes, and assured the House that the question was receiving the active consideration of the Government and the Member for Lands and Health was formulating active steps to stimulate more production of foodstuffs with a view to attaining regional self-importance to this problem and everything possible would be done in the matter in co-operation with the provincial Governments who were fully alive to the necessity of increasing food supplies.

HOME GUARD FOR INDIAN DEFENCE

8th. MARCH :—The Council to-day rejected, without a division, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunera's resolution asking for immediate steps to be taken to form a Home Guard for the defence of India. Pandit Kunera, moving the resolution, drew the attention of the Council to the war situation in the Pacific and in Burma, and referred to the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief, indicating how and where Japan could attack India. Pandit Kunera said : "The situation is very serious indeed ; and yet there is no reason why we should sit with folded arms. Our danger is a test of our manhood." The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Alan Hartley, explained that the home guards in England were under the War Office and were a military organization. In pre-war days, both in England and India, they had a Territorial Army, which had been incorporated in the Regular Forces after the outbreak of the war. In India to-day they were extremely short of equipment and instructors, and however they might wish, they could not spare them for any other purpose for the present. He said that the expanding Army of India should be regarded as home guards for this country.

SUPPLY OF HINDI & URDU WORKS TO LIBRARIES

The House, however, adopted Mr. P. N. Sanyal's resolution which sought the modification of the law so as to secure that "a copy of every work printed in the country in Hindi is supplied to the library of the Hindi Sahitya Samaksha and of every printed work in Urdu to the Anjuman Taraqqi-Urdu" in the same way as it was done in Great Britain.

INDIAN COMPANIES ACT AMEND. BILL

The Council also passed Mr. R. H. Parker's Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and then adjourned till March 10.

OFFICIAL MOTIONS PASSED

19th. MARCH:—The Council held a brief sitting in the course of which it agreed to five official motions seeking to elect non-official members to the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Standing Committee to advise on the subjects other than "Roads" dealt with in the Department of Communications, the Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Department of Supply is concerned and the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce as well as three members to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads which will be constituted to advise the Governor-General-in-Council in the administration of the Central Road Fund during the financial year 1942-43.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

The Council also agreed to take into consideration and pass four Bills namely, the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, the Bill further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act 1936, the Bill to provide for the extension of the time limited by or under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, for doing of acts thereunder, and the Bill to extend the date upto which certain duties characterised as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

WHEAT STORAGE IN NORTH INDIA

When the last Bill was taken into consideration, Mr. Hussain Imam asked the Government what measures they were taking to ease the situation created by the acute shortage of wheat. He expressed the opinion that the whole difficulty was due to the Government exporting wheat out of the country for military purposes without ensuring adequate supply of the commodity for consumption by the internal civil population and also on account of the holding of large stock of wheat in the Punjab, a number of holders not agreeing to release their stocks in view of the maximum prices fixed by the Government. He urged the Government to take all measures to have these difficulties removed.

Sir Alan Lloyd assured the House that the Government was fully conscious of the extremely difficult position in the various wheat-eating centres in Northern India in the last few weeks and was doing its best to keep the position in hand till the new crops move in a few weeks time, and see that there was a fair distribution of available wheat to the civil population. The Government was also making enquiries as to the extent it would be necessary to have substitute food grains, say, barley, secured. The Government was devoting unremitting attention to this problem and would continue to give its earnest attention with a view to seeing that all possible measures were taken to put an end to the very unfortunate state of affairs. As regards export of wheat for Army purposes Sir Alan said he was not in a position to give figures of army purchases exported but he informed the House that the exports were mainly for consumption by Indian soldiers abroad, and it was reasonable that Indian forces overseas must look to India for their food supplies. Replying to Mr. Hussain Imam's point that there was large holding of wheat in the Punjab, Sir Alan stated that in the nature of things, no sure knowledge of visible wheat was feasible as only the supply entered the visible quantity. He declared that it was the determination of the Government to ensure fair distribution and movement of next year's crop and if it was as good as the Government hoped, by judicious management the Government hoped to ensure the above object. The Council then adjourned till March 18.

SUBSIDIES TO CIVIL FLYING CLUBS

19th. MARCH:—The Council transacted non-official business to-day. Late Ramasran Das moved a resolution recommending to the Government not to discontinue the subsidies to civil flying clubs in the country except in provinces where a proclamation of emergency was in force. Late Ramasran Das contended that the flying clubs were performing useful work by providing initial training for candidates selected by the Government for the air force and by making India air-minded, and submitted that the stoppage of the present small subsidies to these Clubs was false economy. Mr. S. N. Roy, Communications Secretary, said that if the air force felt that more concentrated training was required at a central organisation under the immediate control of the Defence Department with a view to obtaining more co-ordinated and quicker results, the Flying Clubs must give way. The subsidy to the clubs depended on the number of training aircraft they operated; and, as most of the training aircraft which the Government had provided

these Clubs with had been withdrawn from them, the subsidy scheme had to be given up, at least during the war period. It, however, after satisfying air force requirements the Government considered it possible to enable some Clubs to discharge their present functions, the Government would be glad to continue to help them. *Lala Ramswarn Das* withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's assurance.

CIVIL DEFENCE

The Council next adopted Mr. P. N. Sanyal's resolution recommending to the Government to constitute a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for advising the Department of Civil Defence, after Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao had assured the House that the Government would welcome non-official co-operation in all civil defence measures, and that it proposed to constitute a Standing Committee to advise the Civil Defence Department.

INDIA & EASTERN GROUP COUNCIL

Mr. M. N. Datta moved a resolution recommending to the Government that, immediate steps be taken to require the representation of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council to submit a detailed report of his activities on the Council with special reference to the establishment, expansion, or development of any new or existing industries in this country at an early date, and to place the same before the next session of the Central Legislature. Mr. Datta asked what assurance this country had that, when there were alternative sources of supply within the Eastern Group countries, India would get a square deal; nor was India assured in any way that, when it was a question of new industries being established or existing ones being expanded, India's claim would not be ignored. Mr. A. de C. Williams replied that the Eastern Group Council could not be regarded as an appendage to the Government of India. The expenditure for the maintenance of the Council was borne by His Majesty's Government, who also paid half the cost of the general administration of the Council, the other half being borne by the member-countries. The cost of the expert-advising staff was entirely borne by the United Kingdom. The Government of India was, therefore, not in a position to direct the Council's activities. Mr. A. de C. Williams further pointed out how there had been an enormous increase in industrial production in the country since the Council started functioning. If Mr. Datta was not satisfied with his reply he must approach the Supply Department and the Commerce Department of the Government of India. Mr. Datta withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's sympathetic reply.

INDIANS IN ARTILLERY CORPS

Pandit Kuzru moved a resolution recommending to the Government that immediate steps be taken to provide that Indians were freely appointed as officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, the Indian Artillery and the Mechanised Cavalry. Pandit Kuzru said that the present proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers in the Indian Artillery, the Indian Corps of Engineers and the Mechanised Cavalry which was one to seven, two to seven and one to four, respectively, was highly unsatisfactory. He pleaded for a radical improvement in the position. Pandit Kuzru also referred to the absence of any information as to the exact proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers undergoing training in the Fighting Vehicles School at Ahmednagar. Pandit Kuzru disapproved the plan put forward on behalf of the Government that sufficient number of Indian cadets of the requisite standard was not forthcoming, as lacking conviction. He declared that if Indians were to consider this war as their own, all the galling restrictions on Indians in these services should be forthwith removed. *Lala Ramswarn Das* and Mr. Sanyal supported the resolution. Mr. Williams reserved his reply for the next non-official day.

INDIAN EVACUEES FROM BURMA

The Council next discussed Mr. Mahomed Hussain's adjournment motion on the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma. Mr. Hussain invited the Government's attention to the reports he had received from reliable quarters of high-handed action on the part of Mr. S. E. Sutcliffe (Agent of the Government of India in Burma), who was alleged to have used force on some of the evacuees when they wanted to leave Rangoon by steamer. He asked Government why they had not made necessary preparations in time to evacuate as many Indians as possible from

Bangor before the city was handed over to the military and it was exposed to looting and arson. Mr. G. S. Seneviratne said that he was asked to bear all the charges of high-handedness levied at Mr. Hutchings by the mayor of the nation. He demanded from Mr. Hume a full statement of all evidence with regard to the incident or that he could go into them. After drawing the attention of the House to an account of his experiences at Akyab last Friday which he had related in the Assembly yesterday, Mr. Hume said he was not at present in a position to say anything definitely as regards the report about the reservation of a land route for the European and Anglo-Indian communities, but he assured the House that the Government would do its utmost to remove all reservations, adding that wherever reservations were required for military purposes this would be done without distinction of race, caste or creed. Mr. Hume withdrew the motion as he felt that its purpose had been secured. The Council then adjourned till March 30.

THE FINANCE BILL DEBATE

29th. to 30th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly was placed on the table of the Council which met for the purpose on the 29th. The debate on the Bill commenced on Monday, the 29th. March, when a general desire to cry a political truce during the negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps, was expressed. Pandit B. N. Kusuru, on behalf of the Progressive Party, announced that, although they had been opposing the Finance Bill in the past, as a gesture of goodwill to Sir Stafford Cripps they had decided to remain neutral on the Bill this session. Similar sentiments were expressed by several other members. Mr. V. V. Kothar criticised the Army policy of the Government under which, he said, Britons, Australians and Anglo-Indians were given preference to Indians in the commissioned ranks. This policy, he said, was responsible for the paucity of suitable recruits for the emergency commission ranks of the Army. Pandit Kusuru protested against "the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian evacuees from Burma, Malaya and Far Eastern countries." He urged that some members of the Standing Emigration Committee should be deputed to visit Assam, the Assam-Burma route and other port towns to see for themselves what arrangements had been made for the comfort of these evacuees. Pandit Kusuru reiterated his demand for revision of the Income-tax law as far as it related to undivided Hindu families. Referring to shortage of wheat and other grains, he wanted the Government to outline their policy of ensuring adequate supplies for internal consumption during the year. The Council adjourned till the next day, the 30th. March, when it passed, without amendment, the Finance Bill as also the *Bill to amend the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act* and the *Bill to amend the Indian Tools (Army) Act*.

During the second reading of the Finance Bill, questions relating to internal security and evacuees from Burma and other Far Eastern countries were prominently discussed. Non-official members belonging to the League and the progressive parties extended welcome to Sir Stafford Cripps and wished success to his mission. The Chair, associating with these sentiments, pulled up some members for indulging in communal recriminations. Mr. Das wanted an assurance from the Government that all necessary steps had been effectively taken to protect the lives and property of the people from internal disorders, if and when they broke out in the country. Mr. P. A. Sengupta made an unequivocal declaration that, given freedom to India, they would fight to the last to destroy the Axis powers. He said that the main grievances against the Government had been that there had been little democracy in this country. He had a four-point criticism against the present rulers of India. This related to questions of man-power and statesmanship, production, both industrial and agricultural, strategy and psychology. Mr. Sengupta urged the development of heavy and medium size cottage industries and wanted a whole-time officer for production. He also wanted a machinery to be set up at the Centre to co-ordinate the effort of labour, employers and the Government.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Cresswell Smith explained what action the Government were taking to protect the country against the apprehended outbreaks of internal disorders. He said that the Provincial Governments had been requested to increase the police force and 30,000 additional men had already been added to the force. The Government were also examining the question of supplying larger number of arms to the police. He did not agree with the proposal to distribute arms to the public or to the private organisations, because, in the view of the Government, such arms usually found their way to the hoodlums against whom protection was sought. The Government were also opposed to private armies. Finally, the

Viceroy's National War Trust had been created to build up national morale, which in itself was an effective weapon to check internal disorders.

General Sir Alan Hartley, explaining why it was necessary to send out Indian troops abroad, said that it was in the best interests of India that the enemy was kept out of the country. He repudiated the allegations that there was any racial discrimination in the recruitment or treatment of Indians in the Indian Army. He, however, pointed out that the quality of Indian recruits for the commissioned ranks had lately deteriorated.

Pandit Kewari : What about the British and Anglo-Indians ?

General Hartley : Their quality has also deteriorated.

Sir Alan also announced that, as soon as the situation regarding equipment improved the Government would give their best consideration to the proposal to establish a Home Guard for India. It would be in the form of a Territorial Army.

As for the misbehaviour of soldiers, *General Hartley* assured the Council that no one regretted such incidents more than the Army Headquarters. They were taking all possible steps to prevent their recurrence and had recently organised a military police for the purpose.

Mr. Hussain Imam welcomed the realisation by the British rulers that immediate changes were necessary to secure effective co-operation in the effort. He felt that departmental difficulties to assess the large number of persons under the lowering of the income-tax limit were largely responsible for the Government's acceptance of an amendment in the Assembly. He severely criticised the purchasing policy followed by the Supply Department and said that it was largely responsible for the rise in prices. He also blamed the Government for its unpreparedness in Army matters and said that the responsibility for the present state of affairs lay with the Government and not with the non-officials. The speaker also dealt at some length with the question of evacuees and protested against the treatment meted out to Indian evacuees. Referring to the constitutional issue, he wanted those who urged surrender of power by the British to concede the right of self-determination to the Mussalmans.

Sir Alan Lloyd assured the Council that the Government were giving their best consideration to the question of wheat. As for the American Technical Mission, he gave a similar assurance that there were no sinister motives behind the Mission's visit. The Mission was coming to India to help India to get the maximum of production from her own sources and to see what help could be rendered by the U. S. A. to make India self-sufficient in the matter of armament production.

Mr. Bosman explained the position of evacuees from Ceylon and said that the Government of India had asked its Agent in Ceylon to make proper arrangements for evacuees. As for Burma, he said things were a little better now and camps had been organised for Indians. Convoys had been arranged for women and children. In India also, camps had been organised all along the route. Fifteen hundred Indians were coming daily now but this number is expected to be doubled shortly. Brigadier Wood was, at present, in Delhi and would discuss the situation with *Mr. Aney* shortly. One hundred and fifty policemen had been sent to Burma and special officers knowing Indian languages had been sent also.

Lala Ramsaran Das warmly welcomed *Sir Stafford Cripps* and said we should extend all the co-operation we could to him. He criticised the demand for Pakistan and the theory that a Hindu, when he became a Muslim, suddenly belonged to another nation.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, referred to the charges of racial discrimination in evacuation facilities brought prominently to the notice of the public and said he would be the last to deny that these incidents had taken place. Nothing had pained him more than that such things should take place at a time when the need for harmony and concord among different people was so great. Under present conditions when the Governments of countries where incidents of a racial character had taken place no longer existed, it was difficult, he said, to do anything beyond recording a protest with the proper authority. This had been done and when an investigation into incidents such as those in Penang became possible he had no doubt, the investigation would be held. As regards similar complaints made against a Government of India official overseas, he asked for specific details and promised full consideration of them. Referring to the complaint that a certain land route had been reserved for Europeans, *Mr. Aney* said that a part of the Manipal route was under construction. The route itself was required for essential military traffic and the construction had to be carried out as speedily as possible. For this purpose, the route should be sparingly used. A diversion had now been found and something

the 1,200 people were being allowed to use it every day. He informed the House that an officer of the Indian Overseas Department had visited the ports to supervise the arrangements for the reception of evacuees. Either himself or the Secretary of the Department would undertake a tour shortly with such co-operation of non-official members as might be obtained.

Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary, replying to the financial points raised during the debate, reiterated the contention of the Finance Member in the Assembly that the procedure followed in the accounting of the lease-lend supplies had in no way affected the Government of India's main budgetary policy. Referring to the increase in money order commission and in the fee for insurance of postal articles, Mr. Jones explained that these charges were increased along with the other increases specified in the budget speech, although they were not specifically mentioned in the speech. The suspicion that this was a sudden decision made in view of the amendments made to the Finance Bill was entirely unfounded and unwarranted. Mr. Jones mentioned the arrangements by which Indians who had post office deposits in Malaya could draw on those deposits in India, of course, on production of pass books and establishment of identity. He said he had no doubt that similar arrangements would be made in respect of Burma, but the Government had not had the time to take up these questions and come to any definite arrangements. Speaking on the amendment raising the lower income-tax limit from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, he said that the original proposal of taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was made not with a desire to tax people but to provide an incentive to people to save not only in their own interests but in the interests of the community. He suggested that there was no sense of proportion in trying to make out that it was a hardship to require a person earning Rs. 1,000 a year to pay a tax of Rs. 7-13 a year, which he could escape by making a deposit of Rs. 10 a year and earn interest on that deposit. The Government, nevertheless, accepted the amendment purely in order to carry with them members of the Central Legislature and get their co-operation by compromise, in the hope that as people became accustomed to the principle and as the necessity became more apparent, it would be possible to extend the principles later. The Council at this stage adjourned.

CANTONMENT ACT AMEND. BILL

25th. MARCH :—The Council passed without any amendment to-day the Bill to amend the Cantonment Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. It also discussed non-official resolutions.

INDIANISATION OF MILITARY UNITS

The Council adopted a resolution, recommending the adoption of immediate steps to provide that "Indians are freely appointed as Officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, Indian Artillery and Mechanised Cavalry." *Pandit Hridaynath Kunru* sponsored the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Hossain Imam and *Rai Bahadur Srinarain Mahtha*. General Sir Alan Hartley and Mr. Gurunath Bewoor, speaking on behalf of the Government, quoted figures to show the progress of Indianisation in these Units and assured the Council that the Government desired to recruit every Indian of suitable qualification. It was also explained that Indian Officers have specially been deputed to tour University Centres to draw recruits from young students.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW OF CONTEMPT

The Council also adopted *Pandit Hridaynath Kunru's* resolution asking for immediate examination of the administration of law of contempt in India. The resolution was supported by Mr. Sapru and Mr. Padisah. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, Government of India, explained that the law of contempt was as old as law itself and no country had been able to successfully define "contempt". Three attempts—two of which were made by the Government of India—to define contempt had failed, because their futility was shown by eminent Indian lawyers, like the late *Pandit Motilal Nehru*. He declared that the Government were not in a position to undertake the task of reducing the law of contempt to rigid statutory provisions, defining "contempt" and specifying the circumstances and the manner in which the power to punish it might be exercised.

RIGHTS OF LANDOWNERS IN CANTONMENTS

Mr. P. N. Sapru next moved a resolution asking the Government to institute without delay an enquiry into the proprietary rights of land-owners in Cantonments and to take early steps to place Cantonment tenures on a statutory and satisfactory

India. *Shri Gurnam Singh Bawa*, Defence Secretary, replying, said that it had already been established by decisions of courts that the Crown was the owner of lands in Chakmahat areas and the occupancy rights of holders of lands in Chakmahat areas were governed by rules and regulations framed from time to time. The Government, therefore, was not prepared to accept the resolution. *Shri Gurnam Singh* said that Chakmahat areas were intended for military purposes and the various advantages were provided in connection with tenure and transference of lands in Chakmahat areas with a view to preserving the main purpose in view. The motion was rejected. The Council then adjourned till the 51st.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

51st. MARCH :—The Council to-day passed two official Bills as passed by the Legislative Assembly—the Bill to provide for weekly holidays to persons employed in shops, restaurants and theatres and the Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries.

INDIA'S OUTSTANDING WAR EFFORTS

The House rejected without division *Mr. Kalika's* resolution recommending immediate steps to convene a conference of industrial and labour leaders to expand and expedite the manufacture of war materials in India. *Sir Homi Mody*, Supply Member, expressed his inability to accept the suggestion made in the resolution. He declared that the magnitude of India's war effort during the last two years had been something outstanding and he was confident that their effort was in no way behind that of the other Dominions. He pointed to the results achieved in armaments production and said that in the matter of civil production the progress was even more striking. *Sir Homi* explained that these results had been achieved largely because of the co-operation of Indian industrialists with the Government. He mentioned the instance of cotton textiles and said that the industry had agreed to supply this year 700 million yards, as against 7,000 to 8,000 two years ago. He did not think any useful purpose would be served by the mere establishment of a committee or by convening a conference. The House then adjourned till the 2nd. April.

MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

2nd. APRIL :—The Council sat for 22 minutes this morning. *Mr. C. M. Trivedi*, Secretary, Communications Department, moved for consideration of the Motor Vehicles Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Bill was passed without any discussion.

The President said he had received a notice of motion for adjournment of the House, signed by *Mr. Sapru* and *Mr. Hussain Imam*, drawing attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the answer given this morning by *General Hertley* to *Mr. Khasru's* question regarding persons belonging to the British Dominions and Colonies holding commissions in the British Army. The President disallowed the motion on the ground that adequate notice was not given. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—11th. Feb. to 1st. April '42

OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCTION

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 11th. February 1942 with Sir Abdur Rahim, the President, in the chair. Among Bills introduced in the House were, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill to further amend the Indian Vessels Act, the Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping and the Bill to continue the provision made under Ordinance 18 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means, Sir Sultan Ahmed's Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, Mr. Tysoe's Bill further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and the Bill to provide for incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province. Mr. H. C. Prior, Labour Secretary, introduced a Bill, providing for weekly holidays to employees in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and theatres.

DEFERMENT OF SJ. SARAT BOSE

11th. FEBRUARY.—The House took up adjournment motions to-day. Sir Reginald Jernutt, Home Member, objected to Mr. A. C. Dutta's motion on the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and contended that the detention order was passed in the ordinary administration of law and was covered by previous rulings from the Chair disallowing discussion of such orders. The Chair held that this was not a case covered by the doctrine relating to ordinary administration of the law. The question raised by the motion was analogous to cases which had been dealt with by the House on adjournment motions and in which persons arrested under Regulation 3 of 1918 were concerned. Ordinary administration came in where persons were arrested and detained by a process of law by magistrates or authorities like that. What was complained of in this case was an act of the Government of India itself. No doubt, the Government of India were acting under a certain law. All acts of the Government of India were under the law and under the Government of India Act. The Government derived their power from that Act. But that was no answer to a motion like this. Mr. Dutta expressed his gratitude to the Chair for the ruling but said that as he learned that the question was engaging the Government's attention, he did not want to move the motion.

BAN ON HINDU MAHASABHA

Mr. Dutta's next motion to discuss the ban on the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was held over pending reply to the mover's application for the Governor-General's sanction.

OTHER ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

Sardar Sant Singh's motion on the disturbances connected with Gura Tag Bahadur's anniversary in November last year was ruled out by the Chair in view of a resolution on the subject which had been balloted for discussion on February 19. The same member's motion on the Government's "failure" to obtain the Assembly's approval before India declared war on Japan was disallowed by the Governor-General.

GRIEVANCES AGAINST INCOME TAX DEPT.

Grievances against the Income-tax Department were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on Sir Abdul Halim Ghannavi's resolution asking for reforms in the administration of the Department, particularly the abolition of the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay and the placing of the appellate assistant commissioners and the appellate tribunal under the control of the Law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court instead of under the Finance Department as at present. Sir A. H. Ghannavi alleged that the Income-tax Department had been guilty of racial discrimination, as it had refused to accept accounts audited by Indian firms and had entrusted to the Central Department, Calcutta, 400 cases, all of which were of Indian firms. The Central

Department, he stated, had been functioning in violation of Sir James Grieg's undertaking. Mr. Chapman Mortimer opposed the resolution, while Mr. A. C. Datta, Mr. Banerjee, Mr. Rajwade, Mr. Maitra, Mr. Dowsajj Jhangir, Mr. Ashar Ali and Mr. Hussainbhai Lalji spoke in support of it.

PLANS FOR AID TO COTTON GROWERS

Discussion on the resolution had not concluded when Mr. Govind Dasbakh's adjournment motion was taken up.

After 30 minutes' debate, the House by 31 votes to 17, rejected the motion, which was to discuss "the failure of Government to make adequate arrangements for transportation of agricultural produce, particularly short staple cotton, by rail to the market centres in the country, which has resulted in the economic ruin of its growers". Mr. Dasbakh appreciated the efforts made by the Commerce and Supply Members in securing the larger use in India of short staple cotton but declared that much of that benefit had been nullified by lack of transport facilities. Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member, contended that the difficulty that faced the cultivator of short staple cotton was not transport but that the market for it was not there. He claimed, however, that in spite of the strain imposed on the railways by wartime defence needs, they had not diminished the provision made for the carriage of agricultural produce. He gave figures in support of his statement. The House then adjourned till the 14th.

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

14th. FEBRUARY:—Twelve adjournment motions were either ruled out by the Chair or disallowed by the Governor-General in the Assembly to-day. Mr. Govind Dasbakh's motion regarding the cost of the training of Australian officers for appointment in the Indian Army was held out of order by the Chair, who observed that the motion was based on a misconception. Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Additional Defence Secretary, reiterated the statement he had made in the earlier session of the Assembly that no expenditure had been incurred by India on the training of Australian officers. No Australian, he said, had been, or was being, trained at present in any of the Officers' Training institutions in India.

Bhai Paramanand attempted to raise the question of the Kazaks regarding reports that they had looted Indian traders. Mr. O. K. Caroe, Secretary for External Affairs, pointed out that suggestion made in the motion that the Kazaks made an incursion into Almora was incorrect. The Kazaks never entered British India. The motion was disallowed. Sardar Sant Singh had a motion to discuss "the misuse" of the Defence of India Act in the Punjab in arresting traders who were observing hartal. The Chair held that the arrests were made in the ordinary course of law and could not form the subject of an adjournment motion.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

In a brief sitting devoted to non-official business to-day, the House referred three Bills to select committees, agreed to the circulation of two and to the introduction of three new Bills. Among those measures referred to select committees was Mr. Lalchand Navalsrai's Bill seeking to end the present practice of allowing unqualified people to appear as pleaders in criminal cases with the Court's permission. Mr. Navalsrai held that this practice suited a time when qualified pleaders were few in number but was now derogatory to the dignity of the bar and unnecessary in view of the number of qualified men available. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, made it clear that the Government were opposed to the Bill as it stood but were prepared to allow its reference to a select committee in the hope that necessary amendments would be made.

Mr. M. A. Karmi's Bill to amend the Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act was also referred to a select committee.

Speaking on Dr. Banerjee's Bill to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court, Sir Sultan Ahmed said that the Government themselves intended to promote a Bill with reference to the provision sought to be made in the present Bill that "on a certificate to that effect being given by the Advocate-General for a province that provisions shall be deemed to be a necessary party to the suit". The other provisions of the Bill required modification, which he hoped would be made in the select committee. The Bill was sent to a select committee.

Mr. Karmi's two other Bills, one to amend the Indian Penal Code and the other to amend the Criminal Procedure Code, were circulated for eliciting public opinion. The same member introduced three other Bills, one to amend the Shariat Application Act, the other to limit rates of interest and the third to amend the

Code of Criminal Procedure so as to abolish sessions trial with the aid of assessors. The House then adjourned till Monday, the 16th. February.

INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL ACT

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarkar moved a Bill to-day further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933, inserting a new section providing for appointment of such number of visitors as the Indian Medical Council might deem requisite to attend at any or all of the examinations held by medical institutions in British India for the purpose of granting recognised medical qualifications. The Bill was passed.

PENAL CODE AMENDING BILL

Sir Sultan Ahmed next moved a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code omitting Section 216 B of the Indian Penal Code and inserting the following new section : "22 A, the word 'harbour' includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition, or means of conveyance, or the assisting a person by any means, whether of the same kind as those enumerated in this section or not, to evade apprehension." Mr. K. C. Neogy moved for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion. He contended that the Act of 1894 for good reasons had distinguished between two categories of offences, first covered by Sections 130, 136 and 157 and the second covered by Sections 212, 216 and 216 A and 216 B, as regards definition of the word "harbour." Whereas earlier sections talked of harbouring in cases dealing with deserters, prisoners of war and prisoners of State, the later sections dealt with harbouring felons or criminals. He favoured arming Government with certain extraordinary powers in extraordinary circumstances, but he would not permit a permanent extension of the scope of the later sections to guilt under earlier sections. Mr. Lakschmikanta Maistra, supporting Mr. Neogy's motion, expressed the opinion that the very fact that different High Courts had differed in the interpretation of the word "harbour" should set Government thinking and added that the matter was not so simple as to be dealt with lightly. Mr. Maistra added that the Defence of India Act was so comprehensive and elastic that it could effectively deal with the exigencies arising out of the war. After Messrs. Lalchand Navalrai and Kazmi had spoken in support of Mr. Neogy's motion for circulation, closure was asked. The Opposition demanded a division and the closure motion was carried by 33 votes to 14. The House then gave leave to Sir Sultan Ahmed to move the Bill by 39 votes to 14. Discussion of the Bill clause by clause was proceeding when the House adjourned till the next day, when discussion was held over at the instance of the Law Member, Sir Sultan Ahmed, to enable the Government to table an Amendment.

BOILERS ACT AMEND. BILL

17th. FEBRUARY :—The House passed to-day without discussion the Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act. After some discussion, the Bill to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with activities not confined to one province, was passed.

BILL TO HELP COFFEE INDUSTRY

The House then passed Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill providing for continuance of the provision made under Ordinance 13 of 1940 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The measure will cease to be in force at the end of twelve months commencing on the first day of July subsequent to the termination of the present hostilities.

TRIBUTES TO CHIANG-KAI-SHEK

With acclamation the Assembly to-day adopted an official motion moved by the Leader of the House, Mr. M. S. Anay, recording high appreciation of the honour done to India by the visit of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and expressing admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a Power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied. Mr. Anay described Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek as one of the exponents of civilization and democracy. The Generalissimo's movement, he said, was one of the most inspiring chapters of the human race and showed how a whole nation and not merely a mercenary army can fight for its liberty and what political leadership a nation can achieve. Mr. Chakrabarti welcomed the Motion League Party with the sentiments of the Leader of the House. Mr. A. C. Dutta, speaking for the Congress Nationalists, was about

to introduce controversial topics but stopped short and concluded his observations by supporting the resolution. Sir Henry Richardson referred to the virtues of recognizing the true greatness in men and women of another race and declared that the visit of the brave Marshal and his equally brave wife "has served to inspire us with fresh courage and to make us resolve that however dark may be the days ahead we will persevere, whatever the cost, until victory is accomplished."

RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1942—43

12th FEBRUARY:—Railway estimates presented by Sir Andrew Clow in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1941-42 a surplus of 2620 crores against a surplus of 1138 crores originally estimated, and for 1942-43 a surplus of 2795 crores.

Revised estimate of surplus on railways for 1941-42 is 7.74 crores more than the actual surplus of last year. Total traffic receipts of State-owned lines are expected to reach 127 crores, about 15 crores more than last year and 18½ crores more than the original estimate. Total working expenses, including 12½ crores for depreciation, are a little over 78 crores, or about 7½ crores more than last year. Of the expected surplus of 26.20 crores, 19.12 crores will go to general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund of railways in repayment of the loans taken from it in past years of deficit. The balance in the depreciation fund will stand at about 51½ crores and that in the railway reserve fund about 68 crores.

Budget estimate for 1942-43 assumes traffic receipts of 125½ crores, 1½ crores less than in the current year. Total working expenses will amount to 70½ crores, about 2½ crores less than the current year. The surplus is expected to be 27.95 crores, of which 20.13 crores will be transferred to general revenues and 7.82 crores to the depreciation fund in repayment of the loans mentioned above. Balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be about 51½ crores.

The gross total works programme is slightly over 34½ crores, including 20 crores for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western and Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railways and two small branch lines. As a result of their purchase, and the purchase during this year of the Assam Bengal and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, the entire railway system of Northern India will, with the exception of unimportant light railways and some lines owned by Indian States, come under State management, the mileage under State management will increase from 17,000 miles to 24,000 miles and the number of railway employees in the service of the State will increase from 390,000 to over five lakhs. The rest of the provision is, as usual, for track renewals, bridges and other structural works, rolling stock and an increase in the stores balance.

At the outset, Sir Andrew Clow pointed out how on the one hand railways had to meet increasing demands on account of unprecedented increase in military traffic, production of the supplies at an ever-increasing speed and the contraction of alternative means of transport and how, on the other, they had, besides facing difficulties in renewing their assets, to give up rolling stock and rails to meet defence requirements, which were difficult to replace, and to spare experienced personnel in growing numbers for military or ancillary services. Besides supplying rails from stock and rails set free by relaying, over 500 miles of railway line would be dismantled this year. He added that with the rising intensity of the war effort, there was little prospect of the railways meeting more than a proportion of the demands made upon them.

In discussing the revenue position of the current year, he stated that the system adopted last year for the allocation of the surplus was found on further examination to be based in part on a mistaken impression, as no surplus accrued till the arrears of debt had been paid off. The system had, however, yielded a result which was equitable considering the present needs of general revenues, and it was, therefore, proposed to leave the original allocation undisturbed and to utilise the same method for dividing any surplus that might accrue next year. The sums so assigned to general revenues would, after meeting the 1 per cent contribution for each year, go towards liquidating the arrears of contribution for past years, and the balance left for the railways would be devoted towards repaying the debt to the depreciation fund. Accordingly, 19.12 crores would go to the general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund. In justifying the repayment to the depreciation fund Sir Andrew Clow stated that, after due consideration, Government had reached the conclusion that the balance in the fund would, even after repayment of the loans, not be excessive. In this connection he acknowledged the valuable work of the late Sir Raghavendra Rao, who had made railway depreciation fund his special study.

Before giving the actual estimates for next year, I propose to deal with certain charges which are contemplated in fares and freight. In the present situation there are strong arguments for a substantial increase in passenger fares. The demand for passenger traffic has already reached a level which we have been unable to meet and so far from being able to increase our capacity here, we may have to make a substantial diminution almost at once. This is likely to be rendered necessary by the paramount importance of providing further capacity for goods and of meeting the military and supply demands. We have, with the co-operation of the press, issued an appeal to the public to avoid unnecessary travel, but the effect of this is likely to be small compared with the effect that would be produced by an enhancement of the fares. Such an enhancement, moreover, would recoup us for the traffic which is lost and it would also tend to counterbalance the increased costs which road transport is having to face. Finally, the bulk of the increased revenue would go under present arrangements to the tax-payers and thus permit them to be relieved in other directions.

We have weighed these arguments with the attention they deserve but have come to the conclusion that we should stay our hands in the matter of imposing a general increase. The need for this may become more apparent as time goes on, but we are anxious to avoid any undue increase of cost to the railway users. If railways followed the practice of many industrial and commercial firms they could at the present moment secure very large increases in revenue and at the same time ease their own difficulties considerably by imposing increases which would effectively curtail the demand. But we are satisfied that this would not be in the public interest, and I hope that if in the future railways may again have to face financial stringency, the moderation that has been shown will not be forgotten. All that we propose to do for the present is to make certain enhancements on two railways, the East Indian and the North-Western. Passenger fares on these railways are substantially below the level prevailing on the other State-managed lines, and there is no sufficient ground for continuing to give passengers on these railways particularly cheap rates. A schedule of the enhancements is being distributed with the papers which will be placed in your hands but I may say that on the East Indian Railway, except for an increase of 2 pice per mile or 5 per cent in the intermediate class, there will be no enhancement at all on a journey up to 50 miles and the enhancement in the fare for the two lower classes on the N. W. and E. I. for a journey of any distance will not exceed 3 pice per mile. Even after these enhancements the general scales will still remain somewhat below those prevailing on other important lines. These enhancements will not be brought into force until the 1st of May and the total estimated accession of revenue is in the neighbourhood of half a crore.

In respect of freight, we propose to make two changes, both of which are dictated largely by traffic considerations. In the first place, we propose to increase the rate for parcels. If this is not done, there will be an increasing tendency to send goods as parcels and thus to increase the strain on our passenger trains which are already having to be curtailed. The present rate for parcels is 10 annas per rupee above the pre-war rate, and it will be increased by another two annas. A similar enhancement will apply to excess luggage, but there will be no enhancement on articles which were exempted from the former increase, such as newspapers. The extra revenue from the change next year is estimated at half a crore.

In respect of food-grains we have made no change since the war began. We have followed this policy mainly in order to avoid as far as possible contributing to the extra cost of living; but it is clear now that even if we had imposed an increase its effect would have been insignificant compared to the enhancement of prices which others have secured. Wheat, for example, has been selling in important markets at 100 per cent over the pre-war price. In spite of this we do not propose to bring food-grains into line with other commodities, but intend merely to impose an extra charge of two annas in the rupee on consignments of less than a wagon-load. Full wagons would continue to be charged at the existing rates. This is being done in order to ensure a better use of wagon supplies at a time when they are badly wanted. The revenue effect is likely to be small. We also propose to withdraw the rebate on wheat exported west of Aden, as there are no grounds at present for encouraging the export of wheat. The payments this year are likely to be of the order of 2 lakhs. None of these changes will be operative till the 1st of May.

The estimated surplus of 27.35 crores which, as Sir Andrew Clow stated, was highly speculative and was more likely to prove too high an estimate than too low,

would be disposed of on the same system as before, and to enable this to be done, a resolution extending the present moratorium for one year would be placed before the House shortly. The share of general revenues would be 20.18 crores and this would not only wipe out the arrears of contribution but involve an additional payment of over a crore. He went on to say that if the present conditions continued after 1942-43, a new situation would be created. For the tax-payer would still have a claim in equity to substantial relief from railway revenues, but there would be no debt against which any payment outside the convention would be set. Government would, therefore, place before the House, in the light of the position reached by the autumn, their proposals either for a revision of the existing convention or for further interim arrangements to meet the war situation only.

Referring to the extension of State management of railways, Sir Andrew Clow stressed the necessity for a large devolution of responsibility, expressed confidence in those holding responsible posts on railways, and acknowledged "specially the inspiring lead given by Sir Leonard Wilson and his officers here in a more exacting time than the railways have ever had to face."

In conclusion, he acknowledged the forbearance shown by most sections of the public who have suffered serious inconvenience and in some cases real hardship, and appealed for the fullest measure of co-operation in any trials that might lie ahead.

INCOME-TAX ADMINISTRATION

19th. FEBRUARY:—The day's proceedings began with the adjourned debate on Sir Abdul Halim Ghannawi's resolution expressing discontent against the Income-tax Administration. Sir Jeremy Raisman gave a clear exposition of the Government's administration and read out the recent circulars issued to income-tax officials. In rejecting the resolution by 41 votes to 19, the House agreed with the Finance Members that the serious charges had been disproved and that only the total abolition of the Income-tax Department would satisfy some of its critics.

RIOT CELEBRATION AND POLICE ACTION

Sardar Sant Singh moved a resolution demanding a public inquiry into the police action against the annual Bihb celebration in Delhi on the birth-day of Guru Teghachand. The Sardar indulged in vehement denunciation of the "clerkly" administration of Delhi. Sir Reginald Maxwell, giving "unvarnished facts", maintained that riots had been narrowly averted every year. The local authority had used minimum force and threw tear-gas shells from a long range. Sardar Sant Singh did not challenge a division.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. A. C. Dutta moved a resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council to take steps for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees. Mr. Dutta characterised the indefinite detention of prisoners as most improper especially at the present moment when Government wanted to create mass enthusiasm in war efforts. Mr. N. M. Joshi, supporting the motion, said that there could not be one act of justice for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Motilal Abul Kalam Anand and other satyagrahi prisoners who had been released and another act of justice for others who were detained. There was no justification for such discrimination. As a result of release of satyagrahi prisoners, Congress had reconsidered its position and withdrawn satyagraha. Some beneficial results were bound to follow the release of these political prisoners, most of whom had changed their views with regard to war and were burning with a desire to help in the successful prosecution of war. Motilal Saferakhhan urged Government to alleviate the sympathies of any section of the country at the present moment when they must be all out to enlist the goodwill of the whole country in the great task of facing a common enemy. Mr. Jemmedas Mehta considered that the continued detention of these prisoners had caused immense discontent in the country. He was confident that the release of these prisoners would result as beneficially as the release of satyagraha prisoners had resulted with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar figuring as a great crusader and Mr. Bhikhabhai Desai following him though somewhat cautiously. The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, intervening on behalf of the Government, pointed to the wording of the resolution, which demanded the release of all political prisoners, irrespective of the fact that they were guilty or not. He asked the House whether political prisoners, who had committed murders, or religious fanatics who in their frenzy broke law, were also to be set free. The Home

Member explained that the Government had given the widest possible construction to their decision and had released satyagraha prisoners guilty of "symbolic civil disobedience." The Government, since the House last discussed a similar resolution, had released 6,475 prisoners in addition to 569 security prisoners. There were now four hundred and odd prisoners who were still in custody, their offences being not symbolic but definite, impeding the war effort. As foreshadowed by him in the last session, machinery was being set up to examine cases of detenus and others. He asserted that the Government had no desire to keep anybody in jail, who desired to help in war effort. It was for the detenus and other prisoners to indicate that they had changed their attitude and were anxious to help the war effort and the tribunals, which were being set up, would recommend their release. But any attempt to hinder war effort would not be tolerated by the Government. Sir Reginald made an earnest appeal to the House to consider whether the present was opportune moment to release these prisoners, whose activities were detrimental to national safety. While on the one hand demands were being made to strengthen the Defences of India against foreign aggression and internal disorders, the sponsors of the resolution urged the release of persons whose attitude had been prejudicial to national safety. The Assembly then adjourned till the 23rd. before the resolution could be disposed of.

DEBATE ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET

22nd. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly held the general debate on the railway budget to-day: Mr. A. C. Datta, Deputy President, opening the debate, acknowledged that the surplus shown was phenomenal but declared it was not real. It could be real only if it was independent of war. As it was mainly due to war traffic, most of the surplus was in reality a matter of book adjustment between one department and another, and the contribution to the general revenues, a matter of putting money from one pocket into another. He strongly criticised the increase of fares, which he declared was unjustified in view of surplus.

Sir Henry Gidney, Leader of the Independent Party, looked upon the surplus not so much as an indication of profit as evidence of the extent to which the railways had responded to the military needs of the country. He declared it was unfortunate that an increase should be made in fares now when facilities should exist for evacuation of women and children in order that the men might help better in resisting aggression.

Sir Bhaudhin spoke of his personal experience and said he could not get wagons required for the use of the Aligarh University recently. He described the railway's contribution to the general revenues as payment of a loan and not a gift, because the surplus itself represented so much money taken from the general taxpayer.

Mr. K. C. Mogy congratulated the Railway member on the prevalence of the war (laughter) and described as a merry-go-round the process by which surpluses were made from the pocket of the general taxpayer and were then passed on to him in the form of contribution to the general revenues. If it was a prosperity budget, why, he asked, were the already high rates of fares being increased? The Railway member, he declared, had apparently agreed to become the Tax Collector for the Finance Member.

Professor F. N. Banerji said that the railways were enjoying prosperity in the midst of the adversity caused by high cost of living, etc. Speaking on how to utilise the surplus, he said in normal circumstances he would have urged its use for a reduction in fares and freights but the situation war abnormal and, therefore, accepted the railway member's view that the surplus should go to the general revenues. He hoped, however, that the Finance Member would not come forward with further taxation. Railway rates and fares were themselves a form of taxation.

Sir Andrew Clow, replying to the debate, expressed the hope that those who attributed the surplus to the fortuitous circumstances and the artificial stimulus of war would when lean times came attribute the losses also to prevailing conditions and not blame the administration. Replying to criticisms of high freights and fares the Railway Member said if the choice was between having fares high in times of prosperity and having them high in times of adversity, he would point out that if freights and fares in good times were set at a level which would leave a balance, he had no doubt that freights and fares would have to be put up when times were bad. As regards discourtesy of the type complained by Mr. Bhaudhin, the Railway Member pointed out it was not confined to this country. There seemed to be something about railway travel which attracted selfishness. The Railway

Member said that papers in connection with the matter raised by Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi about corruption during the time of the exodus from Calcutta had been given to the police and an enquiry was in progress. The House then adjourned.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

26th FEBRUARY :—In a brief sitting of about an hour the Assembly this morning passed two Bills of the Commerce Member and a motion of the Finance Member for the election of members of the Standing Finance Committee for 1942-43. Sir Samaswami Mudaliar's Bills were, one further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act and the other to provide for the extension of the time limited by, or under, the Indian Patents and Designs Act 1911.

Before the Finance Member's motion was accepted a debate on the functions of the Standing Finance Committee was initiated by Dr. P. N. Bhaserji, who pleaded for an extension of the functions so as to give the Committee power to deal not only with expenditure as at present but with revenue as well. Sir Jeremy Raisman, opposing the motion, pointed out that even in the most advanced democratic constitutions, it was not possible to associate the legislature beyond a certain stage with the formulation of certain features of financial policy. He also stressed the point that in war times particularly, it was undesirable to complicate, expand or elaborate the stages which had to be gone through before practical action could be taken. The Assembly then adjourned.

VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMANDS

26th FEBRUARY :—Railway rates and fares came to-day under intensive scrutiny in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Mr. Jemundaz Mehta to reduce the demand under Railway Board by Rs. 100. The motion was eventually passed to a division and lost by 56 votes to 28. Mr. Mehta argued that although freights and fares might not appear to be high in terms of annas and pias, they were certainly high looked at from the point of view of what proportion of the average daily income in India is paid by the traveller for each mile travelled. Mr. K. V. Neogy, Mr. Bhaserji, Mr. Abdul Ghani, Mr. Umar Ali Shah supported Mr. Mehta. Mr. Neogy commended the example of the Nizam's State Railways, which he said were faced with reduced earnings during the year ending October 1939 and met the situation by reducing their rates. Mr. J. H. P. Raper, Member, Railway Board, rebutting Mr. Mehta's charge of high rates compared them with those in China, where he suggested conditions were somewhat similar. The cost per passenger mile in China was 2.49 cents compared to 0.454 in India, although the average passenger travelled in China was 57 miles as against 35 miles in India. Mentioning some of the factors which entered into the present level of rates in India, Mr. Raper referred to the hundreds of thousands of passengers detected travelling without tickets in India. He also referred to the fact that much of our equipment was obtained from foreign countries with higher wage levels which were reflected in the cost of the goods. Mr. Raper, replying to the reference to the Nizam's State Railways, pointed out that the rates there were generally higher than on some other railways and some reduction was therefore necessary. He gave figures to show that between 1930-37 and 1939-41 there had been a reduction on Indian Railways in rates on coal, grains and minerals and some increase in other commodities, but on goods as a whole there had been a reduction from 6.17 pias per ton to 6.1 pias per ton. Third class passenger fares since 1935-36, however, had increased from 5 pias to 8.5 pias per mile but that could not amount to Rs. 20 crores as Mr. Jemundaz Mehta suggested. The House also rejected without a division Mr. Neogy's cut motion to discuss shortage of wagons for carriage of coal for public consumption and then adjourned.

26th FEBRUARY :—A revision of the convention regarding Railway finance from general Statutes was asked for in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Sir Frederick James to-day. Sir Frederick contended that the convention had in some respects broken down and he pleaded for an investigation into the proper basis for a fresh convention to take its place. Such an investigation, he said, should not be left till after the war. Mr. Jemundaz Mehta, Mr. V. M. Joshi, Mr. Francis Abel Leijt, Mr. K. O. Neogy and Mr. Khanna supported the motion. Sir Andrew Clee pointed out that they could not at this moment reach any conclusion that the convention must be revised. An interim arrangement would have to be made for the period of the war. Somewhat later in the year the question of the revision of the convention might be considered and he would then examine most sympathetically.

tionally the suggestions made in the course of the debate. The mover withdrew his motion.

Improvement of alternative forms of transport was urged on a cut motion moved by Mr. Ramsey Scott. Mr. Scott wanted to know if more plants could be put down for the production of power alcohol from molasses, whether more distilleries could be built for producing rectified spirit and whether orders had been given to forest officers to get on with the production of charcoal for gas driven buses. He wanted to know more about the functions and powers of the central transport organisation. Sir Andrew Clow pointed out that he had given some study to guideways. Sir Guthrie Russell said Sir Andrew, while anxious to see the experiment made in Kashmir did not hold the same view of guideways as Mr. Jammadas Mehta did. Sir Andrew made it clear that to attempt to get steel for the purpose of building guideways would be a waste now. Nor could guideways act as a substitute for the shortage of railway transport. The time had come, however, when the control of transport priorities should be systematised and he said that in the initial stage this work would be in the charge of the Communications Secretary who would be relieved of the bulk of his present work by the immediate appointment of an additional secretary. The Communications Secretary would work in the closest co-operation with the provincial boards. The general organisation would be developed with all possible expedition. The motion was withdrawn.

Cheap return tickets for Haj pilgrims was demanded by Khan Bahadur Piracha by a cut motion which was supported by Maulvi Abdul Ghani and Syed Murtaza Sahab. Sir Andrew Clow undertook to examine the demand sympathetically as soon as the war pressure was over. The motion was withdrawn.

Overcrowding in trains, particularly in Inter and Third Class compartments, was complained in the course of speeches on Mr. Nauman's cut motion, which was next taken up. Mr. Nauman referred to the conditions caused by the exodus from Calcutta and said he had heard a report that some deaths occurred on the platform as a result of overcrowding. Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Transportation Member, Railway Board, assured the House that the question of overcrowding was fully appreciated by the Railway Board and the position was giving the Railway Board as well as General Managers of railways a great deal of anxiety. They however had not been able to find a remedy and he was afraid that the position was likely to get worse. But they would do all they could to help the situation.

Maulvi Abdul Ghani by a cut motion drew attention to the number of accidents on railways which he declared were increasing year by year and could not therefore be explained by the inexperience of the men who were replacing the older personnel sent overseas. Sir Andrew Clow referred to the increasing strain on the staff and pointed out that regrettable as the accidents were, they could not be altogether excluded from rapid forms of transport. The cut motion was rejected without a division.

Ecclesiastical expenditure charged to railway revenues was denounced by Mr. Jammadas Mehta who moved another cut motion. The seriousness of the issue would be realised when one considered what would be the position if all religions in the country laid a claim on railway revenues. Sir Andrew Clow pleaded ignorance of the expenditure but said it had increased during the last two or three years. There were arrangements by which ecclesiastical expenditure was reduced every five years. The expenditure, he added, was a survival of earlier days and had been settled by statute. The motion was rejected without a division.

The other demands were passed and the House adjourned till the next day when after questions the Assembly held the first secret session in its history.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942-43

20th. FEBRUARY :— Introducing the Budget for 1942-43 to-day, the Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit, on the present basis of taxation, of Rs. 67 crores next year.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The revised estimate of Defence expenditure of 1941-42 is placed at Rs. 102 crores. This expenditure for 1942-43 is estimated at Rs. 133 crores. The Finance Member stated that this was only a fraction of the total sum being spent in India on the war. He announced that the amount of expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies that the Government of India expected to recover from His Majesty's

Government, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, would exceed Rs. 470 crores in 1942-43.

SHARE OF INCOME TAX

The share of the provinces in the Income-tax will be Rs. 7,99 lakhs this year and Rs. 8,87 lakhs next. The Finance Member observed in this connection that "this is considerably more than the total sum which at the time of the Nimsayer Award the provinces were expected to receive at the end of the ten-year devolution period or than ever appeared to be possible before the outbreak of the war".

Finally, explaining the advantages of the Sterling debt repatriation scheme, the Finance Member stated that "the real gain to the country lies in the liquidation of external obligations which might prove an embarrassment in future and their replacement by internal debt".

NEW TAXATION PROPOSALS

The Finance Member announced the following new taxation proposals :—

Incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 to be taxed at six pias in the rupee over the Rs. 750 of total income.

The surcharge of Income-tax and Super-tax to be increased from 33½ per cent. to roughly 50 per cent. An all-round customs surcharge of 20 per cent. to be levied on existing import tariff except raw cotton, petrol and salt.

Petrol tax to be increased by 25 per cent. Posts and telegraphs rates to be increased.

Letter postage rate will be increased from 1½ to 1½ annas. The minimum rate for telegram is raised from 10 annas to 12 annas.

The Finance Member announced certain concessions to Income-tax and Excess Profits Tax assessments to encourage saving and prevent inflation now and provide a reserve for re-equipment after the war.

Sir Jeremy estimated the total additional revenue from fresh taxation at Rs. 12 crores leaving a deficit of Rs. 85 crores, to be covered by the borrowing programme.

Following the Budget speech, the Finance Member introduced the Finance Bill embodying the new taxation proposals.

BUDGET AT A GLANCE

				In Lakhs of Rupees		
				Income	Expenditure	—Deficit + Surplus
1940-41	Revised Estimate	...	...	108.71	112.13	— 3.42
1940-41	Actuals	...	...	107.65	114.18	— 6.53
1941-42	Budget Estimate	...	...	115.00	123.85	— 18.85
1941-42	Revised Estimate	...	...	129.62	146.89	— 17.27
1942-43	Budget Estimate	...	...	152.00	187.07	— 35.07

INDIA'S DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

In 1940-41, the Defence Expenditure was estimated at Rs. 72.08 lakhs but it actually exceeded by a further Rs. 905 lakhs.

The following are the figures for 1941-42 and 1942-43.

		1941-42	1941-42	1942-43
		Estimate	Revised Budget	Budget
Basic Normal Budget		36.77	36.77	36.77
Effect of Rise in Prices		8.75	4.24	6.32
India's War Measures		25.40	55.08	81.80
Non-Effective Charges		8.41	8.41	8.41

(Total in Lakh of rupees)

Announcing the new taxation proposals Sir Jeremy Molesworth said that he proposed to make incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 liable to tax at six pias in the rupee over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability will, however, be completely discharged if the assessee deposits one and a quarter times the amount of tax liable in a Defence Saving Bank Account from which sums cannot be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which 2½ per cent interest will be paid.

INCOME TAX SURCHARGE

The present 33½ per cent Central Surcharge on Income Tax is to be raised to a scale which runs from six pias in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs.

5,000, to nine pias in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000, one anna two pias on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pias on the balance over Rs. 15,000. The last is equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. For incomes not exceeding Rs. 4,000 an amount of the tax equal to half per cent of the assessee's income will be funded for repayment to him after the end of the war.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

The rate of Excess Profits Tax is to be retained at 60% per cent. But as an incentive to economy in business administration Government will contribute an amount up to one-tenth of the Excess Profits Tax paid to a reserve for the re-equipment of industry after the war, provided the assessee deposits double this amount. The assessee's contribution to the reserve will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war and till then will earn two per cent simple interest.

The main proposal of indirect taxation is the levy of an emergency surcharge of one-fifth on all customs import duties. The only exceptions will be petrol, the tax on which is being increased separately from twelve annas to fifteen annas a gallon, raw cotton on which the duty has just been doubled and certain imports from Burma which are excluded by the operation of the Trade Agreement. The duty on imported salt will continue at the same rate as at present and the excise duty on kerosene will be raised to the enhanced import duty.

POSTAL RATES INCREASED

The final proposal is an increase in posts and telegraphs rates to yield one crore. The ordinary letter rate is to be increased from one and quarter annas to one and half annas, the post-card remaining unchanged; the minimum rate for ordinary telegrams is to go up from ten annas to twelve annas and for express telegrams from Rs. 1/8 to Rs. 1/8 and the surcharge on trunk calls fees is to be raised from ten to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from fresh taxation is estimated at Rs. 22 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 35 crores to be covered by the borrowing programme.

The Finance Member said that though in normal times this would be a formidable addition to the public debt, viewed against the background of India's war effort, the intensive development of her resources and the conversion of her external to internal debt, the general picture gave grounds for great comfort and encouragement in the future.

The Finance Member said: I now address myself to my final task, which is to lay before the House the proposals of the Government for the treatment of the deficit of Rs. 47.07 lakhs, which, on the estimates we have made, is anticipated in the forthcoming financial year.

SCHEMES OF SAVINGS

I will deal in the first place with the provisions relating to incomes of from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000. These are in the first instance made liable to tax at six pias in the Rupee on the excess over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability can, however, be completely discharged and no tax will be leviable if the assessee exercises the option of depositing a prescribed sum in a Savings Bank account. The prescribed amount is Rs. 1 for every Rs. 25 by which his total income exceeds Rs. 750 and is therefore approximately one and a quarter times the amount of tax to which he would otherwise be liable. Thus on an income of Rs. 1,250, the tax would be Rs. 15/10 and the optional savings bank deposit would be Rs. 20; the corresponding figure for an income of Rs. 1,750 are tax Rs. 31/4, optional savings bank deposit Rs. 41. It is intended that these amounts should be deposited on the Post Office Defence Savings Bank from which sums cannot ordinarily be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which interest is payable at the rate of two and a half per cent per annum. It will be seen that this is in its essence a scheme of saving rather than of taxation, and it appears to us the most suitable way in which the problem which I outlined above can be tackled in the case of those persons whose incomes fall below the minimum, which has hitherto been liable to income-tax.

SURCHARGE ON INCOME

The next feature of our proposals relate to the central surcharge on incomes exceeding Rs. 2,000. We have hitherto proceeded by the application of a flat percentage surcharge on the basic rate of income-tax and super-tax throughout the whole range of income. The limitations of the procedure will be apparent when it

is remembered that the basic tax progresses from three-quarters of an anna in the rupee at one end to nine and a half annas in the rupee at the other. The scope for flexible adjustment of the latter rate of tax in a time of national emergency is clearly much more restricted in terms of a flat percentage than the increases which are feasible in the lower reaches of the scale. The basic scales of tax in India have since 1860 been highly progressive and the rate of progression has been further stepped by the application of the percentage surcharge. The income tax surcharge which has been proposed in the Finance Bill runs from six pias in the rupee in the slab of taxable income between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 5,000 to nine pias in the rupee on the net Rs. 5,000, one anna and two pias in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pias in the rupee on the balance of total income. The last named surcharge is of course, equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge. Similarly the surcharge on the rates of super-tax are equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation Tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. While for the reasons I have explained the rate of surcharge on the first slab of taxable income are somewhat higher than fifty per cent there is a provision which mitigates Rs. 6,000. By this provision a portion of the tax equal to a half per cent of the assessee's total income will be funded for his benefit and repaid to him after the end of the war. In order that the House may more easily understand the incidence of the taxes that will now be levied on incomes throughout the scale, I have included in the explanatory memorandum on the budget a table showing the percentage of his total income which the assessee will be required to contribute. It will be seen that that incidence proceeds in a fairly even progression from less than two per cent at one end of the scale to eighty-five per cent at the other end of the scale on an income of thirty lakhs a year.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

As regards the excess profits tax, it is proposed to retain the existing rate of 66½ per cent to be levied on the profits of a further period of one year. Here also, however, we have introduced a new feature. We have been impressed with the growing evidence of the extent to which this tax militates at certain stages against the incentive to the most economical and efficient administration of the business effected. We also feel that there is great force in the argument for the supreme importance of building up a reserve for the rehabilitation and re-equipment of national industries after the war. Finally, there is here also a strong case for immobilising during the period of the war as much as possible of the excess profits earned and preventing postponable private expenditure from exerting an undesirable influence on the price level. To assist in securing these objects we are prepared to contribute an amount up to but not exceeding one-tenth of the net excess profits tax ultimately paid at the rate of 66½ per cent provided that the assessee deposits a sum equal to double this amount. The contribution thus placed in reserve by the assessee will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war, and will in the meantime earn simple interest at the rate of two per cent per annum. The portion contributed by the Government will also be paid out after the war at such time and subject to such condition as may hereafter be determined. Advice on the formulation of these conditions will be sought from the Post-war Reconstruction Committee. The Government contribution will, together with the interest on the assessee's deposit, be a taxable receipt of the year in which it is repaid.

This completes our proposals for direct taxation. The net addition to revenue, excluding repayable deposits and refundable elements which are to be treated as borrowings is estimated at Rs. 850 lakhs.

INDIRECT TAXATION

I turn now to the sphere of indirect taxation. Here our main proposal is to levy during the forthcoming financial year an emergency surcharge over the whole field of Customs import duties equal to one-fifth of those duties. The only exceptions will be the duty on raw cotton, which has just been enhanced for a special purpose and the duty on motor spirit. The surcharge on which will be increased by three annas a gallon with a resultant systematic increase of a like amount in the import duty. There are also a few unimportant imports from Burma on which, by the operation of the Trade Agreements concluded with that country last year, no increase is possible.

By way of further facility to make certain increases in our posts and telegraph rates, which are estimated to add an addition of approximately Rs. one crore. The main changes are an increase in the ordinary letter rate from one and a quarter annas to

one and half annas, the Post-card rate remaining unchanged; and an increase in the minimum rate for an ordinary telegram, which is ten annas including the surcharge to twelve annas. The minimum rate for express telegrams will be similarly increased from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-8. There will also be increases in telephone rentals and the surcharge on trunk call fees will be raised from ten per cent to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from all these proposals is estimated at Rs. 12 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 85.07 lakhs to be covered by our borrowing programme.

Against an expected deficit of Rs. 8.42 lakhs, the year 1940-41 ended with a deficit of only Rs. 6.53 lakhs. Though expenditure, mainly on account of Defence, increased by Rs. 2.05 lakhs, revenue improved by Rs. 8.44 lakhs.

REVISED ESTIMATES, 1941-42—REVENUE

Revised estimates for the current year show a net improvement of Rs. 16.82 lakhs in revenue and an increase of Rs. 20.04 lakhs in expenditure, the latter mainly on account of the Defence Services, the cost of which has risen from Rs. 84 crores to Rs. 102 crores. The deficit on the current year is thus expected to increase from roughly Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 17 crores.

Although since the entry of Japan into the war and the consequent dislocation of shipping in the Pacific Customs receipts have dropped sharply, the total Customs revenue for the year is expected to reach the budget figure with about a crore to spare. Central Excise Duties have also come up to expectations, increased collections of sugar excise duty more than making up for the loss on petrol; the revised estimate is therefore Rs. 20 lakhs above the budget figure.

Collections of Income-tax and Corporation tax have continued to increase and show a further rise of Rs. 3 crores as compared with the budget. But the actual receipts of Excess Profits Tax are put at no more than Rs. 8 crores out of an anticipated Rs. 11 crores. The divisible pool of Income-tax, however, has gone up from Rs. 18.35 lakhs to Rs. 22.17 lakhs. In consequence, the Provinces are expected to receive an additional Rs. 2 crores which, with the arrears of Rs. 81 lakhs due from last year, will bring the amount to be distributed to the Provinces this year up to the record figure of Rs. 7.39 lakhs.

The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank paid over to Government have amounted to Rs. 2.47 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1.36 lakhs estimated. The working of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which shows increase under both gross revenue and expenditure is expected to show a surplus of Rs. 1.79 lakhs more than the estimate. The net contribution to be paid by the Railways of Rs. 19.12 lakhs is Rs. 9 crores more than was provided in the budget estimates.

EXPENDITURE—DEFENCE SERVICES

The details of the revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1941-42 amounts to Rs. 102.45 lakhs

The expansion of the Defence schemes previously undertaken and the putting into force of new measures to improve India's coastal, air and land defences, involve a large increase in India's share of the war bill. India's total war commitments, therefore, estimated last year at Rs. 52 crores initial outlay and Rs. 19 crores annually recurring, have now risen to Rs. 100 crores initial and Rs. 40 crores recurring. During the current year, the Indian portion of the initial and recurring costs will amount to roughly Rs. 54 crores, which is Rs. 18½ crores in excess of the amount provided for Indian war measures in the budget.

The increase of Rs. 17.69 lakhs in the cost of India's war measures is made up of the increase of Rs. 18½ crores just mentioned less Rs. 85 lakhs on account of India's share of contributions for defence purposes received from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. The gross expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies expected to be brought to account in India's books for the year 1941-42 amount in all to Rs. 200 crores. Out of this amount, after India's share as shown above has been deducted, the balance of Rs. 200 crores is borne by His Majesty's Government. This latter figure does not include the value of equipment supplied and other services rendered by His Majesty's Government without charge.

Considerable expansion has taken place during the current year in the current defence schemes. India's armies are now more than twice as large as they were at the corresponding stage of the war of 1914-18. There are in all over a million men under arms—twice as many as at this time last year. All the Indian cavalry regiments have been mechanised and additional units of the new type are steadily

being raised. Heavy and light armoured formations have been raised and others are forming. In order to provide concentrated training, the various schools and other training institutions of the Defence Services have been greatly increased.

By resourceful improvisation and use of equipment, it has been possible to push on fast with the schemes of expansion. The establishment of new factories and the expansion of existing factories in India for the production of ammunition, lethal weapons, explosives and other articles required for war purposes, as a result of the Roger Mission schemes, will ease the position in this respect as the new and expanded factories come into production.

The programme of expansion for the Royal Indian Navy is now materialising rapidly. Two new sloops of the latest type are fully commissioned and have already seen service. Others are under construction in the United Kingdom. A large programme of building in connection with local Naval Defence requirements has been undertaken in India and some vessels have already been completed and commissioned.

The development of the Air Force had proceeded as far as the provision of equipment and skilled technical personnel permitted and much progress has been made during the year. Modern aircraft are now arriving in India and a substantial quantity of modern training equipment has been received. The scheme for the assembly and manufacture of aeroplanes in India has made good progress. It is confidently hoped that the factory will complete its programme of fighter and bomber construction before the end of the present calendar year.

CIVIL EXPENDITURE, 1941-42—SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

Civil expenditure in the current year has increased by Rs. 1.72 lakhs, which is mainly due to the expansion of schemes and activities connected with the war. The Department of Supply has made steady progress. Something like 700 million yards of cotton textiles will be purchased during the year 1942-43. The clothing factories, multiplied ten-fold since the outbreak of war, are turning out more than 8 million garments a month. Production in other directions, some of them introduced in India for the first time, has also been rapidly stepped up. The Directorate-General of Munitions Production has launched satisfactorily a large number of new projects. Resulting from the suggestions of the Roger Mission, His Majesty's Government have approved 20 new projects involving a capital outlay of about Rs. 12 crores; these are now in various stages of execution. The whole of the capital outlay on the erection and establishment of these factories is being borne by His Majesty's Government. The load on trade and Railway workshops has been substantially increased. From the beginning of the war to the end of December 1941 the orders placed through the Department are valued at approximately Rs. 2.20 crores, not including the value of the manufactured goods produced in the Ordnance factories. The additional expenditure on account of these expanded activities is expected to amount to Rs. 64 lakhs in the current year.

India has now been admitted to the benefits of Lend-Lease facilities, given by America, on the same terms as the United Kingdom itself and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The orders placed for supplies on Lend-Lease terms up to the end of January 1942 amounted in value to roughly Rs. 47 crores.

The precise nature of the obligation that these Lend-Lease facilities will impose on the Governments making use of them has not yet been intimated. It is, therefore, considered prudent to budget and account for these stores in the same way as though they had been obtained by cash purchase until the manner in which the Lend-Lease liability will ultimately be liquidated becomes known. The great bulk of the amounts involved relate to stores supplied for the Defence Services in India, but the exact division of these amounts between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India cannot at this stage be determined.

There has also been an inevitable expansion in other spheres of Government administrations to deal with special war time problems. The amount to be paid this year in connection with the A. R. P. mainly in grants to the Provinces, is estimated at Rs. 1.67 lakhs.

The net increase in the Civil estimates would have reached a larger figure but for a welcome reduction of Rs. 2.03 lakhs in the interest charges.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1942-43—REVENUE

The total revenue estimates for the next financial year amount to Rs. 160.00 lakhs as compared with Rs. 129.82 lakhs in the revised estimates of the current

year. The yield from Customs duties is taken at Rs. 20 crores as against Rs. 36 crores revised. This reduced estimate is due to the considerable drop in imports expected as a result of the extension of war to the Pacific. The estimate also includes the revenue of Rs. 3 crores which is expected to result from the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton.

The yield from Corporation Tax, Income-tax, together with the Central surcharge is expected to increase by over Rs. 3 crores and the collections of the Excess Profits tax have been put at Rs. 20 crores as compared with Rs. 8 crores in the current year. On this basis the divisible pool of income-tax will increase to Rs. 25.75 lakhs. On the assumption that the sum to be retained by the Centre from the provincial surpluses will be maintained at Rs. 4½ crores, the share of the Provinces next year is expected to reach the figure of Rs. 8.57 lakhs.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The Defence budget for 1942-43 amounts to Rs. 133.00 lakhs. Of the total amounts shown, roughly Rs. 47 crores represent initial expenditure and Rs. 86 crores annual recurring expenditure. An allowance has been made for an aggregate credit of Rs. 1½ crores for the year from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund.

India's Defence expenditure is only a fraction—about one-fourth—of the gross Defence expenditure likely to be brought to account in India's books during 1942-43. In other words, the amount of expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies that the Government of India expect to recover from His Majesty's Government during that year, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, exceeds the enormous total of Rs. 400 crores.

CIVIL ESTIMATES

Civil expenditure estimates show increases amounting to Rs. 9.63 lakhs as compared with the current year's revised estimates. Chief provisions, which mainly relate to essential measures connected with the war, are as follows:—

(1) Rs. 4 crores under expenditure on Civil Defence. This estimate which is mainly for A. R. P. measures is, in the very nature of things, purely tentative as its extent will depend on future war developments.

(2) The Technical training Scheme for the Defence Services and Ordnance and Munitions factories has been expanded to provide for training 48,000 men (as against 15,000 originally contemplated) by the end of 1942-43. This is to cost Rs. 2 crores. A further expansion costing about Rs. 20 lakhs is also being undertaken to meet the needs of civil industry. Of these amounts Rs. 1.32 lakhs are expected to be spent next year.

(3) There is a special provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(4) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to complete the programme of the Karachi, Pushawar and Delhi Broadcasting Houses and the construction of the new high power transmitter for foreign broadcasts.

(5) The continued expansion of the Supply Department's activities is expected to require a further Rs. 48 lakhs over and above the amount provided this year.

(6) There is an increase of Rs. 1.75 lakhs under interest charges.

(7) The amount to be transferred to the War Risk Insurance Fund is Rs. 3.24 lakhs and to the Cotton Growers Fund Rs. 2.00 lakhs.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

The financial position for the coming year can be summarised as follows:—

		Lakhs of Rs.
Civil Estimates	...	84.07
Defence Expenditure	...	133.00
Total expenditure estimate	...	187.07
Total revenue at the existing level of taxation	...	140.00
Prospective deficit	...	47.07

WAYS AND MEANS

Turning to the ways and means position, the Finance Member stated that the Defence Loans since they were first issued in June, 1940, had produced a total of Rs. 130.30 lakhs up to the end of January, 1942. During the current year the outstanding balance of the 5 per cent. Bonds amounting to Rs. 10½ crores had been repaid. Apart from the undated Sterling loans, the only loan which Government

have the option of repaying next year to the 5 per cent. Loan, 1942-47, but of this the balance still outstanding is only Rs. 65 lakhs.

With the increased war demand for supplies from India Sterling has continued to accumulate in the Reserve Bank at a rate greatly in excess of the previous year's figures. Purchases by the Bank during the first ten months of the current year amounted to approximately £37 million. The net refunds by the Secretary of State for recoverable war expenditure and for purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and Allied Governments are expected to aggregate £53 million for the current year, after providing for the repayment of 2½ per cent and 3 per cent undated Sterling loans next month. For next year these are estimated at £164 million after allowing for the repayment of the remaining undated Sterling loans and for the payment of £13 million for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western Railway and the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railway.

Under the compulsory Sterling debt repatriation scheme the total terminable Stock acquired last year amounted to Rs. 97 crores. The sum paid out to those holders who were entitled to payment in Sterling was £66.8 million, while of Rs. 14.56 crores dealt with under the Indian Vesting Order, Rs. 13.90 crores were acquired in exchange for counterparts, the small remainder being paid for in cash. Including the market purchases which preceded this first compulsory acquisition, the total Sterling debt has been reduced by £101 million and the annual interest payments in Sterling by over £4 million.

The second compulsory scheme of repatriation, which has now been inaugurated in respect of the non-terminable Sterling loans, will require about £70 million for the 2½ per cent and 3 per cent Stocks. Another £70 million will be required next year for payments in connection with the 5½ per cent Stock. The Reserve Bank will be able to make these amounts available to Government without any strain on its Sterling resources on account of its continued large-scale acquisition of Sterling.

As regards the first measure of repatriation, rupee finance was required for terminable Stock of the nominal value of Rs. 84 crores besides direct payment to some holders in the form of counterparts. Of this amount about half was provided by the Reserve Bank by the purchase of counterparts and the remainder, which could not be paid directly out of Government's balances, was financed from *ad hoc* Treasury Bills or ways and means advances from the Bank. In the beginning of the slack season, Government took over from the Bank about Rs. 25 crores of counterparts against *ad hoc* Treasury Bills.

Of the counterparts held by the Reserve Bank or taken over by Government, some Rs. 47 crores of Stocks—which was considered in excess of the absorption capacity of the market—was later cancelled and a small portion converted into existing loans for which there was a fairly sustained demand from the market. The combined result of these operations was an increase of Rs. 92 crores in the rupee debt and of Rs. 3 crores in the rupee interest charges against a reduction in Sterling debt by Rs. 135 crores and Sterling interest by Rs. 5½ crores.

An opportunity occurred during the year, the *ad hoc* Treasury Bills taken up by the Reserve Bank were gradually cancelled against the transfer of Sterling from the Banking to the Issue Department. Meanwhile counterparts on Government account were sold to the public as they required them.

By the end of December last, out of some Rs. 180 crores of rupee counterparts created since repatriation was first undertaken, Rs. 51 crores were in the hands of the public, a little over Rs. 31 crores were held by the Reserve Bank and Rs. 94 crores were on Government account. As Treasury Bill outstandings actually decreased by Rs. 14 crores from March 1, 1941, to January 31, 1942, it may be concluded that the cash payments on account of the counterparts which were cancelled have ultimately been financed almost entirely from Defence Loan proceeds.

In the light of the above successful operation of the rupee finance plan, no unusual difficulty is expected to be encountered in making satisfactory arrangements for the financing of the second instalment of repatriation due to be carried out in two stages—one in March 1942 and the other in January 1943.

The Finance Member took ninety minutes and was cheered at the conclusion of the speech. His new taxation proposals were received in attentive silence broken by derisive laughter from opposition benches as he explained the consequences to income tax and E.P.T. assessed who contributed to the national savings movement. When the motion for introduction of the Finance Bill was put, Congress nationalist benches opposed it with a loud cry of "No." The Bill was nevertheless allowed to be introduced, and the House adjourned till Wednesday the 4th. March.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

26th. MARCH :—The Assembly held the general discussion on the budget to-day. Mr. A. C. Dutta opening the debate said that the estimates were vague and one could not form a correct judgment from them. Mr. Dutta proceeding enquired why the building programme had been launched at Simla during war time. He felt that no attempt had been made for retrenchment and economy and the country was not getting its money's worth. He also disputed the claim of the Finance Member regarding industrial development of the country during the war. In this connection he referred to aircraft, automobile and shipbuilding industries and asserted that the Government had done everything to thwart their development and little to encourage it.

Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, felt that the incidence of income-tax to some extent fell inequitably on a man with a family in India as compared to Great Britain. He urged that if there was any increase in income-tax in future, the authorities should bear in mind the allowances made in England in fixing the rates. Sir Henry next referred to the optional savings bank deposit system, and suggested that it would assist employees if their optional savings could be deposited monthly just the same as their tax would be deducted each month. He also wanted these deposit to be protected against being mortgaged or otherwise disposed of in advance of receipt. He suggested that his recommendation should also apply to the frudging proposals for the benefit of assesses whose annual income did not exceed Rs. 6,000/-.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed congratulated the Finance Member on keeping the finances of the country in stable conditions but he suggested three measures which should be adopted in order to avoid panic and internal disturbance. The first measure was that the banks should always remain open and supply small coins and notes freely for civil requirements. Panic was bound to be caused if the banks remained closed even for one day, he declared. The second measure was that arrangements should be made for storage of foodstuffs and fodder in every district and subdivision. The third step was that the provinces should double the police force and not rely entirely upon civil guards.

Mr. Jammadas Mehta said : "I am entirely in favour of spending whatever is necessary to win the war but Indians should have directional interest in the expenditure, and Indians should not be discriminated against. We might commit more blunders than you have done but that is no reason why 163 crores out of the total income of 187 crores should be sent by you without my consent." Strongly denouncing the proposal to tax small incomes like those of Rs. 1,000 a year and also articles like kerosine, Mr. Mehta declared : "The Finance Member is living in a dream world in which he has persuaded himself that purchasing power is running waste in India. I dissociate myself entirely from the scheme of taxing the worker getting rupees onehundred a month. The railway worker has by way of dearness allowance got only some fifteen per cent increase in wages while the cost of living has in some places risen as high as 151 per cent. By taxing these small incomes you are taxing the food of these people. I ask the Finance Member to tax the food of the richer people instead. Every year some thousands of dinners costing Rs. 10, 15 or 20 per head are eaten in hotels by rich men who do not require these dinners. Let him tax the dinners of these fashionable wasters. If instead of that you tax the food of the poor worker, you will drive him to borrow the money to pay the tax."

Maulana Zafarali did not agree with the Finance Member that the purchasing power of the masses had gone up and asked the Finance Member whether his own purchasing power had gone up. Maulana Zafarali, proceeding, said that the prices had gone up but the earning capacity of the masses had not kept pace with the rise in prices. The Government, for instance, could buy wheat at controlled prices, but not the poor consumer. And yet in spite of India's appalling poverty, he could say that thousands of crores of rupees would be forthcoming if they were convinced that India was for Indians. He wanted the Finance Member to give up additional taxes, which would raise only twelve crores, but borrow the entire amount, say, from the United States.

Dr. P. N. Bannerji said he would not grudge any amount of money, if it was spent on the defence of the country (official cheer.) He equally agreed with the principle of balancing the war budget partly by taxation and partly by borrowing. Referring to taxation proposals, Dr. Bannerji said that additional tax on houses all would be a hard blow to the poor man ; similarly the lowering of the incidence of income tax would affect a large number of people with fixed income.

Replying first to the points about economy and encroachment, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member pointed out the extent to which the civil side of the Government equally with the many defence services was at the present time part of the war machinery. It had been urged that even if the number of administrative posts could not be reduced, their pay could be reduced. Replying to this suggestion, the Finance Member pointed out that it amounted to this—that in addition to the taxation which he along with the non-official non-salaried persons bore, the salaried official should also suffer a further reduction in his income. From the point of equity, the Finance Member was prepared to say from his observation of the effects of war on the economic position in India that of all individuals occupying a particular income class, say between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 7,500 a year, the ones who were most likely at the present time to have suffered from the impact of war would be the salaried people. They were the individuals whose income had remained more stationary and less in excess of the pre-war figure than other occupants of that class of income. He was prepared to say that 95 per cent of businessmen whose income at this moment was between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 7,000 were enjoying an income of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 before the war. At the present time the incomes of non-salaried persons were subject to wide fluctuations but the vast majority of those incomes were subject to very powerful upward fluctuations. Referring to the charge that he had been obsessed by a sort of complex about the question of purchasing power and price level, the Finance Member said he did not intend to be a "metaphysical economist" but the question could be stated in simple terms. Certain types of goods were more and more difficult to get, their supply was getting less and less. That in itself would tend to cause a rise in prices, because the volume of demand would remain and the supply would be less and would remain inadequate. That was why the index figures of the cost of living had risen. As regard the question as to what extent the defence industries which were being built up would survive in the postwar period, although he could not attempt to indicate a solution of the problems which would arise after the war, the Finance Member thought it was clear that if India was in a position now to produce certain types of goods then she should be in a better position after the war to switch over to production of goods to meet civilian demand than she would be if she had not undergone industrial expansion during the war.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES ON INDUSTRIES

25th. MARCH :—The Assembly to day agreed to refer to a select committee *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries, and passed his Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective shall have effect. The House passed a number of demands for supplementary grants in respect of railways and adjourned.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

26th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced to-day. *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, offered to Mr. Jamsnadas Mehta to help him to a clear appreciation of the repatriation transactions by placing before him, subject to the ordinary confidential rules of Government, all the material he would like to have to arrive at an objective and dispassionate judgment. The offer was made in reply to criticisms made by Mr. Mehta in moving his out motion. In view of the offer Mr. Mehta eventually withdrew his motion.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

"Insufficient utilization of the country's resources" was criticised by Pandit Nihant Das who moved the next out motion. He commented on the lack of co-ordination between one department and another of Government. He suggested the establishment of a planning department of Government which could stand between the supply and defence departments and also between the producers and consumers. *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, replying, explained that two important organizations, one in South India and the other in Bengal, were trying rapidly to establish the aluminium industry, and he hoped that very soon, within a few months, aluminium would be produced in the country. He had already given the assurance that the aluminium industry would be protected against unfair competition from abroad after the war. As regards acetic acid, besides Imperial Chemicals, who were now in production, Tata were also expected to be in production this year. Sulphuric acid, the extraction of pure sulphur, the production of acetic acid and potassium chlorate and coal trol were also receiving attention and some of them would soon be produced. Several concerns had come forward with schemes for the

production of power alcohol and Government would give every possible help to them. He claimed that what had been done was substantial as an indication of Government's goodwill and earnestness. The motion was withdrawn.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Mr. Jannadas Mehta by the next cut motion asked for a clear enunciation of labour department's policy during the war, particularly on his demand that the basic minimum substratum of living standard of the working classes should not suffer. For this purpose he demanded that the working classes should get a dearness allowance corresponding to every rise in the cost of living, so that the standard of living might be kept up, even at its present low level. He taxed the Finance Member with utter lack of sympathy. Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Labour Member, said he had missed an opportunity of keeping in touch with two labour leaders in the India House, Mr. Mehta and Mr. Joshi, and others, consulting them on all matters connected with labour and his department was already taking up and constantly reviewing the progress of suggestions made by these labour leaders. Mr. Jannadas Mehta withdrew the motion "in view of the general assurances given."

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The question of release of political prisoners was again raised through a cut motion. Mr. Kasmi, mover of the motion, characterised the Government's policy in this matter as harsh and vindictive and lacking in vision, imagination and grace. Sir Reginald Maxwell, replying, said that he had already explained the policy of Government on this question. He informed the House that on January 15, 1939 persons were undergoing sentences for offences under Defence of India Rules and 171 persons were under detention under Rules 26 and 128. It was not, therefore, proper to contend that repression existed in the country when only two thousand and odd persons in a population of 400 million remained as prisoners. He believed that the word repression had been used somewhat loosely. He asserted that Government had not the slightest desire to exercise repression and maintained that Government kept in prison only those persons whom they considered it necessary to do so. Continuing, the Home Member said he had done his best to remove as far as possible difficulties but it must be admitted that Government had high responsibility to see that no great danger was let loose in addition to the external danger. He was particularly pleased to inform the House that provincial Governments had released certain prisoners without waiting for the decision of reviewing tribunals. The motion was rejected without a division.

GOVT. SERVANTS' PENSIONS

Mr. Joshi pleaded for greater facilities being given to inferior servants of the Government of India in the matter of pensions. He particularly drew the attention of the Government to the inferior servants in the postal and telegraph services. Sir Jeremy Raisman assured Mr. Joshi of his sympathies to the inferior servants of the Government but pointed out that he must pay due regard to the position of the taxpayer especially when they were faced with larger deficits than occurred at any time in the history of India. Mr. Joshi withdrew the cut motion in view of the Finance Member's sympathetic reply. The House then adjourned.

TRIBUTES TO RANGOON POSTAL WORKERS

7th. MARCH :—Compensatory and house rent allowances for all postmen and lower grade staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department were demanded by Rao Sahab Bheeraj on a cut motion to-day. The Rao Sahab referred to the "magnificent work" of the Indian postmen in Rangoon during the air raids and the postmen in India would, he was confident, give an equally good account of themselves in similar conditions. Sir Andrew Clow acknowledged the tributes to the efficiency of the department. Public satisfaction, he suggested, was due largely to the cheapness of the service and if all the suggestions for larger allowances were adopted that advantage would very rapidly disappear. The motion was negatived. Rao Sahab Bheeraj, moving the next cut motion, asked for definite representation for the depressed classes in the Government of India services. He said that the depressed classes should be treated as separate class for these purposes and should be allotted as much a percentage in the services as was given to the Moslems, because numerically the depressed classes were more or less equal to the Moslems. Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, expressed sympathy with the object underlying the motion. The Government, he said, had never abandoned the principle that everyone recruited to the public services must have the minimum qualifications. He held that no

useful purpose would be served by making reservation for the depressed classes unless an adequate number of qualified men were forthcoming from that community. Mr. Sivasaj withdrew the motion.

INADEQUACY OF POSTAL STAFF

Sir Henry Gidsey, through another cut motion, raised the question of the inadequacy of staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department to deal with the emergency work created by the war. Sir Andrew Clow admitted that there was some truth in the complaints made regarding the inadequacy of staff. He, however, reminded the House that only a few years ago they wanted the Government to economise and cut down all unnecessary staff. Government had recruited 2,000 men to the permanent staff and another 1,000 to the temporary staff to cope with the additional volume of work. The motion was withdrawn.

INADEQUACY OF MUSLIMS IN GOVT. DEPTS.

Masrui Abdul Ghani next raised discussion on the inadequacy of the number of Mussalmans in the Posts and Telegraphs Department and complained that proper effect was not being given to the resolution of 1931. Sir Andrew Clow claimed that the Posts and Telegraphs was one of the departments which took scrupulous care to secure adequate representation of the minorities and particularly of the Mussalmans. The motion was rejected without a division.

Sir Raza Ali referred to the "hardships and discrimination to which Moslem officials are subjected by the administrative head of the Department of Archaeology." Pandit Lakshmi Kant Maitra defended the department by quoting figures to show that the Mussalmans were given a larger proportion of jobs than they were entitled to. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 10th.

10th MARCH :—Hon'ble Mr. N. B. Sarkar, Member for Education, Health and Lands, replied on Sir Raza Ali's motion to-day. Mr. Sarkar emphasised that the complaint was not about paucity of Muslims in the department. Indeed there could be no such complaint, for in all cadres there was adequate Muslim representation varying between 32 and 33 and one-third per cent. As regards individual cases cited by Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Sarkar conceded that in 2 instances the Director-General had committed an error of judgment but declared that the Director-General's decisions were not influenced by any other consideration than the merits. Such errors did not proceed from communal bias. Mr. Sarkar remarked that the mover and his supporters had served public interest in bringing these cases to the Government's notice but he hoped that they would now consider the chapter closed. Sir Raza Ali withdrew the cut motions.

The question of inadequate representation of Mussalmans in the Imperial Institute of veterinary research, specially in the Gazetted ranks, was raised by Haji Abdul Sattar Sait. Mr. Azhar Ali and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan supported him. Mr. N. B. Sarkar explained that the resolution of 1931, relating to communal representation in the public services, did not apply to Veterinary Research Institute. Notwithstanding this, he showed by quoting figures that the Mussalmans had done very well in that department. He promised to look into particular complaints brought up during the discussion. The cut motion was withdrawn.

CORRUPTION IN THE SUPPLY DEPT.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed discussed the system of purchases and inspection in the Supply Department. He believed that the present war would continue at least for 3 more years and in the future India would have to depend more and more on herself. Sir Ziauddin firstly dealt with the question of corruption in the Supply Department and after quoting some cases, alleged that merit or recommendations did not count in that department, it was only money. He next made an earnest plea for the great utilisation of cottage industries. Mr. E. M. Jenkins, Secretary, Supply Department, replying to the debate, said that Government did not neglect cottage industries and were able to purchase over two million blankets, coir mats and cutlery from that source. The department had also called a conference of provincial directors of industries to meet here on March 23 when plans for the fuller utilisation of cottage industries products would be discussed. Mr. Jenkins said that they had ceased to recruit army men into the Supply Department, but in order to safeguard the rights of certain individuals, they had to retain some army men in the Department. As for corruption, Mr. Jenkins said that it had been the gravest concern of all of them. He said that there was nothing new in what he had been told in the course of the debate. He admitted that corruption did exist in the department, but it was not possible to root it out completely during

the war conditions, particularly when the public did not co-operate with them. He wanted wholesome public opinion to assist in rooting out corruption. The motion was talked out.

DEPARTMENT OF PRODUCTION

The advisability of creating a Department of Production separate from Supply was urged by *Sir Frederick James*, who moved the next out motion. The quantity and quality of equipment, he declared, was as determining a factor in war as the number of soldiers or the skill of generals. Mr. Jenkins replying made it clear that the Supply Department was handling production now and difficulties were inherent in the supply situation and not in the organisation of the department, which he believed was more or less on the right lines. The out motion was withdrawn.

GOVT. POLICY RE. CIVIL DEFENCE

Mr. C. P. Lawson raised discussion on the Government's policy regarding civil defence. He said that the civil defence was a problem for all irrespective of politics. He enquired whether the functions of the Central Government were advisory or supervisory, adding that the Central Government had responsibility at any rate to protect its own property, such as railways. Mr. Symon, Joint Secretary, Civil Defence, after explaining what the Government had been doing to organise the department within such a short time stated that the Government of India did not see in any of the recent political speeches by Indian leaders any indication for setting up a parallel organisation to the Civil Defence Department. Messrs. Dam and Mohammad Ahmed Kazmi also supported the out motion. As Mr. Kazmi could not conclude his observation by 5 o'clock the Chair applied the guillotine, after which all demands for grants were passed. The Assembly then adjourned till the next day, when the Finance Bill came up for consideration.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

11th. MARCH :—As the motion for the second reading of the Finance Bill to-day offered scope for unbridled oratory, *Sir Jeremy Bentham* asked non-official members to assist in the quick dispatch of business because Government members "have a most urgent task to perform in these days."

Mr. Lalchand Narasrai took one hour to expatiate on the need for Government making adequate arrangements for security. The cost of these measures should not, he suggested, be realised by extra taxation but should be met "by adjusting accounts in some way."

Sir F. Chandraravarker would not let the impression get about that India was not behind the Government, but he felt that in the present atmosphere when Government stood completely divorced from public opinion, no Englishman in India should exhibit racial arrogance. He confessed that the support of men like himself and *Sir Cowasji* did not carry weight and suggested that the recent speeches of *Pandit Nehru*, Mr. Gandhi, *Pandit Pant* and Mr. *Rajagopalachariar* had done more than anything else to steady public opinion, and that the vital need of the hour was a government in the hands of popular leaders.

Maulana Zafar Ali thought that Indian members did not count in the councils of Government, that if real political power was granted Hindus and Moslems would come to terms, and that India alone so oppressed could win the war.

12th. MARCH :—*Sirdar Sant Singh* speaking on the Finance Bill was cheered when he extended a welcome to *Sir Stafford Cripps* and commented appreciatively on the announcement that His Majesty's Government had reached definite conclusions. "One thing is certain," he went on, "and that is that there is going to be a further delay in really transferring power from the bureaucracy, if the decision contemplates any such transfer at all. But I may say that there is still time for adequate steps for that transfer of power." He however, recalled the experience of Mr. Montagu's visit and said that Indians had to be careful about the results of *Sir Stafford Cripps'* visit. The *Sardar* was glad that the necessity of increasing the morale of the civil population of India had been brought home to the British Government. He said, "we are not concerned with the motives of the British Government in their action with regard to India at this late hour. The peril to Indians is greater than the peril to a handful of Englishmen in India. The bureaucracy has been guilty of so many misdeeds resulting in India's present plight. It is high time the bureaucracy vacated the treasury benches and handed over the administration of the country to the representatives of the people."

Mr. *Hanselby Lallo* asked the Finance Member what he proposed to do with the huge sterling balances lying idle in England. He expressed the opinion that all requirements of war must be financed by long term loans.

Mr. *Yamini Khan* complained that Government was not exercising proper vigilance on defence expenditures and urged Government to put down with iron hand all corruption. He averred that it would be dishonest on the part of non-official members if they permitted their countrymen to be subjected to further taxation without ensuring that the huge defence expenditures were given the closest examination. Objecting to the extra taxation on silver, Sir *Yamini* drew the attention of the Finance Member to the phenomenal increase in the price of gold and silver in the course of the last three months and asked Government to take immediate action to stop this wild fluctuation in prices and hoarding of these metals. Finally, Sir *Yamini* said that the imposition of income tax on lower income was likely to cause greater hardships on the poorer sections of the population who were already groaning under increased cost of life.

Mr. *P. Griffiths* made a fervent appeal for unity and urged that Sir *Stafford Cripps* should be given a chance to succeed in his mission. The failure of *Stafford Cripps* in India would mean a disaster for all. Mr. *Griffiths* next referred to the *Viceroy's* appeal for a national war front and said that there was nothing sinister in that appeal. It only meant the creation and mobilization of public opinion for an intensive war effort and to build up the morale of the people. It was intended to instil determination to face danger and reinforce our hearts.

Sir *Henry Richardson* said that unless the proposed rebate under E. P. T. was properly explained it looked like a gamble. He was grateful to Government for giving effect to two of his earlier suggestions in the form of amendments to the Finance Bill.

Rao Sahab Sitoraj thought that the present Government of India was "ancient and worn-out" but he believed it might be reconstructed so as to make it capable of moving with the times and fight the enemy.

Mr. *Jennadass Mahis* said that the Finance Member's admonition to members of the House to make their speeches on the Bill short because Government members were busy with war work was not a happy one. That admonition, he thought, was not in consonance with the spirit displayed by Mr. *Churchill* who had claimed that the British nation was bound to win because they were a free nation with free institutions and had never stifled parliamentary criticism. He had not concluded when the House rose.

18th. MARCH:—An appeal to all parties in the country and to the Central Assembly to hush all controversy and concentrate on the war effort, was made by Mr. *Jennadass Mahis* in his speech on the Finance Bill to-day. In his view, there were four or five people in this country who could be trusted to give their best and bring the masses together. They were the Mahatma of *Bhambur* or the *Jam Sahab* of *Bawanagar*, Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, Sir *Sitander Hoopt Khan* and Mr. *M. N. Roy*. Mr. *Fazlul Haq's* name also could be added to the list.

Sir *Frederick James* responded on behalf of the European section. Mr. *Jennadass's* appeal for a truce and declared: "We are living in a revolutionary period. India is fast changing. Use the present occasion to root out any remaining evidence of racial or social exclusiveness. Any section believing in complete isolation is living in a fool's paradise." Sir *Frederick* implored his community "to throw in our lot with the people of the country. In common service we can lay the lasting foundation for harmonious relationship between the two countries."

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghannavi* referred to the huge defence expenditure and asked Government what it had done for the defence of India. He said: "You have left us in the lurch. Goodness alone knows how we are going to defend the country." He asked if India was admitted to the benefit of Loans and Land facilities, why Rs. 84 crores had been budgeted for cash payments to the United States of America on account of India's purchases from them.

Mr. *M. Neuman* considered that the incidence of taxation was bound to aggravate the hardships of the middle classes. He agreed that extra money had to be found to finance the war, but submitted that it should come from those who could afford to give it. Mr. *K. C. Neogy* was speaking and had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned till the 19th.

19th. MARCH:—A suggestion that non-official Indians should be consulted with the proposed American Technical Mission to India, was made by Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, speaking to-day on the first reading of the Finance Bill. Such consultation of non-official advisers, said Mr. *Neogy*, was necessary in order to lay at rest

suspensions that the visit of the Mission might lead to the creation of vested interests in the industrial field. Indian public opinion was not going to tolerate these vested interests, he declared. Mr. Neogy also wanted that non-official Indian advisers should be taken fully into confidence both by the Government and by the U. S. Mission in all its activities. He insisted on an assurance on these lines because the complaint had been made that non-official advisers associated with the Eastern Group Conference were not taken into full confidence on all important questions and that their services were not fully utilized.

Mr. A. C. Datta thought that the House of Commons announcement of the proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps was bringing to India to discuss, was of special importance because it invited our efforts with particular reference to the defence of India and not with reference to the war in all theatres. This he regarded as a revolutionary change in the attitude towards India and Indians. There were also other remarkable features of the announcement, he said. The initiative had been taken by Government and the formula that the people should make agreed proposals for a settlement had been given up. The announcement also contained the recognition that it was impossible to defend India without the co-operation of Indians. In the announcement, again, was the clear admission that India was one entire nation and that all ideas and proposals for partition had been knocked on the head once for all. These, said Mr. Datta, were welcome features of the announcement, although he had no idea of the exact nature of the proposals which Sir Stafford was bringing.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons, Additional Secretary, Civil Defence Department, attempted to dispel the impression that the Department was manned by bureaucrats unwilling to trust the people. Explaining the functions of the Civil Defence Department, Mr. Symons said there were much the same as those of the medical profession, partly prophylactic and partly curative, to ensure that falling bombs did as little damage as possible and that the damage done was repaired as quickly as possible. If force was to be used either to deal with an internal disturbance or an attack from the air, that was the function of the civil guards or the Defence Department. The objective of his department, he went on, was to have a warden for every 150 people or 25 houses, which the warden was to visit regularly. So far, however, only about 50 per cent of the defence staff required had been obtained. The number of wardens required had not yet been obtained. Mr. Symons, dealing with the question of evacuation, said that the policy which the Government of India had asked provincial Governments to follow, was that first and foremost all those who had essential work to do in cities should at all costs stay and never leave, while as regards non-essential people, nothing should be done to prevent them from leaving if they wished to. The railways had made elaborate plans to move such people.

Sir Gurusath Senvoor alluded to non-official criticisms of the behaviour of certain military men in Poona and Bombay, and said that no one regretted more than the Government such occurrences. He informed the House that every incident involving injury or alarm to the public was promptly reported to General Headquarters and necessary measures were taken to avoid repetition of these incidents. Sir Gurusath also stated that the Government had decided to establish a special military corps of military police in principal military stations to investigate all such cases and mete out severe punishment to all military men found guilty of gross misbehaviour to members of the public. The Government had also taken other measures, such as tightening of control on selling of liquor to military men and putting restrictions on entry of troops in certain areas with a view to preventing the possibility of unhappy incidents occurring. He also mentioned that the Government had provided a considerable sum of money for compensating the aggrieved parties. Sir Gurusath was still speaking when the House adjourned.

17th MARCH :—Mr. G. S. Borman, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, dealt with criticisms of the arrangements for evacuation of Indians from Burma and Malaya. Referring to Malaya first he estimated the total number of people who had come away at approximately 5,000. It had been stated, Mr. Borman went on, that in the evacuation from Penang there had been racial discrimination. So far as could be ascertained, practically all Europeans in Penang came away and he had not heard of any Indian who had been able to leave. He reminded the House that the Governor of the Straits Settlements had made a public statement in which he had said that the evacuation of Penang took place without his knowledge or orders, and that should further withdrawals of people take place he had feared

instructions that no distinction of race, creed or colour should be permitted. The House would understand, Mr. Rosman said, that the Government of India had no means now of ascertaining what the true facts were. There was no communication with the Malayan Government, direct or through any channels. A number of people who had come away from Malaya had told stories which were remarkably consistent. There was sufficient evidence to warrant a thorough and impartial inquiry into the actual facts when circumstances permitted such an inquiry being undertaken. This view had been forwarded to the proper authorities. As regards Burma, every ship on which we could lay hands had been employed for evacuation from that country and the total number of people evacuated was between 45,000 and 50,000. That, he suggested, was not an unsatisfactory figure considering the short space of time and the conditions of constant air raids in which it had taken place. There was now in operation a scheme of evacuation by air. This scheme had been organized by the Government of Burma and the Government of India and Indian National Airways had given every assistance they could in providing machines, while Chinese National Airways were doing splendid work in taking people away from Burma. He assured the House that in this evacuation scheme, as in all evacuation schemes, emphasis had been laid on avoiding any kind of racial discrimination.

19th MARCH :—After 5 days' debate on the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill the Assembly divided and passed the motion by forty-nine votes to sixteen. The Muslim League voted against it. Of the Nationalist Party, one voted with the League while a few voted with the Government and some remained neutral. In his reply to the debate, Mr. Jeremy Rosman, Finance Member, said there had been comments of two kinds on the budget proposals. The greater volume of comment had taken the usual line about the weight of the burdens imposed on the country but there had also been a note of criticism that the sacrifices which the country was being called upon to bear at the present time was if anything disproportionate to the needs of the situation. He found himself much more impressed by the latter type of criticism than the former. Dealing at length with criticisms of the manner in which the accounting of lease and lend supplies had been done, the Finance Member referred to the suggestion that all that we had to do was to credit ten crores in the current year and thirty-four crores in the year 1943-44; and the deficit would have vanished. This, he said, was an illusion of the kind that honest people in Britain when they thought that Russia would win the war for them. Critics in this case thought that America could balance the budget for them. After explaining the details of lease and lend arrangements, Mr. Rosman said that in the circumstances and in view of the amount actually included in the budget on this account, the manner of treatment of lease and lend receipts could not possibly have made any substantial difference in our budgetary policy. Their effect was so small that they neither affected the taxation nor the borrowing proposals; there could be no question of the tax-payer or the lender to Government being asked to make greater sacrifices on account of the way in which Government was at present treating the accounting of the lease and lend stores. Referring to a question put to him about the conditions which would be attached to the Government's share of the re-equipment reserve for industry, the Finance Member said he was not at present in a position to formulate them precisely, but broadly speaking Government would be anxious to see that such money was not used to increase dividends to shareholders but utilized to strengthen the position of the industry concerned after the war. Alluding to the position of those who had been victims of heavy loss in Burma and Malaya, he said that he had not had time to discuss the position with those concerned. The suggestion that the central board of currencies was not prepared to make any allowance for the unfortunate plight of these people was an unjustifiable one, because the board was prepared to hear all these people had to say and devise the most suitable means of relief. As regards the sterling balances, he said these had hitherto been used in the best possible way, namely, extinguishing the external debt and buying up railways and so on, and Government would endeavour to continue to use them as opportunities presented themselves in the best possible way.

In the course of discussion of the bill clause by clause, the Finance Member accepted an amendment moved by Mr. Govind Dasgupta seeking to exempt certain machinery from the 30 per cent additional import duty. The amendment was passed. The machinery concerned is comprised in items numbers 32, 32(1), 32(2) and 32(3) of the First schedule to the Tariff Act.

Mr. Jemmedas Mehta moved another amendment the effect of which would

be to exempt protected industries from the surcharge on customs duties. The amendment was rejected. The House then adjourned.

19th. MARCH :—A sudden development took place to-day while Mr. M. A. Kasmai's amendment proposing to omit from the Finance Bill the provision for taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was under discussion. Mr. L. K. Mohtra mentioned a point which had escaped the Government's attention and had not been mentioned in earlier debates. He said that the Bengal Act taxing trades, professions, callings and employments provided that every person liable to income-tax must pay a fixed annual tax of Rs. 30. This meant that new assesses would not only pay Rs. 16 annually to the Government of India but would also become liable to pay Rs. 30 to the Bengal Government. This revelation came as a bombshell. Sir Jeremy Raisman was informed that Mr. Mohtra's contention was correct. It was also stated that another province, probably the C. P., also has legislation taxing employments. Mr. Jannadas Mehta, Mr. N. M. Joshi and Mr. A. C. Patta supported the amendment in the interests of the poorer classes and Mr. K. C. Neogy reinforced Mr. Mohtra's point by quoting textually from the Bengal Act. Sir Cowasji Jehangir had intended supporting the amendment on political grounds because he did not wish to disturb in these days the mental equilibrium of the class affected by the proposed extension of the income-tax classification, but felt doubly convinced after hearing Mr. Mohtra that the amendment should be passed. He also brought forth the argument that during the last elections to the Central Assembly in 1934, the lowering of the taxable income to Rs. 1,000 had resulted in such a large increase in enfranchised persons that the Congress won the elections easily. If this limit was again lowered, the Congress might be grateful to the Finance Member but not to the other parties.

Sir Jeremy Raisman announced amidst cheers the decision of the Government to raise the limit of the lower minimum level of income-tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. This means that out of the estimated new assesses numbering 750,000 about 500,000 will be exempted from income-tax and that the estimated income-tax from this class of over a crore of rupees will be substantially reduced.

While announcing this concession, Sir Jeremy Raisman did not hide from the House that he ruefully viewed the damage thus done to an important feature of his Budget. His proposal was not intended so much to get revenue as to make the lower classes tighten their belt and reduce consumption. He had calculated that under the original proposal purchasing power to the extent of a hundred crores would have been affected, while under the modification he had announced only Rs. 40 crores of purchasing power would be affected. The Finance Member said that even though the point raised by Mr. Mohtra showed an entirely unintended consequence, the Finance Bill had provided escape in that the people in Bengal could contribute to Defence Loans and not pay tax on income. As by choosing the first alternative they would not become assesses they would not be liable to the provincial tax. However, he had decided to make a gesture to the non-official benches, but in order to encourage saving he intended to maintain the alternative of subscription to Defence Loans for classes having incomes of from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 even though the majority of these classes would now be not liable to income-tax. He did not think that Sir Cowasji Jehangir's fears about franchisees were well grounded and in any case, it was not the business of the House in considering financial proposals to worry about the effect on the number of the electorates.

Mr. Kasmai withdrew his amendment and, instead, Mr. Banerjee moved an amendment which was in the name of Mr. Leichand Navsairi, fixing the minimum level at Rs. 1,500. The House adopted this amendment.

20th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill was passed to-day by 44 votes to 14. The minority represented the Muslim League Party's votes. The Nationalist Party remained neutral and did not participate in the third reading of the Bill owing to the feeling expressed by the leader of the party that the Chair's ruling regarding the scope of the debate on the third reading had curtailed the power of the House. This attitude of the Nationalist Party combined with the Muslim League's previous decision to take no further part in the debate resulted in the curtailment of the debate which might otherwise have lasted the entire sitting.

The House next resumed discussion on the amendment to reduce the price of petroleum to two pice. Mr. K. C. Neogy recalled the principle of running the Postal Department on a commercial basis and felt that that principle had been sacrificed without explanation and without a promise that it would be restored after the war. Sir Jeremy Raisman read out a part of his speech introducing the

emergency Finance Bill in 1940, when he made it clear that the proposal to increase postal rates was "a vehicle for an indirect tax." The House was satisfied with the explanation but eleven members of the opposition insisted on recording their support for the reduction motion.

When the Finance Member moved the third reading of the Bill, *Mian Ghous-ud-din* suggested unanimous support to the Bill as a moral encouragement to the soldiers fighting India's battles. After Mr. *Kasmi* had thanked the Finance Member for exempting the lower classes from income-tax, the debate abruptly concluded and the House voted on the Finance Bill. The House then adjourned till the 24th. March.

24th. MARCH :—The Assembly devoted to-day to consideration of non-official Bills. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, leader of the Congress Party, along with a few other members of the Congress Party, attended the Assembly to-day.

The House passed the Bills amending the Indian Limitation Act and the Indian Companies Act, as passed by the Council of State.

WEEKLY HOLIDAYS BILL

25th. MARCH :—On the motion of Mr. *H. C. Prior*, the House passed the Weekly Holidays Bill which provides that every person employed otherwise than in a confidential capacity or in position of management in any shop, restaurant or theatre shall be allowed in each week a holiday of one whole day. The Bill extends to the whole of British India and will come into force in a province or in a specified area within a province only if the provincial Government by notification in the official *Gazette* so directs.

The Assembly also passed *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill facilitating the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries. The House then adjourned till the 31st.

MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

31st. MARCH :—On the motion of Mr. *S. N. Bay* the Assembly passed the Motor Vehicles Bill amending the Motor Vehicles Act 1939. Mr. *Roy* said the amendments proposed were more or less of a formal nature. The Assembly then adjourned.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

1st. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day threw out by 37 votes to 16 Mr. *Ahli Chandra Dutta's* resolution recommending to the Government that steps be taken for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees. The Muslim League Party remained neutral.

After Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, Mr. *L. K. Maitra*, Mr. *Kailash Bihari Lal*, Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh*, Mr. *Chattopadhyaya*, Mr. *Kasmi* and *Sarfaraz Sant Singh* had spoken in support of the resolution, Mr. *Dutta* said that *Sir Reginald Maxwell's* (Home Member) remark that the main political parties in the country regarded it as their duty to act as factories for the manufacture of fifth columnists was untrue and a gross calumny on the people of India. He demanded that *Sir Reginald* should withdraw his remark. He declared that the Government's present policy was crippling India's war effort and asked them, even at this late hour, to realize the gravity of the situation and act with broadmindedness. The Home Member winding up the debate said that the number of persons convicted under the Defence of India Rules and still serving imprisonment on February 1, 1942 was 720, out of whom the number of *satyagrahi* prisoners was 441, as compared with 6,548 on November 1, 1941. The number of persons released so far was 6,475. Those detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules on February 1, 1942 were 1,141 as compared to 1,630 on November 1, 1941. He informed the House that acting on the suggestion of the Government of India all Provincial Governments were reviewing the cases of these prisoners and the result of their review was not yet known. He was, therefore, not in a position to give further information on the subject and suggested that members should await the outcome of the review of cases by Provincial Governments before considering the subject further. He made it clear that it was not the desire of the Government to retain any one who was anti-Fascist and who was determined to assist in the prosecution of the war, and he was doing his best to ascertain how many of the prisoners belonged to this class. He added that Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose's* case was not being referred by a tribunal at the moment, and would have to be considered later. He assured the House that the Government was not so indifferent on the question as some members of the House thought. The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 37 votes to 16. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's Visit

Comradeship-In-Arms Of Two Great Countries

Few events during the past decade have so deeply stirred the imagination of the Indian people or so spontaneously evoked their goodwill and sympathy as the recent visit of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Coming as it did at a time when China and India are engaged in mortal combat against a common aggressor, the visit was far more than a mere gesture of neighbourly cordiality; it was a mission of supreme significance, designed to strengthen the like of friendship that stretch across the centuries and to seal a blood-bond of comradeship-in-arms between two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls or one-third of the population of the World. India on her part rose equal to the occasion and, in doing honour to her august visitors in the way she did, demonstrated to the world that her heart was one with China and that she was determined fully to discharge her share of the burden in furtherance of the common cause.

The Generalissimo

Till a few years back the Generalissimo, though the head of a Government, was not much heard of in the West. He was not respectable. To many he was but one of the many modernised warlords of China, a sort of bandit-chief. To some he was a mere adventurer and to others he was just another revolutionary.

The great Democracies of the West turned a deaf ear to China's call for help and justice. And most of them did not care to understand the great role that Chiang was playing as the maker of Modern China.

But the past four years of splendid resistance put up by China against the superior forces of Japan, and the exigencies of the Second World War opened the eyes of the West. Slowly but surely both the United States and Britain began to realise the value and the valour of the great Chinese leader.

What is the secret of Chiang's greatness? The answer is simple—he stands as the indomitable spirit of China.

His life itself reads like a romance though he himself is stern and stoic.

Though now a Christian, Chiang was nurtured in the ancient Confucian traditions of China, in which his widowed mother firmly buttressed. His father, a trader in the village of Chikow, died when the future leader was a boy. His loving mother painfully scraped together the means to give her son an officer's education at Puoting Military Academy. When he was fifteen she married him to a girl named Mao.

Chiang's son from his first marriage, Chiang Ching-kuo, was sent to Moscow in the heyday of Soviet-Chinese friendship after the last war. Becoming a Communist, he quarrelled with his father but now has job in China's propaganda department.

Turning-point in Chiang's career was his meeting with pretty and accomplished Miss Soong Mei-ling, youngest daughter of the rich Christian, Americanised Soong family. Divorcing his first wife with a comfortable annuity and dismissing his concubines, China's leader married Mei-ling, and, in course of time, was baptised.

Chiang's marriage into the Soong family made him, posthumously, a brother-in-law of the late great Sun Yat-sen, "Father of the Chinese Republic," for Sun's widow was Soong Mei-ling's elder sister.

Ever since Marshal Chiang met the great Dr. Sun he had been his loyal follower. In the 1910 Chinese revolution he followed his leader to China and commanded a "die-to-die" brigade of 100 men which captured Hangchow.

At the end of the last war, Sun Yat-sen sent henchman Chiang to Moscow as his representative. Though he did not like Communism, Chiang learnt much from the Red Army.

Back in China, he was put in charge of the new Whampoa Military Academy. Trained there were the hundreds of efficient officers who are now fighting the war against Japan.

When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the Soong family became pre-eminent in Chinese politics. Soong Mei-ling's eldest sister married heavy-jowled Dr. Hsiang Kai Kung, China's Vice-Premier and Finance Minister.

Brother Tzu-Ven Soong (T. V. for short) is President of the Bank of China, the financial wizard who gets supplies and loans from abroad.

As the head of the Kuomintang, from 1927 onwards, Chiang was entrusted with the task of unifying his vast land.

But his difficulties were great. Vested interests, foreign intrigues, Japan's greedy arms and internal feuds made his task appear as almost superhuman. But he battled with indomitable courage.

And to unite China the Generalissimo employed three weapons: one economic, one political and one military. The last two he used very often at the same time, like those old duellists who carried a sword in one hand and a dagger in the other. So Chiang would argue politely with some recalcitrant warlord while he moved up his troops to the border of the warlord's province. In the last resort it was the Central Government army which made his policy possible: it was, so to speak, the final and unanswerable argument. Well-armed, well-trained by German officers, regularly paid (an unusual thing with Chinese armies) and personally devoted to General Chiang, these divisions became the nucleus of a formidable force. They were so clearly a match for any provincial army that warlords rarely insisted on putting the matter to the test, and if they did, the dispute was quickly settled.

But by the time that warlords were quelled new dissensions arose.

Alone among the other Powers, Soviet Russia had taken a very early and abiding interest in China's national movement and Communism had found a fertile soil in the mind of young China. Soon these young stalwarts began to assert themselves in the Councils of the Kuomintang. These leftist tendencies were not obviously to the taste of Chiang Kai-shek who began to put them down with a strong hand.

But Communism could not be scorched so easily. The Reds emerged as the champions of the peasantry and they formed first-class armies of their own to stand up against the crack troops of Chiang. But luckily these fights came to an end the moment that Chiang decided to resist the Japanese aggressor and the Red armies of China, patriotically, submitted themselves to his command. Behind this union lies one of the most curious episodes of modern history—the kidnapping of the Generalissimo by the Red troops.

It happened this way. To keep the Communists enclosed in the mountain refuge in the far-off Shensi, General Chiang had sent Chiang Hauehling, the Young Marshal, as "Pacification Commissioner" with his own army of Manchurian troops. These men, however, had been driven out of Manchuria by the Japanese four years earlier and longed passionately for revenge. They had no wish to fight the Communists who were then preaching the gospel of the United Front against Japan.

And so the two armies fraternised and Sian became a centre of the anti-Japanese movement. Thousands of students flocked for military training.

It was a great blow to Generalissimo Chiang and he decided to investigate the matter personally. In December of 1936, he flew to Sian with a small personal retinue to demand an explanation. But he found the situation far worse than he had anticipated. For Manchurian troops and the Communists were on the point of rebellion. The Young Marshal argued with the Generalissimo to drop his war with the Communists and concentrate the efforts of United China against the Japanese invader. But the Generalissimo was obstinate and rebellion broke out.

The soldiers fell upon Chiang's retinue and killed some of the staff. The Generalissimo himself tried to escape over a snow-covered mountain, but he was captured and made prisoner.

The question was what to do with him. The more fanatical of Reds wanted to finish him off then and there. Other were ready to kill him if he refused to listen to reason. But the young Marshal and the Communist leaders thought better. They tried to persuade the Generalissimo by argument and solitary confinement, but they realised that no matter what happened, it would do no good to kill the one man in China, who could pretend to command the nation's loyalty.

The chief danger to his life came from less intelligent or more unscrupulous members of the Nanking Government, who wanted to send out a punitive expedition against the rebels without delay. If they had done so, the Generalissimo's life would have been worth little. But fortunately, they were persuaded against this folly by General Chiang's wife, his personal adviser, Mr Donald, and his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong. These three with the great courage (for they could not know the real situation) at once flew to Sian and negotiated with the rebels.

What actually happened in the arguments which went on interminably in Sian no one knows, as an English writer says. But the Generalissimo refused to give in and made no promise of any kind.

When the leaders of this strange rebellion finally permitted Chiang to fly back to Nanking, a free man, they believed that they had failed. But the experience had its effect. Having saved his face and proved, incidentally, his personal courage, Chiang slowly and imperceptibly began to change his policy.

The Kuomintang Congress continued to denounce the Reds and opposed the United Front, but it was clear that the campaign against the Reds had been quietly called off. In return the Communists abandoned the anti-Government propaganda and some of their most revolutionary doctrines and concentrated instead on the necessity of united action against Japan.

And so, during all these four dreary years, United China has faced the battering of Japan's military machines, unflinchingly. Her cities have been destroyed, her homes were pulled down and her villages looted. But China's brave sons and daughters carry on their fight for freedom, an inspiring example to the rest of the world.—(*Free India*).

The Arrival in India

The arrival of the great Chinese leader and his noble consort in India was as dramatic as it was unexpected. Indeed, at the express desire of the visitors themselves, the secret was so well-kept that few, even in high official circles, were aware of their presence in the country till after a few days. It was only when the Generalissimo and his party had been comfortably settled in New Delhi as the guests of the Government of India, five days after they first landed on Indian soil, that the veil of secrecy was lifted and the news of their arrival announced. The following is an eye-witness's account of their arrival in New Delhi:

"At 1-30 P. M. on Monday, February 9, a mysterious special train slowly steamed into New Delhi railway station and stopped opposite the ceremonial platform. Save for a few select officials of the Government of India who had assembled there, the arrival was unnoticed. A few policemen guarded the entrance but there was no unusual activity. The citizen went about his normal task unaware of impending sensation. On the platform, a high official of the Government of India stepped forward as the door of a saloon opened and a slim, dapper figure stepped out, accompanied by a distinguished-looking lady. From other saloons also several persons alighted on the platform. Warm greetings were exchanged, and the party drove off in closed cars to the Viceregal Estate where they were accommodated in two sumptuous residences placed at their disposal.

"The same afternoon a reception was held in honour of the distinguished guests in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered an address of welcome, to which an appropriate reply was given by the chief guest. The ceremony, which was attended by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was an impressive one.

"Later, the guests were entertained to tea by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow. After tea the party walked in the beautiful Moghul Gardens of the Viceroy's House, where, amidst the fountains and poplars, they faced a battery of cameras.

"At dawn on Tuesday the National Flag of the Chinese Republic was broken on the masthead of the residences where the guests were housed, informing New Delhi, India and the world that Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were in our midst.

"Representatives of the Press had been informed of the event the previous afternoon by a spokesman of the Government of India, but the secret had been well-kept. On Tuesday morning, however, banner headlines in the Press informed the general public of the arrival of the distinguished visitors. Newspapers were in great demand and the public eagerly discussed details of one of the most sensational events in modern times.

"Never before had the Leader of the Chinese people done such honour to a neighbouring country. Never before had India have the opportunity of greeting so great a statesman, who was yet a man of the people. It was an event, unique and historic."

Viceroy's Address of Welcome

The following is the text of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the reception held in honour of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House:

"Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

"In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

"My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world: it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

"I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

"Geography has not a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all these elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them.

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the revered Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

"For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unrelenting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words. My Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

"For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment when the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

"Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter, I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussion with my Colleagues.

"We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you."

The Generalissimo's Reply

His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his reply said:

"Your Excellency, "On behalf of the people of China, I wish to thank you for this cordial welcome which you have extended to Madame Chiang and myself. I am happy to have this opportunity of visiting India, one of our allies, and China's brotherly neighbour. The subject of my visit is to have personal exchange of views with Your Excellency, the members of your Government and prominent men in Indian public life in order to secure more effective united efforts against aggression. I fully appreciate the importance of our meeting.

"As Your Excellency has pointed out, the spiritual bonds between our two countries are no new development ; no mere growth of yesterday. In days almost legendary, Chinese seafarers after truth found their way to India after years of perilous travel through arid deserts and over sky-reaching mountains to drink at the inexhaustible fountain of Indian philosophy. They took back to their motherland, in the face of indescribable dangers and difficulties, the priceless volumes which embodied the wisdom of India.

"I am appreciative of Your Excellency's reference to the cultural background between the two peoples. Without doubt, it was partly owing to its existence that the Indian nation was moved to express deep sympathy with us from the moment that we began our war of resistance. The enemy—now the common enemy—tried every expedient to divert that sympathy to himself. India was not misled for a moment. When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.

"I am further grateful to Your Excellency for the tribute you paid to the Founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The principles which he has bequeathed to us have been responsible for the new spirit that has inspired the Chinese people to do their share in making a better world for mankind.

"It is now China's turn to show her appreciation of what India has done for her in a realistic way. The extension of the war to the South Pacific has brought the invasion of this country within the realm of possibility. Any attempted attack on India by Japan would have to be through Burma. The threat through Burma was one of the subjects discussed by me and General Sir Archibald Wavell, when he paid his flying visit to Chungking a month ago. An arrangement has already been made for the despatch of Chinese troops to Burma to assist in its defence. The first steps have thus been jointly taken to safeguard India from a landward invasion from the east by using Chinese experience and man-power. On the north and east, China is India's shield from land invasion. China is proud and glad that it is so.

"Your Excellency, you have very kindly mentioned that China has been the first to take up arms in this world struggle for freedom. While this is true, I wish to point out that during the last four and a half years of our resistance to aggression, we have been spiritually sustained and materially assisted by His Majesty's Government, and by the people of the British Empire. I bring to Your Excellency, His Majesty's Representative in India, the heart-felt thanks of the Chinese army and people.

"Now that we are comrades-in-arms, standing shoulder to shoulder against aggression, Your Excellency's enlightened leadership constitutes a great contribution to the common cause. At the same time I am fully conscious of the added responsibility that has fallen upon my shoulders. We pledge to our valued ally, who occupies an important and unique position, our friendship and co-operation in attaining our common goal which is to defeat aggression and ensure victory for the democratic front."

Generalissimo's Busy Day

The round of engagements of the Generalissimo began on the morning of Tuesday, February 10, with a talk with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, followed by interviews with Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. M. S. Aney, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Later in the morning, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Lillithgow paid a return official visit to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

In the evening, a State Banquet was given by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Lillithgow in honour of the distinguished visitors. Eighty-six guests were assembled in the Banquet Hall of the Viceroy's House, including many high officials and other well-known public figures. Among the members of the Chinese party present were : Their Excellencies Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Madame Chiang ; Dr. Wang Chung Hui, Secretary General, Supreme National Defence Council ; General Shang Chen, Chief General Officer, National Military Council ; General Chow Chi-Chou, Director, National Aviation Commission ; Mr. Chang Tao Fan, Dean of Political Institute ; Mr. Hoffington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information ; Colonel Chen Tai Tseng, Personal A. D. C. and Business Manager ; Major-General Fisher Hou ; Dr. Pao Chung-Jen, Chinese Consul-General, Calcutta ; and Lieut.-Colonel Pao Tsung Kan, Secretary and A. D. C.

Victory's Speech at Banquet

Proposing health of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, in the course of the Banquet, His Excellency the Victory said :

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has said : 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ?'

"None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.

"The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up as it were a banner to the civilised world.

"I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone'. China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

"That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone ; for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail : in both the lamp of freedom has been lit ; and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

"Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the danger of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taiernhwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

Whoso meet him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is,
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.'

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

The Generalissimo's Reply

Replying to the toast, His Excellency the Generalissimo said :
"Your Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen,

"Your Excellency has done Madame Chiang and myself a signal honour which we deeply appreciate. You have been very generous in your praise of our personal endeavours. In those nearly five strenuous years of which you have spoken our contribution has not been as great as we wished. It is the united people of China, who true to their ideals, have borne the brunt of the battle for democracy. Since Japan's first invasion of Chinese soil they have been rising together to higher heights of philosophy, patriotism, unselfishness, courage, endurance and generosity with but one aim : out of the agonizing sufferings and losses that have been inflicted upon us, there shall arise a new world in which men and women can live in peace and happiness.

"Since the outbreak of the Pacific War, China and India have been drawn closer together. In the midst of the trial of war, I have availed myself of the first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my short stay here. We have a Chinese saying : 'To have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay.' I am truly impressed with the greatness of India,

"Your Excellency, it is a great pleasure for us to meet you and know you. Your knowledge of Indian affairs is extensive, and your statesmanship is profound. You have made me feel that I may draw without stint upon the richness of your wisdom. Excellency, Lady Linlithgow, your unbounded interest in social work was known to us before our visit. We should like to convey to you our sincere esteem.

"You have spoken of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill. Since this great leader assumed office, I have been in as close personal touch as the distance which lies between him and me has permitted, and I have found in him stimulation and encouragement.

"Your Excellency has spoken of the presence of Chinese troops in Burma. When I saw General Sir Archibald Wavell in Chungking, I told him that he could count on China's co-operation and assistance in joint resistance against aggression. I have done my best to make this promise good. This is no merit. It is the duty of one ally to another.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have the honour to propose the health of Their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow."

Generalissimo at Ceremonial Parade

On Wednesday morning 11th. Feb. at 11 A. M., a ceremonial parade of troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Delhi was held on the ceremonial parade ground, west of the War Memorial Arch, New Delhi, in honour of His Excellency the Generalissimo.

His Excellency the Generalissimo, who was accompanied by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, took the salute. Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and members of the Legislative Assembly were present, in addition to civil and military officers. The following is an eye-witness account of the parade :

"Anxious to get a glimpse of the almost legendary figure of the man around whom Chinese resistance to the Japanese aggressor has centred for the past five years, thousands of people, representative of all sections of life in the Indian Capital, including many Chinese residents, turned out at the ceremonial parade. The setting was impressive. A large number of troops lined the parade ground, which stretches parallel to Kingsway, the magnificent avenue from the Viceroy's House to the War Memorial. Facing them in an enclosure provided for notable spectators were high civil and military officers and other notabilities.

A tumultuous cheer rang out as the crowd had its first glimpse of his Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, seated beside His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in a big Rolls Royce. The car slowly drove down the Kingsway from the Viceroy's House, the Generalissimo smilingly acknowledging the plaudits while carrying out a quick inspection of the troops. After the inspection the Generalissimo and the Commander-in-Chief mounted the dais at the misting base, where the Generalissimo took the salute as company after company—British and Indian—marched past. The Madras Highlanders, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the machine-gun battalion of the Rajputana Rifles, the Punjab Regiment, the Frontier Forces Regiment, Paratroop battalions and the Hyderabad Lancers participated in the parade. A number of armoured carriers in the march past aroused the interest of the distinguished visitors.

"At the conclusion of the march past, the Generalissimo was introduced to Lady Wavell and Lady Hartley, and then, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, entered the car and drove off amidst renewed cheers."

More Interviews

During the rest of the day the Generalissimo granted interviews to several more visitors, including the Maharaja Holkar of Indore and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President.

In the evening, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek attended a banquet given in their honour by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

On Thursday morning, the Generalissimo gave interviews to Sir Andrew Clow, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Homi Mody, Mr. Raghavendra Rao and Mr. N. B. Sarkar, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and General Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal. Among the visitors in the afternoon was His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Madame Chiang's Message to Indian Women

The highlight of Thursday's (12th. February) functions, however, was a reception arranged in honour of Madame Chiang Kai-shek by the All-India Women's Conference at the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi. Replying to the address of welcome presented to her by the Conference, Madame Chiang said :

"Words are inadequate to express my hearty appreciation of the kindness that has prompted you to hold this meeting of welcome in my honour. The opportunity of meeting so many representative women of India alone is sufficient reason for me to join my husband in coming to this great country. Mrs. Pandit some time ago invited me to visit India, but owing to my work I did not feel that I ought to leave China just then. The inward urge that I should come has been, however, latent for a long time. Therefore when the Generalissimo decided to take this trip, this urge became crystallized into action. Now that I am here and stand in the midst of the women leaders of India, who like their Chinese sisters are making immense contributions to their beloved land in this hour of trials and tribulations, I am happy.

"Your chairman has referred to the long and traditional relationship between our two countries, and to a renewal of those ancient bonds of culture. I wish to reciprocate in full measure this sentiment. The Chinese have always regarded the people of India as their brothers. Our two countries have had long religious association. Indeed, China and India are two pillars which today are supporting the economic and industrial edifice of Asia. We are proud of the important part which we are playing together in making the world safe for democracy.

"Mrs. Pandit has paid me a tribute for my share in the war of resistance to aggression. While appreciating this, may I have your permission to share the tribute with my fellow country women. In the past four years and a half, every section of Chinese life has been called upon to give its utmost for the nation ; and among those who have responded nobly to the needs of the crisis have been the women. The war, its multitude of problems, has brought forth a large number of new organizations concerned with refuge, aid, war relief, increase of production enterprises and care of war orphans.

"Our Chinese women are doing their tasks willingly and cheerfully because one cannot live in China and feel and think without being moved to action. The fact that a Japanese bombing raid kills 4,000 people in a single day may mean nothing to people living a great distance away from the scene, but when one hears flames roar, bombs thud, and sees the horrid outcome of meeting of human flesh and steel sharpened, then the realization of war became very real. Chinese women have

been the first to face such suffering and misery, and also they have been in the forefront to carry out measures for their relief.

"The desperation of the enemy—also your enemy now—caused by the failure to make military advantages at will has led him to pursue a policy of slaughter of innocent people, men and women, of violence, of destruction of property, and of indiscriminate bombing in the hope of terrorizing those living in the interior of China. Such Japanese barbarism has not only failed to terrorize Chinese women to say nothing of Chinese men, but it has induced them to work all the harder for the rescue of the injured, the safeguarding of homeless children and refugees, and evacuating of them to safer localities.

"Under the auspices of our Women's Advisory Council, women have been encouraged to work on the farms in place of their men who have joined the army. For those women who are unsuited for farm work, factories have been established to give them employment. The Women's Advisory Council also sees to it that while their mothers are working either on the farms or in the factories the older children are cared for in homes and the younger ones sent to day nurseries. In the broad sweep of the war work carried on by the women of China, devotion and accomplishment have become commonplace.

"The great Holmes once said: 'It is the province of knowledge to speak, and the privilege of wisdom to listen'. I would much prefer to hear what my Indian sisters have to tell me about their aspirations, their problems and their achievements, because of all this they possess an abundance of knowledge. While listening to what you are going to tell me, I have no claim to wisdom, but I am deeply interested in your problems and have come here to learn.

"Madame Chairman, in concluding, I wish to thank you and the members of the Conference once more for the sincere and moving welcome that you one and all have been showing me during my short stay in India."

Madame Chiang's Stirring Address

After the formal reply, Madame Chiang Kai-shek delivered an extempore address to the meeting.

"First of all," Madame Chiang Kai-shek said, "I want to tell you what you are up against, and I think you would want to know. I believe you are realists, for in spite of thousands of years of our heritage enriched by the development of the most profound system of philosophy yet evolved by any people in the world, the people of China and India are realists. You may have to fight against a foe full of treachery. During the last five years I have repeatedly pointed out what sort of people the Japanese are and what they have been doing in China, but because the Western world was too engrossed in other affairs, they branded my admonitions as propaganda. Now that the world has had a taste of Japanese methods at Singapore and Manila they are realizing that what I said was not a figment of war-torn imagination but bare facts.

"In 1902 at Shanghai, when the Chinese and Japanese had agreed in principle on certain conditions and were on the eve of signing an agreement, that very night the Japanese bombed and set fire to the sleeping population of Chapel and tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. Just before the outbreak of the present Pacific hostilities, while the Japanese Ambassador in America and Kurusu were carrying on conversations with Mr. Hull, the Japanese again without warning struck at Pearl Harbour.

"A nation which has treachery as its policy in international dealings can never be trusted. The Japanese are already at your door. They have already struck at China and Burma. Who knows what will happen when they strike India? They will say to you: 'We come to liberate you.' But that is a lie.

"Do you know what happened in Nanking? After our troops had withdrawn, the Japanese rounded up every able-bodied man they could find there, tied them wrist to wrist, made them walk out of the town, beat them and bayoneted them. Later on the Japanese did not even take the trouble to bayonet or shoot them but made them dig their own graves and buried them alive."

After describing what the Japanese had done to Chinese Women, Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on in a moving passage: "What did they do to our children! They captured them and took their blood for the purpose of blood transfusion. They also sent hundreds of our children to be trained as traitors to their own country. We have found many Koko spies who told us that they had been trained by the Japanese to work against us.

This happened especially after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1932, when these children were carried off in thousands and specially drilled to work against their fatherland.

"When the Japanese occupy and seize a city they are not only out to loot everything but they try to kill the very soul of the people, everything to darken body and soul. In cases when some of the surviving population were employed as labourers by the Japanese they received as part payment, injections of opium and heroin. The Japanese are an incredibly cruel and inhumanly callous enemy."

"Calling upon Indian women to prepare themselves Madame Chiang said: "We did everything we could at first to appease the Japanese because we needed time in which to prepare ourselves. But when at last we knew the ruthlessness of the enemy we had to take up arms, ill-prepared as we were, for we realized that however terrible suffering and death may be, there was a worse thing—slavery of body and slavery of soul."

"China today is an acknowledged ally of the democracies but we have earned this name by fighting mostly with bare flesh and inferior arms, and by destroying everything of value which might fall into the hands of the enemy as we withdrew into the interior. We have burnt our fields; we have destroyed our houses and property in order to prevent the enemy from gaining them. We have this courage because we know that in order to save our national life we must have the fortitude to sacrifice our individual life."

"As soon as the war started we women of China formed ourselves into a Women's Council, a national body. In each province we formed a provincial committee and in each district a smaller branch. We followed a definite programme to help win the war. We trained and are continuing to train thousands of young women to go to every part of the country to tell the people what the war is about. In India today, there must be many people who still do not understand what the war is about, and who must be told. Many women from schools and colleges run away to join our war effort because they said they could not study while their nation was in jeopardy. I have trained such women personally. Among other lines of work after training they go behind the army and do liaison work between the army and the people."

"At first the authorities asked how can girls go and work in the big hospitals where the men are so rough? Who could protect them? Do you know that when the girls went there the men called them army officers and saluted them as such! Now we receive hundreds of telegrams asking for more women nurses and workers for the hospitals. For not only are the girls appreciated for their nursing ability but also for the fact that they provide wholesome and inspiring entertainment for the soldiers during their stay in the hospitals. As in India, there are many illiterate people in China, and our women are also working against illiteracy. The soldiers are learning to read and write while convalescing. Many of our factories and industries have been destroyed. So we have had to return to hand industries. These are organized in production centres and we can show you the success of these by saying that not only has the standard of the people's livelihood gone up in districts where these centres exist, but also by the fact that by the employment of women in the centres, their men have been able to join the army. You cannot expect a man to fight in the trenches and leave his family unless he knows that his women are self-supporting and can look after their children."

"The spirit of the new China is one for all and all for one. We are united by suffering and victory will crown our efforts. In every worthwhile enterprise, there must be people who are willing to sacrifice everything they have for what they hold most dear if that is to be a success. We in China have these people. I do not mean the Generalissimo. I do not mean myself. I mean the people of China, the undung heroes."

"Like India, China's roots are deep. In our fertile soil which is now soaked in the blood of our patriots, whether soldiers or civilians, we shall grow fruit for the future. Thus runs a Chinese proverb: 'Think only of sowing; think not of reaping.' We of this generation shall not reap the full benefits of what we have sown but the generations to come will reap the fruits of our sacrifice. And as we today are reaping the fruits of labour of our ancestors, so must we be willing to sow for our children and our children's children."

Visit to Khyber Pass

On Friday (10th February) morning, the Generalissimo left by plane for the North-West Frontier Province on a visit to the Khyber Pass. Meanwhile, Madame

Chiang Kai-shek also, accompanied by Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, visited Agra, where she spent three hours seeing the Taj Mahal, the fort and other monuments.

The Generalissimo landed at the Peshawar aerodrome at 1 P. M. on Friday and was received by His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province and other high officials. During the afternoon, the Generalissimo visited the defences of the Khyber Pass.

Speaking at Jamrud to Afridi tribesmen, the Chinese leader said that he felt that he was talking to his own brothers. He was greatly overwhelmed by the hearty welcome he had received from them. "I hope my brave brothers of the Khyber Agency will join hands with my country and our ally Great Britain in order to defeat Japan, Germany and Italy so that freedom may be brought forthwith and the world freed from war and aggression." He wished the Afridis all prosperity.

On his return from the Khyber Pass the Generalissimo was received at Jamrud by the Governor, who introduced him to Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan, head of the Afridis and other Chiefs of the Khyber Agency. The Generalissimo then inspected a guard of honour furnished by Khyber Khassadars and tribal Boy Scouts. Later, the Afridis entertained the Chinese leader to tea. The party then left for Peshawar, where the Governor gave a banquet in honour of the Generalissimo.

Return From Peshawar

On Saturday 14th. Feb. morning, the Generalissimo arrived in Lahore on his return journey from Peshawar. He was received at the Lahore aerodrome by Sir Bertrand Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and other Ministers of the Punjab Government.

After spending a few hours at the Government House, Lahore, the Generalissimo flew back to Delhi, where he arrived in the evening.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu met Madame Chiang Kai-shek on Saturday evening and had tea with her. "The embodied flame of Chinese renaissance" was one of the phrases in which the poetess later summed up her impression of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Press Conference

On Saturday afternoon, a Press Conference was arranged by the Bureau of Public Information to meet Dr. Hollington Tong, the Chinese Vice-Minister of Information.

Addressing the Press Conference as "brother craftsmen," Dr. Tong said he had brought greetings from the members of the Chinese Fourth Estate to their ally, India. Their common enemy, Japan, was putting out lies which must be overtaken and counteracted; he had decided to appoint a Chinese correspondent in Calcutta and another in Delhi and he hoped Indian correspondents too would visit Chungking where his office already dealt with 400 foreign Press Correspondents none of whom, he regretted, was an Indian. He had talks with Sir Frederick Puckle, Information Secretary, to establish quick means of transmission for the regular exchange of news between India and China and was also working out a broadcast time-table for the same purpose.

The people of China, he said, would like to read in the Chinese Press stories of the Indian people's contribution to the war effort, their munitions production, the heroisms of Indian soldiers, India's air raid precaution arrangements and stories of human interests, but not yellow journalism.

More than 20 years ago, he revealed, the Japanese had drawn up the Tanaka Memorial, otherwise called the Charter of Aggression. It provided for the conquest, in turn, of China, the South Seas, India and the whole world. Originally, it was laughed at, and was not taken seriously by the world, but today it had been proved indisputably to be a genuine document. He would like every Indian to read it and promised to send it by the ton if Sir Frederick Puckle would arrange for its transport.

Warning the people of India, Dr. Tong said: "At first the Japanese always use sweet words and say 'friends, brothers and sisters, we have come to rescue you from fire and hell,' and when they come they bring hell with them; that has been our experience during the last four and half years. They did indescribable things to our women and wherever they went they left nothing of our property. It was like a typhoon sweeping over the land. They left nothing for the population to eat; they wanted them to starve. It is not a message of brotherhood or of friendship that they bring; it is a message of death, chilled death, it is barbarity and everything cruel."

Chien's Publicity Organisation

Mr. Andrew, Press Attache of the British Legation at Chungking, was also present at the Conference and paid a tribute to the remarkable efficiency of the publicity organisation which, he said, was the creation of Dr. Tong, and which had been rebuilt twice after its offices and records had been blown up by Japanese bombs. As an illustration of Chinese publicity methods, Mr. Andrew stated that only recently Dr. Tong's office had put out a remarkable slogan: "Every rumour is an enemy bullet."

On Sunday 15th, February morning Begum Shah Nawaz, N.L.A. (Punjab) had an interview with Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Later in the day, her daughter, Miss Mam'ar Shah Nawaz, also had an interview with Madame Chiang.

Students' Welcome

In the afternoon the All-India Students' Federation presented a silk banner of the World Students' Association to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. On the banner were embroidered the words: "To the brave Chinese students from the All-India Students' Federation." The banner will be presented by Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese national organization of students in Chungking.

Madame Chiang thanked the Indian students' organization for the gift and said that she would gladly convey the message of the Indian Students to their Chinese brethren.

A copy of the greetings for the Chinese students passed at the All-India Students' Conference, held recently at Patna, was also handed over to Madame Chiang to be delivered to the Chinese youth.

Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Meet The Press

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met representatives of the Press on Sunday afternoon in the beautiful lawn of their residence. After shaking hands with the Press Representatives, the Generalissimo said in Chinese, which was translated into English by Dr. Wellington Tong:

"Madame Chiang and myself are very happy to meet you today. I have been in India nearly a week, but what I have seen has tremendously impressed me. After my return to China, I may have something to say to you, but today I have nothing to say except to give you greetings. It gives me great pleasure to meet you today. You may ask a few questions from Madame Chiang. With your permission I will now retire. Good-bye."

Madame Chiang Answers Questions

Madame Chiang Kai-shek spent some time with pressmen, answering questions in answer to a question as to what had impressed her most in India, she said:

"I have been so short a time here, and India is such a huge country, that it is going to take me some time really to digest what I have seen. But one thing which has impressed me, one of the many things which have impressed me, is the fact that the women of India, like the women of China, will have to take a tremendous part in the reconstruction of the country. I have met quite a number of leaders among Indian women, and I am full of hope that the women of India will be able to fulfil that destiny, and I am greatly impressed by the selfless quality of the women whom I have met. And, if they are the representatives of Indian women, I assure you India has an even more glorious future than what her past has been."

Appearing to the Press, Madame Chiang said:

"The war has to be fought not only with bullets, with artillery and with aeroplanes; it has to be fought by the press. You have tremendous influence over the people. The Press in China today reflects the will of the people, the heart of the people. Not only does it reflect that, the Press is also the moulder of opinion. And, you have, therefore, a tremendous responsibility. Voice die out, but the printed word seems to live on the mind of the reader. I hope you will not take the easy way of writing the sensational, but the more fundamental and honest way of writing what you think the people should know in order to educate mass opinion. That is my message to you."

"Speaking for my husband and myself, we would have regretted it if we had not been able to see you, because we feel that you are a very vital part, a very essential part, in the India of today and in the India of tomorrow."

Asked whether there were religious differences in China, Madame Chiang said: "We have no clear-cut religious sections as in India. Religion has more or less become part of life. Politics is not coloured by religion. We are all Chinese."

We all are one.

"It has been possible to put up this gigantic struggle, because we feel it is better to die than to become slaves and to have our children become slaves. We are determined to be freed from the Japanese aggression.

"I am not paying you a compliment, but I feel a bond of sympathy and spiritual unity between your people and mine, which my stay here has intensified."

Giving her impressions about the Taj Mahal, she said: "I think it is a very beautiful building. I think it is the symbol of a spirit even more beautiful than the building itself; because it shows that none of us really die, even if our bodies die. I think the spirit lives on and when we think of the fact that so many centuries ago there was this devotion of an emperor to his empress, it only proves what the human heart and the human mind is capable of."

Visit to Calcutta

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by their party, left New Delhi by special train on Monday 16th February morning for Calcutta, where they arrived the following afternoon (February 17). On arrival at Howrah station, they were received by high officials of the Government of Bengal and other prominent persons. The party later drove to the Government House.

The same evening the Generalissimo granted an interview to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Assembly's Welcome to Generalissimo

Meanwhile, a motion extending a welcome and expressing admiration for Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek was moved in the Central Assembly on Tuesday, February 17, by Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House.

The motion read: "Upon the occasion of the visit to India of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, this Assembly do place on record its high appreciation of the honour done thereby to India and its heart-felt admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Aney's Speech

Commending his resolution for the unanimous acceptance of the House, Mr. Aney said:

"This resolution really needs no speech to commend it for unanimous acceptance by this House.

"It tries to embody in two short sentences the feelings of appreciation and admiration which the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang have evoked throughout this country. In this expression of appreciation the whole country has joined. Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, Indian States and numerous other public institutions and organisations extended hearty and warm welcome to the distinguished guests to this country.

"This Assembly, which constitutionally represents the whole of British India and can therefore speak for them authoritatively, will be doing a bare duty which it owes to the country it represents in adopting the resolution moved by me.

"What is the secret of this universal demonstration of the feelings of welcome and admiration for the Generalissimo and Madame?

"Our guests represent China, a country and a culture which is no doubt as old as India and Indian culture, if not more. The visit no doubt recalls to our mind the old ties, spiritual, religious and cultural, by which these two great nations have been bound nearly for more than two thousand years. India has the proud privilege of being the sacred land of the birth of Lord Gautam Buddha, whose religion and teachings have been mainly followed in China, and as such a country to which pious pilgrims from China have been coming to visit the various places and shrines rendered sacred and sanctified by the activities of Shri Gautam Buddha and his great disciples in later years. Ancient India, which delighted more in rendering silent service to humanity than in recording and chronicling it in pompous language in books of chronicles and histories, is found more accurately and faithfully described in the writings of some of these great talented pilgrims than in the old literature of the Hindus themselves.

"But let me assure the members of this House that the revival of memories of the olden connection, however pleasing to certain minds that take a more absorbing interest in the past than in the present, is not enough to explain the

unanimous tributes that are being paid to the Generalissimo and Madame by people of all castes, creeds and colours.

"There is certainly something outstanding in our guests which appeals to all alike, warms up their enthusiasm and evokes their appreciation and admiration. Those who are familiar with the modern history of China and the story of the establishment of the Chinese Republic by the late Sun Yat Sen and the vicissitudes through which it has gone and is still going, are certainly aware of the part played by our distinguished guests in that struggle. They can easily see the principles which both of them typify in their lives and which they stand and struggle for.

"The establishment of a Republic in China in place of the old Manchu regime is in itself an achievement of an epoch-making character. Our guests have not only made the greatest sacrifice in that noble effort, which like a magic wand or Kayakulpa enabled China to shake off her old age and act bravely and enthusiastically like a young nation, but the distinguished guests have taken on themselves the onerous duty of preserving this edifice of democracy intact against the aggressive designs of a powerful neighbour like Japan.

"Japan was one of the first culprits during the last twelve years to invade the lands of an age-old, peaceful neighbour to satisfy her ambition of building an Empire in the Far East. This act of unwarranted aggression, which resulted in the loss of Manchukuo, naturally and inevitably excited the sympathies of India and all other civilised nations that stand for democracy and the racial, territorial and cultural integrity of nations.

"The heroic struggle which the Chinese people have been carrying on almost unaided during the last five years against Japan in defence of her Republic and democracy under the unique leadership of the Generalissimo, will undoubtedly go down to posterity as one of the noblest and the most inspiring chapters in the history of the human race.

"Our guests, the Generalissimo and Madame have been untiring in their efforts to fight with their powerful adversary. There in China, as in Russia, we see how a whole nation, and not merely a mercenary army, can fight in defence of its liberties, hearths and homes in spite of all odds and handicaps. The guests have placed before us and the whole world the example of what the political leadership of a nation can really mean and achieve. They have during the last ten years turned empire China, suffering from an over-dose of opium for more than 10 centuries, into a nation of soldiers which watches sleeplessly and vigilantly the movements of a dangerous enemy and fights with a determination and strength which has excited the admiration of the whole world and to a great extent frustrated the plans of Imperial conquests.

"The German aggression in Europe and Japan's aggression on the lands in the Far East have enabled the Allied Powers to appreciate the significance of the Chinese struggle against Japan. It is really an act of great chivalry and magnanimity that China, under the leadership of our guests, has joined the Allies and pledged its word to fight the enemies to the finish and conclude no separate peace.

"The war has no doubt taken a very serious and unfavourable turn in the Far East during the past month. The news of the fall of Singapore, received by us only two days before, is no doubt a news of major defeat of the British arms. The loss of Singapore virtually renders this country exposed to enemy attacks by sea and land.

"At a time of gloom and despondency like this, when everything looks disappointing and disheartening, the example of the heroic struggle carried on by the Chinese people and their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with India to fight Japan, and the hand of assistance held out by America, are the most important factors that send rays of hope to dispel darkness and to cheer us up and keep the flame burning.

"Roosevelt, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek are the three persons whose combination and co-operation with the United Kingdom and India will, I feel sure, save not only India and the British Commonwealth but the whole world from the great catastrophe to which it is being led and driven by the Axis powers.

"Democracy and civilisation look to the Generalissimo as one of their saviours and protectors. And the confidence which the presence of our distinguished guests has inspired in the whole of India for the ultimate success of these great principles for which the Allies stand, is the real secret of the universal tribute paid to them throughout the length and breadth of this country.

"In concluding, I will quote a line from the books of a great Sanskrit poet :—

'Great men, full of compassion for the down-trodden, sanctify the shrines themselves and places of worship by their holy and august visits to such places.'

"India, therefore, rightly feels herself honoured by the presence of the Generalissimo and Madame, who have pre-eminently dedicated their lives to the service of China and the cause of justice, righteousness and democracy, which is the common cause of the whole civilised world.

"I have, therefore, no doubt that this House will carry the resolution with unanimity and acclamation.

Meeting with Mahatma Gandhi

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met Mahatma Gandhi, who had come to Calcutta specially for the purpose, on Wednesday, 18th. February afternoon. The meeting lasted for nearly 4½ hours. Among those present at the interview were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mahadev Desai.

It was understood that during the latter part of the conversation Mahatma Gandhi used his spinning-wheel for a few minutes and made a present of the yarn he had spun to the Generalissimo. He also presented a spinning-wheel to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Visit to Santiniketan

The following day, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Shantiniketan, centre of the famous Tagore University. A pair of silk dhola and a chuddar for the Generalissimo and a lovely silk sari for Madame Chiang were presented on behalf of the Viswabharati at a reception held in their honour. Replying to the address of welcome presented to him, the Generalissimo said :

"Both Madame Chiang and I feel happy to visit the home of the great poet at this international seat of learning. We are grateful for the reception you have given to us. We did not see the poet in person, but we are glad to witness the spirit he had left behind in this institution he has founded. We fervently hope that the teachers and students who have gathered here will try to build up the great work, of which the foundation has already been laid by your Gurudev. Just as our Sun Yat Sen had established the spirit of universal brotherhood amongst us and raised the glory of new China, so your great preceptor has elevated the spirit of your great land and brought to it a new awakening.

"I have brought nothing from China to offer you but the warmth of my heart and the good wishes of our people. May you achieve the great work that has been left as a trust to the entire nation by the great leader of your land."

Replying separately, Madam Chiang Kai-shek said : "Today my mind flies back to thousands of students in my own country. Seeing your young faces, I remember with pride and hope the ardent spirit of New China and I also remember the terrible trial through which they are passing at this hour. Since Japan started her aggression on China, thousands and thousands of our students had to face bombs, tanks and artillery. Their homes and sanctuaries of learning were desecrated and destroyed, but as you know they walked hundreds of miles to new seats of learning provided by the Government in the interior of the country. They kept the mind of China awake and the torch of flaming patriotism burning brighter than ever.

"In this peaceful land, not suffering from Japanese militarism. It may be for you to realize what this means. I wonder also whether you realize that the principles of humanity demand a dynamic attitude towards life. Absence of hatred would be a dead and cold thing if it did not make it possible for others to perpetrate wickedness and wrong. You have a great opportunity and lead millions into freedom and equality.

"The Japanese bombed our universities thinking that they were hot-beds of resistance, and our students took the opportunity to make them real hot-beds of resistance. They carried on their work among the masses of our people. They laid the foundation of a great united China.

"Your noble founder, I believe, wanted you to prepare yourselves to become leaders. He would not remain apart from your people and be mere leader in name only, but bring revival in the generations which have to redeem your nation. I know that if our young people were aware of the possibility of my coming here, they would have sent their warm greetings of fellowship and of their sympathy for

you. Your post has a place in the minds of the Chinese people for their heart and has been enshrined in all time to come."

Meeting With Bengal Premier

On Friday February 20, the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, and the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, called on the Generalissimo and had over an hour's conversation with him.

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang also met other leading Indian personalities during the rest of their stay in Calcutta.

Farewell Message To India

On the evening of Saturday, February 21, His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave his farewell message to the people of India. The message was read out by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast from the Calcutta station of All India Radio. The following is the full text of the message :

"During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities, as well as with my Indian friends questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame and myself. The brevity of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long cherished hopes for India, it comes from the depth of my heart.

"Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression. China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometers. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature.

"To day they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

"Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and, in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

"I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the case of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

"The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

"This leads us to believe that the Pacific War is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India should voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of

the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material and should therefore by all means be retained.

The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world suffer a setback for at least 100 years and there would be no end to human suffering.

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 2,00,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of 26 nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

Lastly, I sincerely hope, and I confidently believe, that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will rebound to the credit of the British Empire.

And thus India bade adieu to the great Chinese leader and his noble consort at the conclusion of a visit which may well turn out to be a landmark in history.

China's Day

An announcement made by H. E. the Viceroy said :—

"In all too short a time we shall be bidding God-speed to his Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang on their journey back to their own country. They leave behind in our hearts in India a picture of a brave and wise leader and a gracious lady; they take with them the assurance that India is heart and soul with China in a common struggle. I believe the people of India would welcome an opportunity of commemorating this visit, and I propose, on a day to be called China's Day, to throw my War Purposes Fund open to subscriptions for China's War Orphan, and to supplement the money so received by an appropriate contribution from the sums already subscribed to my Fund by the Princes and people of

India. This money I will hand to Madame Chiang to be distributed as she may think fit. I have fixed March the 2nd as 'China's Day' and invite everyone to combine to make it a success."

The date was later altered to March 7.

Messages Exchanged

The following are the messages exchanged between His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and His Excellency the Viceroy:

From His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek dated February 21:

"On the eve of our departure for China, I wish to express our hearty appreciation of the hospitality that you and Lady Linlithgow have shown to Madame Chiang and myself during our visit to India. Although our stay has been short, yet I am glad that satisfactory decision has been reached on a plan for our concerted action against aggression and for the parts both nations are to play.

"In leaving India I am taking away with me a firm conviction that our two countries will spare nothing in striving for further consolidation of their joint war efforts and for the early destruction of the force of lawlessness."

His Excellency the Viceroy replied:

"I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's message, and assure you that Lady Linlithgow and I will long retain the happiest recollections of your visit and that of Madame Chiang.

"I fully share your satisfaction that substantial results have been achieved in concerting our joint action against aggression and in the close co-ordination of Military plans.

"Here in India we will take to heart and follow the good advice which Your Excellency has given us out of the plenitude of China's bitter experiences. We will unite to resist the ruthless and brutal aggressor. We will stand shoulder to shoulder with the brave Chinese army and people whose strength is in Your Excellencies' wise and constant leadership. Come what may, we will be with you until the Japanese power is utterly broken.

"I trust Your Excellency and Madame Chiang are well and rested after the fatigues of so crowded and strenuous a visit."

The Tanaka Memorandum

In this connection it will be interesting to read the Tanaka Memorandum, a summary of which we give in the following pages:—

General Tanaka, whose name is associated with the infamous Tanaka Memorandum, whose public record was one of organised treachery, brigandage and clandestine murder, became the Prime Minister of Japan in 1907. Under him the first step was taken to install the war-mongers Tada and Doihara in important posts in the Government. As Vice-Chief of the General Staff and Minister of War during the fruitless Siberian expedition, Tanaka embezzled several millions of secret service funds. Yet he became Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister in 1927 largely through the good offices of the equally unscrupulous Viscount Matsu, the murderer of the Queen of Korea.

The most important event of his Premiership was the assassination in 1908 of Chang Tso Lin, the nationalist warlord of Manchuria. It was plotted and carried out at his instigation by Colonel Doihara who with General Tada was responsible for the undeclared war in Manchuria in 1900. The assassination eventually led to Tanaka's resignation, and immediately after this he found himself and his colleagues so much involved in administrative irregularities that facing prosecution and replacement, in head of the Seiyunai Party, he mysteriously committed *harikiri* in September 1913.

The following are extracts from the Memorandum prepared by General Tanaka in 1907 when he was Prime Minister of Japan. The document has been sometimes described as "Japan's Mein Kampf":—

"The three eastern provinces are politically the imperfect spot in the Far East. For the sake of self-protection, as well as the protection of the others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of "Blood and Iron." But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us and China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future, if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Seas countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence.

"The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretence of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yamato race wish to distinguish themselves on continental Asia. Final success belongs to the country having raw materials; the full growth of national strength belong to the country having extensive territory. If we pursue a positive policy to enlarge our rights in Manchuria and China, all these prerequisites of a powerful nation will constitute no problem. Furthermore, our surplus population of 700,000 each year will also be taken care of. If we want to inaugurate a new policy and secure the permanent prosperity of our empire, a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia is the only way.

Technique Of Penetration

"While the sovereign rights are not clearly defined and while the Chinese and the Soviet Governments are engaging their attention elsewhere, it is our opportunity quietly to build our influence. Once we have purchased most of the land there, there will be no room for dispute as to whether Mongolia belongs to the Japanese or the Mongolians. Aided by our military powers, we shall realize our positive policy. In order to carry out this plan, we should appropriate Yen 1,000,000 from the "secret funds" of the Army Department's budget so that four hundred retired officers disguised as teachers and Chinese citizens may be sent into Outer and Inner Mongolia to mix with the people, to gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, to acquire from them rights of pasturage and mining and to lay the foundation of our national interests for the next hundred years.

"Since the annexation of Korea, we have had very little trouble. But President Wilson's declaration of the self-determination of races after the European War has been like a divine revelation to the suppressed peoples.

"The Koreans are no exception. The spirit of unrest has permeated the whole country. Both because of the freedom they enjoy in Manchuria due to an incompetent police system and because of the richness of the country, there are now in the three Eastern Provinces no less than 1,000,000 Koreans.

"The unlooked for development is fortunate for our country indeed. From a military and economic standpoint, it has greatly strengthened our influence. From another standpoint it gives new hope for the administration of the Koreans. They will both be the vanguard for the colonization of virgin fields and furnish a link of contact with the Chinese people. On the one hand, we could utilize the naturalized Koreans to purchase land for rice cultivation, on the other, we could extend to them financial aid through the Co-operative Society, the South Manchuria Railway, etc., so that they may serve as the spearhead of our economic penetration.

"This will give relief to our problem of food supply, as well as open a new field of opportunity for any eventuality. They are different from those naturalized Japanese in California and South America. They are naturalized as Chinese only for temporary convenience. When their numbers reach two million and a half or more, they can be instigated to military activities whenever there is the necessity, and under the pretence of suppressing

the Koreans we could bear them aid. As not all the Koreans are naturalized Chinese, the world will not be able to tell whether it is the Chinese Koreans or the Japanese Koreans who create the trouble. We can always sell the dog's meat with a sheep's head as a sign-board.

Transportation Is Mother Of Defence

Transportation is the mother of national defence, the assurance of victory and the citadel of economic development.

It is a pity that our railroads are mostly in South Manchuria, which cannot reach the sources of wealth in the northern parts. Moreover, there are too many Chinese inhabitants in South Manchuria to be whole-some for our military and economic plans. If we wish to develop the natural resources and strengthen our national defence, we must build railroads, we shall be able to send more people (Japanese) into Northern Manchuria.

From this vantage ground we can manipulate political and economic developments in South Manchuria, as well strengthen our national defence in the interests of the peace and order of the Far East. Furthermore, the South Manchurian Railway was built mainly for economic purposes. It lacks encircling lines necessary for military mobilization and transportation.

From now on we must take military purpose as our object and build circuit lines to circle the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may hamper China's military, political and economic developments there on the one hand, and prevent the penetration of Russian influence on the other. This is the key to our continental policy.

"Trouble Is Our Chance"

Fortunately for us, the financial conditions in Fengtien Province are in great disorder, which the authorities cannot improve unless we come to their succour. This is our chance. We should take positive steps until we have reached our goal in railroad development. Moreover if we manipulate the situation, the Fengtien bank-notes will depreciate to an inconceivable degree. In that event, the bankruptcy of Fengtien will be a matter of time. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia will be out of the question for them.

Japan And Russia

The Russian plans are designed to strengthen the Chinese Eastern Railway and thereby to extend its imperialistic schemes. For this reason the railways projected mostly run east and west.

For although the power of Soviet Russia is declining, her ambition in Manchuria and Mongolia has not diminished for a minute. Every step she takes is intended to obstruct our progress and to injure the South Manchuria Railway.

We must do our utmost to guard against her influence, we should use the Fengtien Government as a wedge to check her southern advance.

By pretending to check the southern advance of Soviet Russia as a first step, we could gradually force our way into North Manchuria and exploit the natural resources there. We shall then be able to prevent the spread of Chinese influence on the south and arrest the advance of Soviet Russia on the north.

In our struggle against the political and economic influence of Soviet Russia, we should drive China before us and direct the events from behind.

Meanwhile, we should still secretly befriend Russia in order to hamper the growth of Chinese influence. It was largely with this purpose in view that Baron Goto of Kato's cabinet invited Joffe to our country and advocated the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia.

Proposed New Railways

Tungtiao-Jehol Railway: This line is 447 miles long and will cost Yen 80,000,000. When it is completed it will be of great value to our development of Inner Mongolia. As a matter of fact, this is the most important of all the railways in the whole undertaking.

According to the careful surveys of the War Department there are in Inner Mongolia large tracts of land suitable for rice cultivation. After proper development there will be room for at least 20 millions of our people. Besides, there is the possibility of turning out 2,000,000 head of cattle which may be transported by railways for food supply and for purpose of exporting to Europe and America. Wool is also a special product. While the sheep in Japan yield only two catties of wool per head per year, the sheep in Mongolia can yield six catties.

The South Manchuria Railway has made many experiments all of which confirm this fact.

Besides, the wool is many times better than that of Australia. Its low cost and high quality combined with its substance in quantity make Mongolia a potential source of great wealth. When this industry is enhanced by the facilities of railway department, the total production will increase at least ten-fold.

England Must Not Know

We have withheld this knowledge from the rest of the world, lest England and America compete with us for it. Therefore, we must first of all control the transportation and then develop wool industry. By the time the other countries know about it, it would be already too late to do anything.

With this railroad in our hands, we can develop the wool industry not only for our own use, but also for exporting to Europe and America. Furthermore, we can realize our desire of joining hand with Mongolia. This railway is a matter of life and death to our policy in Mongolia. Without it Japan can have no part in Mongolia's development.

Russia Agains

Soolun-Tanan Railway: This line is 136 miles long and will cost Yen 10,000,000. Looking into the future of Japan, a war with Russia over the plains of north Manchuria is inevitable.

From a military standpoint, this line will not only enable us to threaten Russia's rear but also to curtail its reinforcement for North Manchuria.

"The Chinese Nuisance"

But the danger of this line is that it might provide facilities for Chinese migration into a new region and spoil our own policy.

Look at our experience with the South Manchuria Railway. Haven't that served the interest of China? The redeeming feature, however, is the fact that the land and mines along this railway are in the possession of Mongolian princes.

If we can gain possession of them first, we need have no worries about Chinese migration. Moreover we can make the princes pass laws discriminating against Chinese immigrants. When life there is made miserable for the Chinese, they will naturally leave for places afar. There are other methods to bar the Chinese.

Only if we try hard enough, no Chinese footprints will be found on Mongolian territory.

Schedule Of Conquest

Now they can go on the trunk line directly from Chingchinkang via the Siberian Railway. When we are in control of this great system of transportation, we need make no secret of our designs on Manchuria and Mongolia according to the third step of Meiji's plans. The Yamato Race is then embarked on the journey of world conquest. According to the last will of Meiji our first step was to conquer Formosa and the second step to annex Korea. Having completed both of these, the third step is yet to be taken and that is the conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia and China. When this is done, the rest of Asia including the South Sea Islands will be at our feet. That these injunctions have not been carried out even now, is a crime of your bumble servants.

U. S. an Obstacle

For the sake of self-preservation, and as a warning to China and the rest of the world, we must fight America sometime. The American Asiatic Squadron stationed in the Philippines is but within a stone's throw from Tsushima and Sasebo. If they send submarines to these quarters, our supply of foodstuffs and raw materials from Manchuria and Mongolia will be cut off entirely. But if the Kirin Hsining Railway is completed, we shall have a large electric line through all Manchuria and Korea and a small electric line through North Manchuria. We shall have access in all directions guiding avenues for the transportation of soldiers and supplies alike. When our supplies are transported through this line to our ports at Tsingtao and

Nihaya enemy submarines will have no way of getting into the Japanese and Korean straits. We are then entirely free from interference.

"Belgium Of Far East"

This is what is meant by making the Japanese sea the centre of our national defence. Having secured the free transportation of food and raw materials, we shall have nothing to fear either from the American navy because of its size, or the Chinese or Russian Army because of their number. Incidentally, we shall be in a position to suppress the Koreans. Let me reiterate the fact that if we want to carry out the New Continental Policy, we must build this line. Manchuria and Mongolia are the undeveloped countries in the East. Over this territory we shall have to go to war with Soviet Russia sooner or later. The battle ground will be Kirin.

Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East. In the Great War, Belgium was the battlefield. In our war with Russia and the United States, we must make Manchuria and Mongolia suffer the ravages. As it is evident that we have to violate the neutrality of these territories, we cannot help building the Kirin-Huening and Changlin-Talai Railways in order that we may be militarily prepared. In time of war we can easily increase our forces and in time of peace we can migrate thousands upon thousands people into this region and work on the rice fields. This line offers the key to economic development as well as to military conquests.

Killing Chinese Industry

1. No amount of China's agitation can matter in the least to our industrial developments.

2. Furthermore, we ought to assist our people in oil business by extending to them financial credit, so that the oil industry of the Chinese will be forced out of the market.

3. However, the Chinese are adepts in learning our tricks and beating us at our own game. We have yet found no way by which we can compete successfully with them in oil-making and railroad transportation.

4. Another thing we should be careful about is teaching the Chinese our industrial methods. In the past we have established factories in Manchuria and Mongolia and carried on industries near the source of raw materials. This gave to the Chinese the opportunity of learning our secrets and establishing competitive factories of their own.

Hereafter we should ship the raw materials back home and do the manufacturing there, and then ship the finished products for sale in China and other countries.

In this way we shall gain in three ways: (1) provide work for our unemployed at home, (2) prevent the influx of the Chinese into Manchuria and Mongolia, and (3) make it impossible for the Chinese to imitate our new industrial methods.

5. Because of the handicaps of the monetary system, people in Central and South China always buy beans and bean cakes from their one people. We have no chance against them. In consequence, we cannot conquer the whole of China.

6. With the silver standard in existence, the Chinese Government can increase their notes to counteract our gold notes. Consequently, our banks will fail to carry out the mission of extending our country's influence.

7. We can acquire rights in real property and natural resources and defeat the credit of the Chinese silver notes. The Chinese will be unable to compete with us; and the currency of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia will be in our control.

The Railroad To Political Power

The South Manchuria Railway Company functions in Manchuria as the Governor General of Korea did there before the annexation.

In order to build up our new Continental Empire, we must change the organization of the Company so as to break away from the present difficulties. The functions of this Company are varied and important. Every change of cabinet involves a change of the administration of the South Manchurian Railway, and conversely every activity of the South Manchurian Railway also has important consequences on the Cabinet. This is because the South Manchuria Railway is semi-governmental with final authority resting with the Cabinet.

For this reason, the Powers invariably look upon this railway as a purely political organ rather than a business enterprise. Whenever a new move is made for the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, the Powers would invoke the Nine-Power Treaty to thwart the plan of the South Manchuria Railway. This has greatly damaged the interests of our Empire.

Blinding The World

On account of these reasons, the South Manchuria Railway should be radically re-organized. All appurtenant enterprises which are profit-making should be made independent companies under the wings of the South Manchuria Railway, so that we may take determined steps in the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia.

On the other hand, Chinese, Europeans and Americans should be invited to invest money in the South Manchuria Railway on the condition that we have a controlling share of its stocks. In that event the control of the Company is in our hands, and our mission from the empire can be discharged more vigorously. In short, by inviting international participation in the South Manchuria Railway, we can blind the eyes of the world. Having achieved that, we can push our advances in Manchuria and Mongolia at our will, free ourselves from the restraint of the Nine-Power Treaty and strengthen our activities in that country with foreign capital.

When we can have sufficient iron and steel for our own industries, we shall have acquired the secret of becoming the leading nation in the world. Thus strengthened, we can conquer both the East and the West. In order to attain this goal, the iron works must be separated from the South Manchuria Railway. Such unified control will keep China from preventing us from becoming self-sufficient in iron and steel.

Wanted More Petroleum

Another important commodity which we lack is petroleum. It is also essential to the existence of a nation. Fortunately, there lies in the Fushun Coal Mine 5,200,000,000 tons of shale oil, from every hundred catties of which six catties of crude oil may be extracted.

By means of American machinery, every hundred catties will yield nine catties of refined oil good for motor cars and battleships.

At present Japan imports from foreign countries 700,000 tons of mineral oils every year valued at Yen 60,000,000. Those figures are on the increase. As there are 50 billion tons of shale in the Fushun Mines, the yield calculated at five per cent would be 250,000,000 tons; at nine per cent, 450,000,000 tons of oil. Taking an average of the two, the yield would be 350,000,000 tons and assuming the value of the oil to be fifteen yen a ton, the oil shale contained in the Fushun Mine would bring us Yen 5,250,000,000.

This will be a great industrial revolution for us. From the standpoint of national defence and national wealth, petroleum is a great factor. Having the iron and petroleum of Manchuria, our army and navy will become impregnable walls of defence. That Manchuria and Mongolia are the heart and liver of our empire is a truthful saying. For the sake of our empire, we should be congratulated.

As to Cultural undertakings such as hospitals, schools and philanthropic institutions, they are our signal towers in the advances into Manchuria and Mongolia. They are the institutions for spreading our national prestige and power. More specifically, they are the basis for rights and privileges.

The slogan of "Equal Opportunity" helps us to get foreign loans as well as to dispel suspicion of our designs in North Manchuria. At any rate, we shall need foreign capital to develop our continental empire. When the South Manchurian Railway is open to foreign investments, the powers will be glad to lend more to us and China can do nothing to block it. This is an excellent way to further our plans in Manchuria. We should lose no time in doing it.

Break Russo-Chinese Friendship

Moreover, both Russia and ourselves have been increasing armaments. On account of geographical positions, we have conflicting interests.

If we want to obtain the wealth of North Manchuria and to build up the new Continent according to the will of Emperor Meiji, we must

THE TANAKA MEMORANDUM

rush our people into North Manchuria first and seek to break the friendship between Russia and China.

Organized Exploitation Of Manchuria

Our exploitation of Manchuria takes a variety of forms. Often these in authority take such different views that even the most profitable undertaking for our country cannot be carried out.

Because of the lack of speed, our secrets are often exposed and are used as propaganda material by the Mahden Government much to the detriment of our country in international relations. Whenever a new undertaking is projected in Manchuria and Mongolia, it will become the subject of discussion of tens of meetings and conferences in Dairen. Not only the approval of the four-headed government there is necessary, but also the sanction of the cabinet at home has to be secured before anything can be carried out.

Because of all these obstacles, any undertaking will take months and months before any definite results are seen. In the process it is possible for the Chinese to employ Japanese adventurers and to steal our secrets so that before a project is launched it is often reported to the Chinese and in turn it becomes common property of the world. We are suddenly brought under the check of the world opinion, and more than once we have incurred hardship in putting into practice our policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia.

Furthermore, the opposition party has also made capital out of what they find in these regions in order to attack the government. All these have many serious results in connection with our diplomatic relations.

Henceforth, we must change our practice in order to proceed adroitly. The centre of control must be in Tokyo. That will (1) ensure secrecy, (2) stop China from knowing beforehand our plans, (3) avoid the suspicions of the powers before a thing is done, (4) unify the multiple control in Manchuria and (5) bring the government agencies in Manchuria and Mongolia in close touch with the Central government so as to deal with China with undivided power.

For these reasons we should follow the original plan for absorbing Korea laid down by Ito and Katsura and establish a Colonial Department the special function of which is to look after expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia.

The administration of Formosa, Korea and Saghalien Island may be its nominal function, but our expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia is its real purpose. This will blind the eyes of the world on the one hand and forestall the disclosure of secrets on the other.

Feeling International Opinion

It is my personal conviction that the fact that the absorption of Korea could not be effected during the administration of Ito was due to the lack of a special office for control. Therefore, there were always differences of opinion and secret policies were impossible. Such a state of affairs played into the hand of international obstruction and Korean opposition.

Then a number of propagandists went to Europe and America as well as Korea itself, declaring that we firmly respected the independence of Korea and had no designs on an inch of Korean territory. The result of their work was the recovery of international confidence. After that, a colonial department was established under the pretence of Formosa. Then we seized the opportunity and the object was gained.

It goes to prove that in order to undertake colonization and immigration, a special office for it is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the creation of a new empire in Mongolia and Manchuria is of utmost importance to the existence of Japan. It is necessary to have a special colonial office in order that the policies in that vast territory may be controlled from Tokyo.

The officers in the field should only take orders; they should not interfere with the execution of policies where they please. This will ensure secrecy; and the opposition nation have no chance of getting into secrets of our colonial activities. Then our movement regarding Mongolia and Manchuria will be beyond the reach of international public opinion, and we shall be free from interference.

British War Cabinet's Proposals

For Creation of an Indian Union

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission

"The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet with party arrived at Karachi by air on the 22nd March and at New Delhi on the 23rd March to discuss with the leaders of Indian opinion conclusions which the War Cabinet have unitedly reached in regard to India, and to ascertain whether these conclusions will be generally acceptable to Indian opinion. Sir Stafford, who arrived by air from England, was accompanied by Mr. F. F. Turnbull (of the India Office and Secretary to the Secretary of State), temporarily attached to Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission, Mr. A. D. K. Owen and Mr. Graham Spry. Messrs. Owen and Spry are personal assistants to Sir Stafford and members of the War Cabinet staff. Mr. Owen is an economist and was Secretary, Political and Economic Planning, a non-official organisation, and is an expert on social services. Mr. Spry is a Canadian businessman in London.

Cripps At Delhi Press Conference

At a Press Conference in New Delhi on March 23, shortly after his arrival at the Imperial Capital, Sir Stafford Cripps said:

"Obviously it would not be appropriate for me to say anything further about the precise nature of the proposals at this stage beyond the indications which were given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Their chief object is to set out finally and with precision the practical steps which His Majesty's Government propose as the method of fulfilling their past promises of self-government to the Indian peoples. We believe that a generally acceptable line of practical action can be laid down now, and that thus the main obstacle to India's full co-operation in her own defence will have been removed."

"A Great Friend Of India"

"We feel confident that with the political atmosphere thus clarified the leading political organisations will be enabled to put forward their maximum effort in preserving their country from the brutalities of aggression. How best their effective participation in the counsels of their country can be immediately arranged will be another matter for discussion.

"I have come here because I am, as I have always been, a great friend and admirer of India and because I want to play my part as a member of the War Cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political difficulties which have long vexed our relationships. Once these questions are resolved, and I hope they may be quickly and satisfactorily resolved, the Indian peoples will be enabled to associate themselves fully and freely not only with Great Britain and the other Dominions but with our great Allies, Russia, China, and the United States of America so that together we can assert our determination to preserve the liberty of the peoples of the world.

"There is no time to lose and no time for long discussions. I am sure that in the circumstances of today the leaders of the main parties and interests in India will be ready to take quick decisions.

"My intention is to stay at Delhi for two weeks, for there are many urgent and important matters to be attended to in England, and I believe that within that time, with energy and goodwill, the essentials of success can be achieved. During so short a visit I shall, of course, not be able to travel about in the country and see everyone I should like to meet. I hope that my friends in India will understand that my time is short and will forgive me if I am unable to see them before I leave.

"My association in the past has been more close with my friends in the Congress than with the members of other parties or communities, but I am fully impressed with the need in any scheme for the future of India to meet the deep anxieties which undoubtedly exist among the Muslims and the other communities. I shall therefore embark upon my task with a mind equally open to all points of view—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and others. I believe that the proposals of the War Cabinet will appeal to the Indian leaders since they are the unanimous

result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have widely differing outlooks upon the Indian question.

Appeal To Press

"I shall be spending the first two days with the Viceroy, who has cordially welcomed my mission, and shall then have the opportunity of meeting the Commander-in-Chief and other members of the Executive Council and the provincial governors. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Chamber of Princes and the Hindu Mahasabha have been asked to nominate their own representatives to hold discussions with me, and representative of the Sikhs, the Liberal Party, and the Scheduled Castes have also been invited to meet me. I shall of course see other representative people including provincial premiers.

"I am confident that both the Indian Press and the Press in other interested countries will give their help in the great cause of Indian self-government and defence and will not by untimely speculation or by the spreading of uninformed and illconsidered rumours prejudice the chance of a successful settlement of the outstanding issues."

British War Cabinet's Proposals

The following are the conclusions of the British War Cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him for discussion with Indian leaders :—

His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration :—

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :—

(i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

Complete Transfer of Responsibility

With such non-seceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of

proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 110th of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

Cripps' Broadcast On The Proposals

The following is the text of the broadcast talk by Sir Stafford Cripps from the Delhi station of the All India Radio on March 30, 1943 :

I want tonight to give you a short explanation of the document which was published in the Press this morning, and which gives the proposal of the British War Cabinet for the future of India, a document unanimously agreed upon by every member of that Cabinet.

First of all you will want to know what object we had in view. Well, we wanted to make it quite clear, and beyond any possibility of doubt or question, that the British Government and the British people desire the Indian peoples to have full self-government, with a Constitution as free in every respect as our own in Great Britain or as of any of the great Dominion members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. *In the words of the draft Declaration, India would be, "associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs."*

There is, however, an existing Constitution which regulates the Central and Provincial Governments of India and everyone agrees that in these troublesome times we cannot here and now set about forging a new Constitution. It is far too important a matter for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way.

The principle on which these proposals are based is that the new Constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves. So we propose that immediately hostilities are ended a Constitution-making body should be set up consisting of elected representatives from British India, and if the Indian States wish, as we hope they will, to become part of the new Indian Union, they too will be invited to send their representatives to this Constitution-making body, though, if they do, that will not, of itself, bind them to become members of the Union. That is the broad outline of the future.

Defence of India

Now what is to happen in the meantime ?

The British people are determined to do their utmost for the defence of India and we are confident that in that great task the Indian peoples of all races and religions are eager to play their full part. Let me read to you what the statement says on this point—

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for, and retain the control and direction of, the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India." So ends the document.

The Governor-General whose task it is to form the Central Government of

India has done his utmost to assist me with my mission, and I am certain that the Indian leaders can rely upon him to find the best way in consultation with them for carrying out the general principle laid down in the clause that I have just read to you.

"The Most Vital Question"

So much for the general framework of the proposals. But as we all know, the most vital and difficult question is that which concerns the interests of the various communities amongst the Indian peoples.

I will not attempt to go into any of the historical origins of these difficulties; let us instead look at them as a present fact. In the great sub-continent of India there is more than one people, there are many peoples and races as there are in the great sub-continent of Russia. Our object is to give to the Indian peoples full self-government with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organise their own Constitution.

There are those who claim that India should form a single united country, there are others who say it should be divided up into two, three or more separated countries. There are those who claim that Provincial Autonomy should be very wide with but few centrally controlled federal services; others stress the need for centralisation in view of the growing complexity of economic development.

These and many other and various ideas are worthy to be explored and debated, but it is for the Indian peoples and not for any outside authority, to decide under which of these forms India will in the future govern herself.

If the Indian peoples ask our help it will of course be gladly given but it is for you, the Indian peoples, to discuss and decide upon your future Constitution. We shall look on with deep interest and hope that your wisdom will guide you truly in this great adventure.

We ask you therefore to come together all religions and races—in a Constitution-making body as soon as hostilities are over to frame your own Constitution.

We have specified the form which that body will take, unless, and this is an important point, the leaders of the principal sections of Indian opinion agree between themselves before the end of hostilities upon some other and better form.

Single Constitution

That Constitution-making body will have as its object the framing of a single Constitution for the whole of India—that is, of British Indian together with such of the Indian States as may decide to join in.

But we realise this very simple fact: If you want to persuade a number of people who are inclined to be antagonistic to enter the same room, it is unwise to tell them that once they go in there is no way out—they are to be for ever locked in together. It is much wiser to tell them they can go in, and if they find they can't come to a common decision, then there is nothing to prevent those who wish, from leaving again by another door. They are much more likely all to go in if they have knowledge that they can by their free will go out again if they cannot agree.

Well, that is what we say to the provinces of India. Come together to frame a common Constitution—if you find after all your discussion and all the give and take of a Constitution-making assembly that you cannot overcome your differences and that some provinces are still not satisfied with the constitution, then such provinces can go out and remain out if they wish and just the same degree of self-government and freedom will be available for them as for the Union itself, that is to say, complete self-government.

We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples, but it is not for us, Britishers, to dictate to you, the Indian peoples; you will work out and decide that problem for yourselves.

Appeal To Indian Leaders

So we provide the means and the road by which you can attain that form of the absolute and united self-government that you desire at the earliest possible moment. In the past we have waited for the different Indian communities to come to a common decision as to how a new Constitution for a self-governing India should be framed and because there has been no agreement amongst the Indian leaders, the British Government have been accused by some of using

this fact to delay the granting of freedom to India. We are now giving the lead that has been asked for and it is in the hands of Indians and Indians only they will accept that lead and so attain their own freedom. If they fail to accept this opportunity the responsibility for that failure must rest with them.

We ask you to accept this fulfilment of our pledges in the past and it is that request that I have put before your leaders in the document which you have now seen.

As regards the position of minority communities within the new Indian Union, I am confident that the constitution-making body will make just provision for their protection. But in view of the undertakings given to these minorities by His Majesty's Government in the past we propose that in the Treaty, which, under the draft Declaration, will be concluded between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body, the new Indian Union should undertake to protect the rights of these minorities. If there should be any non-acceding provinces a similar treaty provision would be made in respect of minority communities within their borders.

I have already indicated to you the position as to the immediate future.

The C-in-C's Position

I know that His Excellency the Viceroy has the greatest hope that the acceptance in principle of this document by the leaders of Indian opinion will make it possible for him to start forthwith upon the consultations which will enable him to implement the principles laid down in the last paragraph of the document which I have already read over to you.

It contains one essential reservation—that in respect of the responsibility for defence. This reservation does not mean that the Governor-General and his Executive Council will, or indeed could, be excluded from taking an effective share in the councils for the defence of India. In this wide-swing war, defence cannot be localized in a single country and its preparation must permeate the activities of every department of Government and must demand from every department the fullest co-operation. If His Majesty's Government are to take full responsibility for the conduct of the naval, military and air defence of India, as it is their duty to do, then the defence of India must be dealt with by them as part of the world war effort in which they are now engaged, and the direction of that defence must rest in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief under the War Cabinet and their highest staff officers. But, as I have already pointed out, the Government of India must also have an effective share in the defence councils and as we have decided that the Commander-in-Chief must retain his position as a Member of the Executive Council.

In order, however, that India may have her full voice in this central control of strategy, defensive and offensive, not only in India itself but in all the inter-related theatres of war, we have invited the appointment of a representative Indian to the War Cabinet and to the Pacific Council of the United Nations—that is one of the ways in which India will have her full say in the councils of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations as an equal partner. And when it comes to the making of the peace, India will appoint her own representatives to the Peace Conference side by side with those of the other free nations and so make her contribution to the building of a new world order.

Definite And Precise

I am confident that nothing further or more complete could be done towards the immediate realization of the just claims and demands of the Indian people. Our proposals are definite and precise. If they were to be rejected by the leaders of Indian opinion, there would be neither the time nor the opportunity to reconsider this matter till after the war and it would be a bitter blow to the friends of India all over the world.

I consider it a high honour that it has fallen to my lot to be the mouthpiece of the War Cabinet in a matter of such vital and far-reaching importance to the future world order. I personally am convinced of the soundness and completeness of these proposals, and I have asked your leaders to give to them an ungrudging

There will still be difficulties perhaps—the result of the distrust which has grown up between us in past years, but I ask you to turn your backs upon that past, to accept our hand, our hand of friendship and trust and allow us to join with you for the time being in working to establish and complete your

freedom and your self-government. This, as you may know, has long been a cause dear to my heart and it is with the greatest hopes that I look to the events of the next few days which may, if wisely handled, seal for ever your freedom and our friendship.

Your country today is in peril from a cruel aggressor, an aggressor whose hand has soaked in blood and suffering great areas of China with its friendly and democratic peoples, an aggressor allied to those nations who have deluged with tragedy the once peaceful plains of Russia. Against those aggressors we and the Allied Nations will fight to victory.

The outlook is overcast for the moment but, believe me, I have no doubt as to the final result. Russia, the United States, China and Great Britain have resources which the Axis and its allies can never defeat.

We stand by our duty, growing out of our past historical associations, to give you every protection that we can, but with your willing help and co-operation this can be made more effective and more powerful.

Let us enter upon this primary task of the defence of India in the now sure knowledge that when we emerge from the fire and travail of war it will be to build a free India upon foundations wrought by the Indian peoples themselves, and to forge a long, lasting and free friendship between our two peoples. Regrets and recriminations as to the past can have no place beside the confident and sure hopes of the future, when a Free India will take her rightful place as a co-worker with the other free nations in that world reconstruction which alone can make the toil and suffering of the war worth while. Let the dead past bury its dead! And let us march together side by side through the night of high endeavour and courage to the already waking dawn of a new world of liberty for all the peoples.

Resolution Of The Congress Working Committee

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was held at Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1948. It passed the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British Government. This resolution was however not released to the press till April 10th after the final failure of the negotiations. It was communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 8th.

The Working Committee have given their full and earnest consideration to the proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the War in September 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to enable them to do so to be created. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realisation of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the War in the Pacific, it was stated that: 'Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.'

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the creation of hostilities. The Committee, while recognising that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic State. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation. The Committee recognises that future independence may be implicit in the proposals but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion.

The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the States have no votes in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the State as well as of the rest of India.

The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian Union. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a union and thus create friction just when the utmost co-operation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present. The committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should give to those who look to them for guidance. For the present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete, and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the Defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during war time it is all important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent government during the pendency of the War. The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental pre-requisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present, is their realisation as a fact that they are free and are in charge of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even at this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanise the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India, through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them.

The Committee, therefore, are unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.

Note: Sir Stafford Cripps, after receipt of the Working Committee resolution had an interview with the Congress President. With reference to the resolution

Sir Stafford Cripps told the Congress President that he took it that the resolution will not be immediately released to the press. He also told him that he would consult His Majesty's Government 'as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism of your Working Committee that under clause (c) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative India.'

Azad-Cripps Correspondence

The full text of the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps in connection with the British Government's draft declaration is given below :

New Delhi, March 30, 1942

My dear Maulana Sahib

I had the opportunity of a short talk with H. E. the Viceroy last night, during which he discussed with me his views as to the implementation of clause (c) of the draft declaration.

It must be clearly understood that the final definition of the division of responsibilities between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is as stated in paragraph (c) of the document. I propose to make the position as to this as clear as I can in my broadcast tonight.

The Viceroy would be prepared to consult with Indian leaders on this basis to see whether it were possible to designate an Indian to some office connected with the Government of India's defence responsibilities without in any way impinging upon the function and duties of the Commander-in-Chief either in his capacity as supreme commander of the armed forces in India or as the member of the Executive Council in charge of Defence.

I give you this information as you put the question to me when last I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

The Congress President received wires from Shri Shanti Kumar Narottam Morarjee and others drawing his attention to the fact that while Sir Stafford Cripps had invited the representatives of British Commercial interests for a discussion with him he had sent no such invitation to the Indian Commercial interests. The President sent a copy of the wire from Shri Morarjee to Sir Stafford Cripps and invited his attention to the just complaint of the Indian Commercial community. Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following reply :

New Delhi, March 31 1942

My Dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter of to-day. The reply which I gave at my press conference, and to which Mr. Morarjee refers in the telegram you have sent me, was I assure you not intended to convey any lack of appreciation of the importance of Indian Commercial interest. I was dealing with the position in regard to European Commercial interests if the proposals which I have been discussing with you and the other leaders are given effect, and I said that I had seen representatives of the European community because the interests of that community might be affected. After all, the Europeans are a minority element in India who are entitled to be heard in such discussions as at present, not only in regard to their business interests but on other matters. Indian business interests will presumably be able to make their voice heard in the Constitution making Body through those members of the Provincial legislature who represent their interests, and then would be the time and place at which their interests would have to receive consideration. It does not seem to me that it would really be helpful to the discussions I have come here to hold to see Mr. Morarjee although I would have been happy to do so if I had been able to stay here longer than I can on this occasion.

I am exceedingly sorry that my letter of yesterday should have been delayed in reaching you. My Secretary took it to Birla House in the belief that the Working Committee was meeting there and understood that it would be immediately communicated to you.

Yours very sincerely

(Sd.) Stafford Cripps

New Delhi, April 2, 1942

Dear Maulana Sahib

I understand from the Hindu press that difficulties are still in the mind of Congress as to the question of the responsibility for the Defence of India.

I have done what I could to clarify this point but as I think it would be a tragedy if negotiations were to break down upon any misunderstanding of the position I should like to suggest that I should ask the Commander-in-Chief to meet yourself and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with myself in order that he may explain fully to you the technical difficulties of the situation and in order that you may make to him any suggestions you wish as to the division of responsibilities in this sphere of government. Unfortunately he is at the moment away at Calcutta but he is expected back on Saturday next at the latest (and possibly earlier). If you consider this a helpful suggestion—as I hope you will—I will ask him the moment he returns whether he will be prepared to attend such a meeting and I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty about it.

I am sure you will realize that I do not want to be met with an impasse if there is any reasonable way out.

Yours sincerely
(Ed.) R. Stafford Cripps
New Delhi, April 1, 1948

My Dear Sir Stafford

I have your letter of today's date, for which I thank you.

If you so desire it, I shall gladly meet the Commander-in-Chief and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with, I hope, be able to accompany me.

My Committee have already arrived at a decision in regard to the proposals communicated by you to us. It was my intention to send this to you this evening, or possibly to take it over in person, in case you wished to discuss any point contained in it. This decision naturally covers other points also apart from Defence. I hope to send it to you some time today. If you wish to meet me again in regard to this I shall gladly meet you.

In your letter you refer to the "Hindu Press." I do not know what exactly you mean by this.

Yours sincerely
(Ed.) Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi, April 1, 1948

My dear Monsieur Sahib

Thank you very much for your letter.

I will make the arrangement for the meeting with the Commander-in-Chief the moment he returns.

As to the document you are sending over, I understand this expresses the views of the Congress Working Committee upon the proposals, but that it is not intended to be a definite and final statement as to the Congress attitude, in view of our meeting again.

I should be most grateful if you could come over and see me with regard to it tomorrow morning at 10 A. M.

I apologise for the reference to the "Hindu Press." I was referring to the Hindustan Times amongst other papers.

Yours sincerely
(Ed.) R. Stafford Cripps
New Delhi, April 2, 1948

Dear Monsieur Sahib

Mr. Jinnah has asked me to give him a clear picture of the method by which I have proposed that a Province should decide whether it will or will not join an Indian union set up in accordance with the procedure laid down in His Majesty's Government draft Declaration. I have told him in reply that the proposition which I have put orally to him and to the other leaders is that a Province should reach its decision by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution that the Province should join the Indian Union, and that if the majority for accession is less than 60%, the minority would have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population.

I explained this to you at our first meeting, but as I have written to Mr. Jinnah in this case, I thought it desirable to give you a similar letter.

Yours sincerely
(Ed.) R. Stafford Cripps
April 2, 1948

Dear Monsieur Sahib

I have now been able to see His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and he will be very glad to meet you and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to discuss the position

regarding Defence. Subject to your convenience, 6 o'clock tomorrow evening would suit General Wavell and if you can manage this, I suggest that you should come here at 10 minutes to 6 P. M., and I will go up with you to the Commander-in-Chief's Office.

If there are any specific points of detail about organisation which you wish to raise, I should be very much obliged if you could let me have a note of them tonight or first thing tomorrow morning so that the Commander-in-Chief can consider them before the meeting.

Yours sincerely

(Ed.) R. Stafford Cripps

After consulting His Majesty's Government on clause (e) of the declaration Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following letter to the Congress President :—

New Delhi, April 7, 1948

My dear Maulana Sahib

I have, as I promised when I last saw you, consulted His Majesty's Government as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism of your Working Committee that under clause (e) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative Indian. Although, as the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities, His Majesty's Government are anxious to give representative Indians the maximum possible participation in the Government during that period, in accordance with the principle laid down in clause (e) of the draft declaration.

I have explained to you the technical difficulties with regard to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and will not here reiterate them.

I have also pointed out that all those main aspects of the defence of India which at present fall under the care of other members of the Executive (e. g., Civil Defence, Supply, Home Affairs, Communications, etc., etc.) will if the scheme is accepted, be administered by representative members in the new National Government.

His Majesty's Government are however anxious to do their utmost to meet the wishes of the Indian people, and to demonstrate their complete trust in the co-operative effort of the two peoples, British and Indian, which they hope may reinforce the Defence of India.

They also appreciate the force of the arguments that have been put forward as to the necessities of an effective appeal to the Indian peoples for their own defence.

I am therefore authorised to propose to you as a way out of the present difficulties that,

(a) The Commander-in-Chief should retain a seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council as "War Member" and should retain his full control over all the war activities of the armed forces in India subject to the control of His Majesty's Government and the War Cabinet upon which body a representative Indian should sit with equal powers in all matters relating to the Defence of India. Membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

(b) An Indian representative member would be added to the Viceroy's Executive, who would take over those sections of the Department of Defence which can organisationally be separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's War Department and which are specified under head (i) of the annexure. In addition this member would take over the Defence Co-ordination Department which is at present directly under the Viceroy, and certain other important functions of the Government of India which are directly related to Defence and which do not fall under any of the other existing departments and which are specified under head (ii) of the annexure.

His Majesty's Government very much hope, as I personally hope, that this arrangement will enable the Congress to come into the scheme so that if other important bodies of Indian opinion are also willing it will be possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to embark forthwith upon the task of forming the new National Government in consultation with the leaders of the Indian opinion.

Yours sincerely

(Ed.) R. Stafford Cripps

Annexure

(a) Matters now dealt with in the Defence Department which would be transferred to a Defence Co-ordination Department.

(c) Public relations.

- (d) Demobilisation and post-war reconstruction.
- (e) Petroleum Officer, whose functions are to calculate the requirements of, and make provision for, all the petroleum products required for the Army, Navy and Air Force, and for the Civil Departments, including Storage and distribution.
- (f) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.
- (g) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependents, including Indian soldiers abroad.
- (h) All common organisations.
- (i) Certain non-technical educational institutions e. g., Lawrence Schools, K. G. R. I. M. Schools and the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.
- (j) Stationery, Printing and forms for the Army.
- (k) Reception, accommodation and social arrangements for all foreign missions, representatives and officers.
- (l) In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing departments. Examples are
 "Denial" policy.
 Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.
 Signals co-ordination,
 Economic warfare.

The formula for defence suggested in the above letter, was considered by the Working Committee and rejected by them. In particular the functions allotted to the Defence Minister, as listed in the Annexure, were considered totally insufficient. The Committee, therefore, expressed their inability to accept this suggestion.

After the rejection of the above formula a second formula for Defence was placed before the Working Committee by a mutual friend, with the previous approval of Sir Stafford Cripps. There was no list of subjects or functions attached to this.

Second Formula For Defence

In amplification of clause (e) of the draft declaration His Majesty's Government make the following proposition upon the subject-matter of the Defence of India.

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in charge of a representative Indian member with the exceptions of functions to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief as war member of the Executive Council.

(b) A war department will be constituted which will take over such functions of the Defence Department as are not retained by the Defence member. A list of all the retained functions has been agreed, to which will be added further important responsibilities including the matters now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department and other vital matters related to the defence of India.

The Working Committee having considered the above formula varied it as follows :

Working Committee Formula

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, for the duration of the war by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India, and who will be an extraordinary member of the National Cabinet for that purpose.

(b) A war Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of all other matters relating to Defence, including those now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department.

This formula was sent with a covering letter, dated April 6th, which stated inter alia :

The new proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British War Cabinet, were entirely unsatisfactory. Both the approach and the allocations of subjects were, in our opinion, wrong, and there was no real transfer of responsibility for Defence to representative Indians in the National Government. Such transfer is essential for the successful defence of the country, for on it depends the full mobilisation of the war-potential of the country.

The approach made in the draft you gave me this morning seems to us a more healthy one. With some alterations that we suggest, it might be made the

basis of further discussions. But, it must be remembered, that a very great deal depends on the allocation of subjects between the Defence Department and the War Department, and until this is done, it is not possible to give a final opinion.

Leaving aside this subject of allocation for the present, we would suggest that the formula which is to form the basis of discussion should be as follows: The formula is given above.

You will notice that this does not differ materially from your formula. The general approach is that the National Government is responsible for the entire government of the country including its defence. But, in view of the war and the obvious necessity of allowing full scope for war operations to the Commander-in-Chief, functions relating to the conduct of the war are delegated to him and are to be exercised by him for the duration of the war. He will in effect have full control of these operations and of the war activities of the armed forces in India.

It is presumed of course that there will be full cooperation between the Defence Department and the War Department. The National Government will inevitably stand every nerve towards the successful defence of the country and will give all possible help to the Commander-in-Chief in this behalf.

Sir Stafford Cripps has already stated that a representative Indian will be a member of the War Cabinet in London, and that membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

There are many other important matters which have to be considered, but I do not wish to trouble you with them, however, in order to prevent any misunderstanding later on. In the draft declaration proposed to be made by the British Government there is much with which we do not agree. The preamble commits us to Dominion Status, though there is a possibility of our voting ourselves out later on. Clauses C and D relate, inter alia, to the right of a province not to join the Union and to the nomination by the Rulers of States' representatives to the constitution-making body. We think these provisions are bad and likely to have dangerous consequences. We have indicated our views in regard to them in the resolution a copy of which I have already sent you. All these provisions are for the future and they need not come in the way of a present arrangement. As controversial matter, this might be left out of any proposed declaration at this stage. It will be open to any group or party to adhere to its own opinions in regard to them and yet co-operate in a settlement for present action. We hope that it may be possible for us to arrive at a satisfactory settlement about them at a future date.

One other matter to which we attach importance might be mentioned, though it does not arise out of the present talks. We presume that the independent status of India will be recognized by the United Nations. Whenever this is done, it will greatly help our common cause and strengthen our bonds with each other.

Sir Stafford Cripps' Formula

Sir Stafford Cripps amended as follows the Working Committee's formula given above.

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, until the new constitution comes into operation, by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India and who will be a member of the Executive Council for that purpose.

(b) A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of the other matter relating to Defence in the Defence Department and those now dealt with by the Defence Co-ordination Department in addition to other important matters closely related to Defence.

(d) In the event of any new functions falling to be discharged in relation to Defence or any dispute arising as to the allocation of any old functions it shall be decided by His Majesty's Government.

To this was added a comprehensive description of the functions of the War Minister:

The War Department, for which the Commander-in-Chief will be Member, will be responsible for the governmental relations of G. H. Q., M. H. Q. and A. H. Q., which include:—

(1) Examining and sanctioning all proposals emanating from G. H. Q., and A. H. Q.

(2) Representing the policy of Government on all questions connected with the war which originate in or concern G. H. Q., N. H. Q. or A. H. Q.

(3) Acting as the channel of communication between the Government of India and H. M. G. on all such questions.

(4) Acting as Liaison between these head-quarters and the other Departments of Government, and Provincial Governments.

The above formula was received on the afternoon of April 8th. Immediately on receipt of it a letter was sent on behalf of the Working Committee pointing out that the description of the War Minister's functions appeared as all-comprehensive. It was, therefore, requested, that illustrative lists of the functions of both the Defence Minister and the War Minister be supplied to enable the Working Committee to understand the implications of the proposal. No such lists were supplied then or at any time later.

The Working Committee met, as usual in the morning and afternoon of April 8th and gave full consideration to the new proposal. In view of the absence of the list of functions no definite decision could be taken.

In order to avoid further delay it was decided that the matter be further considered in a personal interview between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps. Also there were other matters that needed elucidation. The interview took place in the late afternoon of April 9th. On the 10th morning a report of what transpired at the interview was placed before the Working Committee, who came to the decision that they could not accept the British Government's proposals as they stood. The following letter was therefore sent by the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps :

Azad's Letter to Cripps

New Delhi, April 10, 1948

Dear Sir Stafford

On the 2nd April I sent you the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress containing their views on the tentative proposals put forward by you on behalf of the British Government. In this resolution we expressed our dissent from several important and far-reaching proposals for the future. Further consideration of these proposals has only strengthened us in our conviction in regard to them, and we should like to repeat that we cannot accept them as suggested. The Working Committee's resolution gives expression to our conclusions relating to them which we reached after the most earnest consideration.

That resolution, however, emphasized the gravity of the present situation and stated that the ultimate decision that we might take would be governed by the changes made in the present. The over-riding problem before all of us, and more especially before all Indians, is the defence of the country from aggression and invasion. The future, important as it is, will depend on what happens in the next few months and years. We were therefore prepared to do without any assurances for this uncertain future, hoping that through our sacrifices in the defence of our country we would lay the solid and enduring foundation for a free and independent India. We concentrated, therefore, on the present.

Your original proposals in regard to the present, as contained in clause (c) of the proposed declaration, were vague and incomplete, except in so far as it was made clear that "His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India." These proposals, in effect, asked for participation in the tasks of to-day with a view to secure "the future freedom of India." Freedom was for an uncertain future, not for the present, and no indication was given in clause (c) of what arrangements or governmental and other changes would be made in the present. When this vagueness was pointed out, you said that this was deliberate, so as to give you freedom to determine these changes in consultation with others. In our talks you gave us to understand that you envisaged a National Government which would deal with all matters except Defence.

Defence at any time, and more particularly in war time, is of essential importance and without it a National Government functions in a very limited field. Apart from this consideration, it was obvious that the whole purpose of your proposals and our talks centred round the urgency of the problems created by the threat of

Note: G. H. Q.=General Headquarters; N. H. Q.=Navy Headquarters; A. H. Q.=Air Headquarters.

the invasion of India. The chief functions of a National Government must necessarily be to organize Defence both intensively and on the widest popular basis and to create a mass psychology of resistance to an invader. Only a National Government could do that, and only a government on whom this responsibility was laid. Popular resistance must have a national background, and both the soldier and the civilian must feel that they are fighting for their country's freedom under national leadership.

We pointed this out to you. The question became one not of just satisfying our national aspirations but of effective prosecution of the war and fighting to the last any invader who set foot on the soil of India. On general principles a National Government would control defence through a Defence Minister, and the Commander-in-Chief would control the armed forces and would have full latitude in the carrying out of the operations connected with the war. An Indian National Government should have normally functioned in this way. We made it clear that the Commander-in-Chief in India would have control of the armed forces and the conduct of operations and other matters connected therewith. With a view to arriving at a settlement, we were prepared to accept certain limitations on the normal powers of the Defence Minister. We had no desire to upset in the middle of the war the present military organisation or arrangements. We accepted also that the higher strategy of the war should be controlled by the War Cabinet in London which would have an Indian member. The immediate object before us was to make the defence of India more effective, to strengthen it, to broad base it on the popular will, and to reduce all red tape, delay and inefficiency from it. There was no question of our interfering with the technical and operational sides. One thing, of course, was of paramount importance to us; India's safety and defence. Subject to this primary consideration, there was no reason why there should be any difficulty in finding a way out of the present impasse in accordance with the unanimous desire of the Indian people, for in this matter there are no differences amongst us.

The emphasis on Defence led you to reconsider the matter and you wrote to me on the 7th April suggesting a formula for Defence.

In this letter you said: "As the Working Committee have understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities." The Working Committee's attitude in the matter has been completely misunderstood and I should like to clear this up, although we are not immediately concerned with it. The Committee do not think that there is any inherent difficulty in the way of constitutional changes during the war. Everything that helps in the war not only can but must be done, and done with speed. That is the only way to carry on and win a war. No complicated enactments are necessary. A recognition of India's freedom and right to self-determination could easily be made, if it were so wished, together with certain other consequential but important changes. The rest can be left to future arrangements and adjustments. I might remind you that the British Prime Minister actually proposed a union of France and England on the eve of the fall of France. No greater or more fundamental change could be imagined, and this was suggested at a period of grave crisis and peril. War accelerates change; it does not fit in with static conceptions.

The formula for Defence that you sent us was considered by us together with its annexure which gave a list of subjects or departments which were to be transferred to the Defence Department. This list was a revealing one as it proved that the Defence Minister would deal with relatively unimportant matters. We were unable to accept this and we informed you accordingly.

Subsequently, a new formula for Defence was suggested to us, but without any list of subjects. This formula seemed to us to be based on a more healthy approach and we suggested certain changes pointing out that our ultimate decision would necessarily depend on the allocation of subjects. A revised formula was then sent back to us together with an indication of the functions of the War Department.

This was so widely and comprehensively framed that it was difficult for us to know what the actual allocation of subjects and departments, as between the Defence Department and the War Department, would be. A request was made on our behalf that illustrative lists of these subjects might be supplied to enable us to consider the matter. No such lists were supplied to us.

In the interview we had with you yesterday we discussed the new formula

and expressed our viewpoint in regard to it. I need not repeat what I said then. The wording of the formula is after all a minor matter and we would not allow that to come in our way, unless some important principle is at stake. But behind that wording lay certain ideas and we were surprised to find that during the past few days we had been proceeding on wrong assumptions.

When we asked you for illustrative lists of subjects for the two departments, you referred us to the old list for the Defence Department which you had previously sent us and which we had been unable to accept. You added that certain residuary subjects might be added to this but in effect there was not likely to be any such subject as the allocation was complete. Thus, you said, that substantially there was no change between the old list and any new one that might be prepared. If this was so, and we were to go back ultimately to the place we started from, then what was the purpose of our searching for new formula? A new set of words meaning the same thing made no difference. In the course of our talks many other matters were also cleared up, unfortunately to our disadvantage. You had referred both privately and in the course of public statements to a National Government and a "Cabinet" consisting of "ministers." These words have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet, with the Viceroy acting as a constitutional head. But the new picture that you placed before us was really not very different from the old, the difference being one of degree and not of kind. The new Government could neither be called except vaguely and inaccurately, nor could it function as a National Government. It would just be the Viceroy and his Executive Council with the Viceroy having all his old powers. We did not ask for any legal changes but we did ask for definite assurances and conventions which would indicate that the new Government would function as a free government the members of which act as members of a cabinet in a constitutional government. In regard to the conduct of the war and connected activities the Commander-in-Chief would have freedom, and he would act as war minister.

We were informed that nothing can be said at this stage, even vaguely and generally, about the conventions that should govern the Government and the Viceroy. Ultimately there was always the possibility of the members of the Executive Council resigning or threatening to resign if they disagreed with the Viceroy. That sanction or remedy is of course always open but it is curious that we should base our approach to a new government on the probability of conflict and resignation at the very outset.

The picture therefore placed before us is not essentially different from the old one. The whole object which we, and I believe you have in view—that is, to create a new psychological approach to the people, to make them feel that their own national government had come, that they were defending their newly won freedom—would be completely frustrated when they saw this old picture again, with even the old labels on. The continuation of the India Office which has been a symbol of evil to us, would confirm this picture. It has almost been taken for granted for sometime past that the India Office would soon disappear as it was an anachronism. But now we are told that even this undesirable relic of a past age is going to continue.

The picture of the government, which was so like the old in all essential features, is such that we cannot fit into it. Normally we would have had little difficulty in disposing of this matter for it is so far removed from all that we have striven for, but in the circumstances of today we were prepared to give full consideration to every proposal which might lead to an effective organization of the defence of India. The peril that faces India affects us more than it can possibly affect any foreigner, and we are anxious and eager to do our utmost to face it and overcome it. But we cannot undertake responsibilities when we are not given the freedom and power to shoulder them effectively and when an old environment continues which hampers the national effort.

While we cannot accept the proposals you have made, we want to inform you that we are yet prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly national government is formed. We are prepared to put aside for the present all questions about the future, though as we have indicated, we hold definite views about it. But in the present, the National Government must be a cabinet government with full power and must not merely be continuation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In regard to defence we have already stated what, in our opinion, the position should be at present. We feel that such an arrangement is the very minimum that

is essential for the functioning of a National Government and for making the popular appeal which is urgently needed.

We would point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not ours only but may be considered to be the unanimous demand of the Indian people. On these matters there is no difference of opinion among various groups and parties, and the difference is as between the Indian people as a whole and the British Government. Such differences as exist in India relate to constitutional changes in the future. We are agreeable to the postponement of this issue that the largest possible measure of unity might be achieved in the present for the defence of India. It would be a tragedy that even when there is this unanimity of opinion in India, the British Government should prevent a free National Government from functioning and from serving the cause of India as well as the large causes for which millions are suffering and dying today.

Yours sincerely
(Ed.) Abul Kalam Azad

Cripps' Reply to Azad

New Delhi, the 11th April 1942

My Dear Mutana Salih,

I was extremely sorry to receive from you your letter of April 10th expressing the rejection by the Congress Working Committee of His Majesty's Government's draft Declaration.

I will not deal with those points which are covered by the original resolution of your Committee which you sent me, as they were clearly not the reason for your decision.

Nor need I go into the question of the division of duties between the Defence Minister and the Commander-in-Chief as War Member with which you deal at length. This division allotted to the Defence Minister all functions outside those actually connected with the General Headquarters and Air Headquarters which are under the Commander-in-Chief as head of the fighting forces in India.

In addition to these functions in the narrow field of "Defence" it was suggested that all other portfolios relating to that subject such as :—

Home Department—Internal order, police, refugees, etc.

Finance Department—All war finance in India.

Communications Department—Railways, roads, transport etc.

Supply Department—Supplies for all forces and munitions.

Information and Broadcasting Department—Propaganda, publicity, etc.

Civil Defence Department—A. R. P. and all forms of civilian defence.

Legislative Department—Regulations and orders.

Labour Department—Man power.

Defence Department—Administration of Indian personnel, etc.

should be put in the hands of representative Indians as members of the Executive Council.

Nothing further could have been done by way of giving responsibility for Defence services to representative Indian members without jeopardising the immediate defence of India under the Commander-in-Chief. This defence is, as you know, a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government, while unity of Command is essential in the interests of the Allied help to India.

The real substance of your refusal to take part in a National Government is that the form of Government suggested is not such as would enable you to rally the Indian people as you desire.

You make two suggestions. First that the constitution might now be changed. In this respect I would point out that you made this suggestion for the first time last night, nearly three weeks after you had received the proposals, and I would further remark that every other representative with whom I have discussed this view has accepted the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war and at such a moment as the present.

Second you suggest "a truly National Government" be formed, which must be a "cabinet Government with full power."

Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible, as you realise.

Were such a system to be introduced by convention under the existing circumstances nominated cabinet (nominated presumably by the major political

organisations) would be responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority.

This suggestion would be rejected by all minorities in India, since it would subject all of them to a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet. Nor would it be consistent with the pledges already given by His Majesty's Government to protect the rights of those minorities.

In a country such as India where communal divisions are still so deep an irresponsible majority Government of this kind is not possible.

Apart from this, however, until such time as the Indian peoples frame their new constitution, His Majesty's Government must continue to carry out its duties to those large sections of the Indian people to whom it has given its pledges.

The proposals of His Majesty's Government went as far as possible short of a complete change in the constitution which is generally acknowledged as impracticable in the circumstances of to-day.

While therefore both I and His Majesty's Government recognise the keen desire of your Working Committee to carry on the war against the enemy by every means in their power, they regret that your Working Committee has not seen its way to join in the war effort upon the conditions sincerely offered, the only conditions which could have brought together all the different communities and sections of the Indian people.

I propose to publish this answer.

Yours sincerely
and.) Stafford Cripps

Azad's reply to Cripps

New Delhi, April 11, 1942

Dear Sir Stafford,

I have just received your letter of April 10th and I must confess that my colleagues and I were considerably surprised to read it. I am sending you this reply immediately and can only deal briefly here with some of the points you have raised.

The points covered by our original resolution are important and represent my Committee's well-considered views on the British proposals as a whole. But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power.

As regards the division of functions between the Defence Minister and the War Minister you did not give illustrative lists, as requested by us, and referred us to the previous list of the Defence Minister's functions, which as you know, we had been wholly unable to accept. In your letter under reply you mention certain subjects, directly or indirectly related to the war, which will be administered by other departments. So far as the Defence Minister is concerned, it is clear that his functions will be limited by the first list that you sent.

No one has suggested any restrictions on the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief. Indeed we went beyond this and were prepared to agree to further powers being given to him as War Minister. But it is clear that the British Government's conception and ours in regard to defence differ greatly. For us it means giving it a national character and calling upon every man and woman in India to participate in it. It means trusting our own people and seeking their full co-operation in this great effort. The British Government's view seems to be based on an utter lack of confidence in the Indian people and in withholding real power from them. You refer to the paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government in regard to defence. That duty and responsibility cannot be discharged effectively unless the Indian people are made to have and feel their responsibility, and the recent past stands witness to this. The Government of India do not seem to realise that the war can only be fought on a popular basis.

Your statement that we have for the first time after three weeks suggested a change in the constitution is hardly correct. In the course of our talks reference was made to it, but it is true that we did not lay stress on it as we did not want to introduce new issues. But when you stated explicitly in your letter that we had agreed that no constitutional changes could be made during the war, we had to deny this and correct your impression.

It is the last part of your letter that has especially surprised and grieved

us. It seems that there has been a progressive deterioration in the British Government's attitude as our negotiations proceeded. What we were told in our very first talk with you is now denied or explained away. You told me then that there would be National Government which would function as a Cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis his Cabinet. In regard to the India Office, you told me, that you were surprised that no one had so far mentioned this important matter, and that the practical course was to have this attached or incorporated with the Dominions Office.

The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview.

You have put forward an argument in your letter which at no time during our talks was mentioned by you. You refer to the 'absolute dictatorship of the majority.' It is astonishing that such a statement should be made in this connection and at this stage. This difficulty is inherent in any scheme of a mixed cabinet formed to meet an emergency, but there are many ways in which it can be provided for. Had you raised this question we would have discussed it and found a satisfactory solution. The whole approach to this question has been that a mixed cabinet should be formed and should co-operate together. We accepted this. We are not interested in the Congress as such gaining power, but we are interested in the Indian people as a whole having freedom and power. How the Cabinet should be formed and should function was a question which might have been considered after the main question was decided; that is, the extent of power which the British Government would give up to the Indian people. Because of this we never discussed it with you or even referred to it. Nevertheless you have raised this matter for the first time, in what is presumably your last letter to us, and tried most unjustifiably to sidetrack the real issue between us.

You will remember that in my very first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal or like questions did not arise at this stage. As soon as the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach.

We are convinced that if the British Government did not pursue a policy of encouraging disruption, all of us, to whatever party or group we belonged, would be able to come together and find a common line of action. But unhappily, even in this grave hour of peril, the British Government is unable to give up its wrecking policy. We are driven to the conclusion that it attaches more importance to holding on to its rule in India, as long as it can, and promoting discord and disruption here with that end in view, than to an effective defence of India against the aggression and invasion that overhang us. To us, and to all Indians, the dominant consideration is the defence and safety of India, and it is by that test that we judge.

You mention that you propose to publish your letter to me. I presume that you have no objection now to our publishing our original resolution, your letters to us, and our letters to you.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi, April 11, 1948

My dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter which I have just received in reply to mine of the 10th April. I have no objection to your releasing the Congress resolution and our correspondence whenever you desire to do so.

Yours sincerely
Stafford Cripps

Note:—On receipt of this letter the resolution of the Working Committee as also the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps were released to the press.

The Congress President At a Press Conference

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met a large number of journalists on April 10th in Delhi and spoke to them about his talks with Sir Stafford Cripps. In particular, he referred to his first interview with Sir Stafford, and said that he had emphasis on these issues.

Firstly, he told Sir Stafford that the approach to the Indian problem must

in the Draft Declaration was not only not correct but was likely to lead to greater complications. If the British Government desired to infuse a new spirit in India even at this eleventh hour and send out a person like Sir Stafford for the task, the simple method would have been to send out through Sir Stafford the announcement that Britain was prepared to part with power. Sir Stafford could then have asked Indians to draw up a scheme. If we failed to draw one up, the entire responsibility would have been ours.

Sir Stafford, in reply, referred to the first part of the Draft Declaration and asserted that it was a considered decision of principle. He added that provision had already been made in it for different political organisations and it was open to them to come to an agreement at any time.

"I pointed out," said the Maulana, "that after concrete proposals had been introduced by him, the task of independent agreement among the parties in India had been made difficult."

"Secondly," proceeded the Maulana, "I told Sir Stafford that the Draft Declaration laid much greater emphasis on the future than on the immediate present, while India demanded changes in the present system. The proposals relating to the present were not positive; they were negative."

"I said to him that as far as the Congress was concerned I do not see how it could accept the proposals. War, I said, was threatening India; but the light had gone out of the hearts of the millions, who might have sacrificed themselves for their country."

"Our common task now demanded that we should find a psychological approach in order to re-kindle the spark of patriotic fervour in those hearts. This could not be achieved merely by holding out promises for the future, but people must be made to feel that they were free in their own country to-day and had to defend their own freedom and their own country."

"Sir Stafford, speaking with great confidence, assured me that clause (c) of the Draft Declaration provided for complete freedom and transfer of power, with only one reservation about defence."

"I then pointed out that defence of the country was the demand of the moment as far as the country was concerned and during the war. Civil administration had disappeared because problems of defence permeated every civil department, and if you reserved defence you practically reserve all the powers which you say are being transferred to India."

"Sir Stafford said by way of reassurance that the reservations related only to the functions of the Commander-in-Chief."

"The rest of the discussion proceeded in respect of this particular question."

"The third point emphasised by me was that in tackling the political question in India, communal questions were bound to arise at some stage or other and would have to be solved. I assured him that as soon as the main political problem was settled, the responsibility of finding a satisfactory solution of the communal and other problems would be ours, and I could confidently assert that we would find a satisfactory solution."

"Sir Stafford entirely agreed with me and said this was exactly what he had said before the War Cabinet before he came out to India."

"This naturally conjured up in my mind a picture of the present not found in the cold words of the Draft Declaration, and I, therefore, naturally decided to call a meeting of the Working Committee to examine it."

"I, however, regret to say that the first impression of the picture created as a result of my earlier interviews with Sir Stafford gradually became blurred as the discussions on material points proceeded from stage to stage. And when I last met him on the night of April 9, the whole picture had completely faded out."

Referring to his interview with General Wavell, the Maulana said: "In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had repeatedly emphasised the technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side of the question much better."

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert politician."

"I think," the Maulana went on, "I must clarify the position created by

certain speculations in a section of the press as regards Mahatma Gandhi's part in the discussions. The Mahatma's views as regards participation in any war are well known and it would be entirely untrue to suggest that the Working Committee's decisions have in any way been influenced by those views.

"In fact, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear to the Working Committee that they were perfectly free to come to their own decisions on the merits of the proposals. He did not really want to participate even in the earlier sittings of the Working Committee but he was persuaded by me to stay on from day to day as long as he could afford to do so. Eventually, my persuasion proved powerless to make him stay longer.

"I want to repeat what I said yesterday that the Working Committee's decision has at every stage been unanimous," he declared.

He concluded: "It is deeply to be regretted that the aim which all of us had passionately desired has not been reached, but I must acknowledge that all these discussions were carried on in a friendly atmosphere and in spite of profound differences which at times led to heated controversy. We and Sir Stafford have parted as friends. The cordiality of the talks was maintained to the last."

Jawaharlal Meets The Press

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru met a number of Indian and foreign journalists at a Press conference in New Delhi on April 16th 1948 and dealt at length with the Grippes' negotiations and the attitude taken up on behalf of the Congress.

Who is responsible for the failure of the Grippes' negotiations? In answer to this question, Pandit Nehru explained in detail the various stages of the negotiations. If he had been asked just before his last interview with Sir Stafford Cripps, he would have said that the chances of coming to an agreement were about 75 per cent. At that interview, however, the full picture which Sir Stafford, suddenly and for the first time, put before them of the proposals was such that he could not agree to it. "A big change had occurred somewhere in the middle" said Pandit Nehru. It was obvious, he added, that there was some trouble between Sir Stafford and others.

Pandit Nehru went on to say: "While it was my extreme desire to find a way out and make India function effectively for defence and make the war a popular effort—so great was my desire that some things I have stood for during the last quarter of a century, things which I could never have imagined for a moment I would give up, I now agreed to give up—I am convinced personally that it is impossible for us to agree to the proposals as they eventually emerged from the British Government's mind. I am in complete and whole-hearted agreement with the Congress resolution and the letters of the Congress President.

The change in the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps which led to the sudden breakdown of the negotiations was then described by Pandit Nehru. From the first, the impression which Sir Stafford has given was that the new Government would be a National Government. Sir Stafford had himself often used the words, "National Cabinet." He had also said that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King, in other words, a constitutional head. The language used by Sir Stafford had led them to assume that everything was being transferred except defence and also that the Viceroy would not interfere with the decision of the Cabinet though he might have special powers such as in connection with the States or some major issue. So the question of the new Government's powers, etc., was not even discussed. At the last interview on Thursday night, however, the picture which Sir Stafford gave showed that the premises and assumptions on which they had been arguing had no real foundation. Sir Stafford began to talk of the Viceroy's "Executive Council" and not a "National Government." Names did make a difference. "If we go to the country, talking about the Viceroy's Executive Council, what would the people think?" asked Pandit Nehru amidst laughter. They agreed to legal phraseology, but contrary to their old assumptions, Sir Stafford suddenly made it perfectly clear that there would be no essential change between the position of the Viceroy's Council and that of the new Government which they were asked to join. "I was amazed," declared Pandit Nehru. It might be that Sir Stafford had been misled up by his senior partner in England or someone here. "We cannot change laws," said Sir Stafford, but when he was asked: "Tell us at least what conventions you propose. Will they function as a Cabinet? Will the Viceroy work as a constitutional head?" Sir Stafford replied: "I am totally unable to say anything on the subject, because it is completely within the discretion of the Viceroy. Go to him later on and discuss the matter with him. I can-

not interfere or indicate what should be done." So it amounted to the old August offer again—with a few minor changes. They were merely asked to agree to join the Viceroy's Council practically unconditionally—with the vague background provided by the Cabinet's declaration.

Dealing with the Defence question, Pandit Nehru said that at no time had it been suggested by the Congress that the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief for carrying on the war in an effective way should be interfered with. But in addition to his powers as Commander-in-Chief, he was now having other powers which were really those of a Defence Minister. Pandit Nehru said that the removal of Defence from their responsibilities made the position of the Defence Minister absurd and ridiculous. Their conception of defence was different from that of the Government. It was not keeping a regiment here and there, but they wanted to mobilize hundreds of millions of Indians. They wanted to make every man and woman do something for the war—make it a popular war. The military conception was a fight with their armies and if the latter failed, to surrender, but their conception was different. They would not surrender whatever happened—whatever happened to military forces, popular resistance should continue to the end—as in China and Russia. Could they discharge their duty in this spirit? Could they make India hum as an organized unit of resistance? Could they make India feel that she was fighting her own war for her freedom? That was their idea in asking for a popular conception of Defence, but the Government's attitude as put to them was a singularly complacent attitude—a conception of India from a standpoint which was peculiar only to England. "We are in the right. All those who are against us, are not only in the wrong, but damnably in the wrong."

Referring to the Defence question during the Cripps' negotiations Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that at first a certain formula was given by Sir Stafford according to which the Commander-in-Chief was to be War Minister and the Defence Minister was to have certain functions entrusted to him. Attached to it was a list—practically exhaustive—of the functions entrusted to the Defence Minister. They were propaganda, cantenans, petroleum, ammunition, stationery and subjects of that kind. The subjects proposed to be allotted were such that "they would have made the Defence Minister's position ridiculous in the eyes of the public," said Pandit Nehru. It was not acceptable to the Congress Working Committee. Then came a new formula—at the instance of a third party but presumably with Sir Stafford's approval—with no list of subjects attached.

In the Working Committee's opinion, this afforded a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence, but the really important point was—what would be the subjects transferred to the Defence Minister? Sir Stafford did not reply to a letter asking for a list of these subjects: "At no stage did we receive them" said Pandit Nehru. When they asked him personally, Sir Stafford referred them to the Army Manual. Later, Sir Stafford entered into a long disquisition on the Indian Army—that it was really an offshoot of the British Army controlled by the British Government, through their representative, the Commander-in-Chief. It was explained to Sir Stafford on behalf of the Congress that it was not their intention to do anything to upset present arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian Army feel that the Army was theirs. They wanted to give the National background, the psychological appeal, necessary for a popular war. Sir Stafford's attitude was, however, rigid. In the end, he said that the list of subjects were those already given in his original formula.

Sir Stafford refused to follow the Australian model saying that Mr. Curtin in Australia had even greater powers than Mr. Churchill had in England. As regards the citizen army, Sir Stafford said that the matter would lie within the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief but he added that the Commander-in-Chief would probably agree. If he did not agree, it was open to the Ministers to resign.

Commenting on this attitude of the Government, Pandit Nehru said: "That is not the way to bring about a settlement." He went on to say: "That is not the way to fight a war—not the technical way of the Viceroy's House and the Government of India. If there is a National Government, everybody will have to work or get out. It is not an evening dress war. It is work work, work. Those who sit to dinner in evening dress at 8-15 are not going to win this war. In reply to those who talked of the want of equipment as a reason against a citizen army, he cited the example of China and Spain. The former was now self-sufficient so far as small arms were concerned. In India, with a National Government, they could double or treble the production of our factories. They could do without

luxuries and turn those factories producing non-essential goods into factories for small arms. The whole conception of the citizen army was, he said, a practical conception, a psychological conception, an essential conception.

Pandit Nehru went on to narrate how a person who had become a German prisoner and had managed to escape told him and others what the Germans thought of the Indian troops, how much they had been struck by their courage and efficiency in action. It is a magnificent army. What would we not do, if we had such people to draw upon? said the Germans. "If they fight like this in a mercenary way how much better would they fight if they thought they were fighting for their own freedom?" It was really a question of psychological approach, declared Pandit Nehru. Explaining further, he said:

"The whole approach was one of lighting a spark in hundreds of millions of minds in India. It was not an easy responsibility for anyone to undertake. Nevertheless, we felt that circumstances demanded it and whatever our grievances with the British Government, whatever the past history of our relations, we could not allow that to come in the way of what we considered our duty to our country at present."

Referring to the future, Pandit Nehru said: "India and Russia are the two important theatres of war. Little else counts for the present. Much will, of course, depend on the next two or three months in the Russo-German War. A great deal depend on India or what happens as between Germany and Russia; but apart from that India is going to be for the next three or four months the crux of the war. It will make a difference to the length of the war and the intensity of the war. Every country in the world realizes this, except, of course, the big people in New Delhi and Whitehall—they are slow of understanding and comprehension—and, therefore, you have these frantic radio appeals from Germany and Japan."

"If today a National Government of India said, 'We are going to arm the Indian people. We may not have the best of modern arms, aeroplanes, tanks; but we are going to arm them with such guns as we can make, think how the world situation will change; what reaction it will have on Germany and Japan and also in the Allied countries.'"

In answer to a question, Pandit Nehru said:—

"So far as I know India, and I know it tolerably well, the major sentiment in India naturally is one of hostility to the British in India. You cannot root out 180 years of past history and all that has happened in those years. It has sunk deep down into the Indian soul. Suppose we had come to an agreement and had to convert, to change that sentiment suddenly, we could have done it if we could have given a sensation of freedom to the people of India. The fundamental factor today is distrust or dislike of the British Government. It is not pro-Japanese sentiment. It is anti-British sentiment. That may occasionally lead individuals to pro-Japanese expression of views. This is short-sighted. It is a slave's sentiment, a slave's way of thinking, to imagine that to get rid of one person who is dominating us we can expect another person to help us and not dominate us later. Free men ought not to think that way. It distresses me that any Indian should talk of the Japanese liberating India. The whole past history of Japan has been one of dominating others. Japan comes here either for imperialist reasons straight out or to fight with the British Government. Anyhow, whatever the reason, if it comes here, it does not come here to liberate."

In the course of his talk, Pandit Nehru removed two or three misconceptions. In reply to Sir Stafford's charge that the Congress had, for the first time in its letter of April 10 asked for big changes immediately in the constitution, Jawaharlal explained that the reference in the letter was only intended to remove a misunderstanding. In one of his letters Sir Stafford had said that the Congress had asked that there should be no constitutional changes in the interim period. As this was not correct, the President explained the position. The Congress had merely said that it did not want to enter into an argument now on these constitutional questions, but they had made no commitment of the kind that they agreed not to ask for any immediate constitutional changes. Their position was this: "While we are not agreeing, we are not pressing this. It is not an issue." Sir Stafford was not, therefore, correct in saying that a major issue had been raised.

Pandit Nehru referred to the offer made by Mr. Churchill, at a critical time in the war, to France for a union with England. The suggestion made by Pandit Nehru was that Parliament should pass a small Bill of six sections giving independent status to India and agreeing to the principle of self-determination. Other

details, communal and other, could be left over for settlement later, but if this had been done, the whole approach to the question would have become different—as between England and India and also between the communities. The Congress point of view was this—they were prepared to have a National Government for war purposes, but as regards the future Government, they were prepared to leave over for future consideration the question of detailed and precise proposals for future Government. Pandit Nehru said, however, that the present proposals would have also to be considered with the view-point of the future. If the independence of India was now accepted in principle, it would have a great psychological effect on the people.

Asked about Sir Stafford's reference to the "tyrannical rule of a majority" in his farewell statement, Pandit Nehru said:

"I want to make it perfectly clear that throughout our talks and correspondence, except for the last two letters, there was no reference at all at any stage in the slightest degree to the question of majority rule, because much as we disliked it we accepted the idea of a composite Cabinet formed from different groups representing different ideologies in the country, some coming among others from the Muslim League and from the Hindu Mahasabha and Sikhs. We accepted that, although it was a thing which would have made the functioning of the National Government very difficult. At no stage did we discuss the number of any groups in the Council. It was important, but we did not discuss it because we, speaking on behalf of the Congress, never laid stress on the Congress having this or that. We wanted no power for the Congress. We always talked in terms of what the National Government would have, whoever may be there and whatever numbers it may consist of. We talked of it as a group and of what power that group should have. The communal issue in any form was never discussed except that Sir Stafford Cripps often repeated one formula, that he was only concerned with agreement between three groups in India, the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. He did not care whether others agreed or not, but if any of these three did not agree the scheme fell through.

"For the first time," he went on, "this question was definitely emphasised by Sir Stafford Cripps in his letter dated April 10 in which he used the phrase 'tyrannical rule of the majority.' Now, for an eminent lawyer and constitutionalist like Sir Stafford to use these phrases in this manner is extraordinary. We were thinking in terms really not even of a legislature but of a Cabinet consisting of 15 persons. What the proportions in that Cabinet may be we never discussed. Suppose there was the so-called Congress majority in it, though the Congress was not thinking on those lines. But Sir Stafford's mind was continually functioning, balancing the different communal factors. Suppose, then, in a Cabinet of 15 there was a Congress majority of eight or nine. Now cabinets, if they are to function at all, cannot function and do not function, especially in war-time, by majority. You must have a certain homogeneity or common outlook; otherwise the Cabinet may break up. Sir Stafford has been continuously reminding us of the ultimate sanction of resignation. If we had that ultimate sanction, so also every group in that Cabinet had that ultimate sanction. So, the talk of the tyranny of the majority is amazing and fantastic nonsense.

Pandit Nehru referred to the mention of the 'Hindu Press' in one of Sir Stafford's letters. When further questioned, he said he meant the *Hindustan Times*. That in itself showed how he was continually thinking in regard to every matter in terms of Hindu and Muslim.

Pandit Nehru observed he could not conceive of Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Bhabha really disagreeing with anything that the Congress had put to Sir Stafford in regard to the proposals for the immediate present.

Earlier at the conference, Pandit Nehru declared: "Today the dominant factor is the imminent peril to India, and I want you to appreciate what I say. We agreed to things which in the last 22 years we would never have dreamt of agreeing to or coming near. In these 22 years we have stood for something. Not only the Congress but vast numbers of people outside the formal fold of the Congress, even communal organisations, have demanded independence. For the first time in these 22 years, I swallowed many a bitter pill. When I said I was prepared to agree to many things so as somehow to come to an agreement, I did want to throw all my sympathy and all the energy I possess in the organisation of the defence of India.

Statement by Congress President

Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said in the course of an interview

at Karachi before leaving India that Congress leaders first went to see Col. L. Johnson, who acted as a mediator in his personal capacity.

This is likely to create an impression that his mediation was sought by us. Facts, however, are otherwise. On or about April 1, a common friend informed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that Col. L. Johnson was anxious to meet him and would be glad if a meeting could be arranged at his residence. Accordingly, Pandit Nehru met him. Again it was by a pure accident that on April 3, while I was on my way to a meeting of the Working Committee, I went to Pandit Nehru's residence which was on my way to pick him up, and there I found Col. Johnson. Naturally we met and had a brief talk. At the end of this talk, Col. Johnson expressed a desire that in the event of the Working Committee coming to an adverse decision, he should be allowed a chance to see if he could be helpful, before the committee's final verdict was formally communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps. His wish was so obviously in the interest of the common object, namely, successful conclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, that I saw no objection in complying with it. It is hardly necessary to narrate the rest of the story. But I must make it perfectly clear that nobody on behalf of the Congress sought either Col. Johnson's or President Roosevelt's intervention, although in the very nature of things, Col. Johnson's friendly interest was appreciated.

Jawaharlal's Statement to the Press

Sir Stafford Cripps' statement made in Karachi about Congress leaders going to Colonel Louis Johnson and his acting as mediator is not correct and is liable to be misunderstood. Sir Stafford has not been fair either to Colonel Johnson or to the Congress leaders. There was never any question, as I have stated previously, of our asking for mediation or arbitration from any one and President Roosevelt's name has been needlessly dragged into this matter. We dealt with Sir Stafford alone though others were naturally interested in the developments that were taking place. Colonel Johnson did no interfere in any way, though of course he expressed his desire that a satisfactory settlement should be reached. We are grateful to Colonel Johnson for his friendly approach to our problems, though in the nature of things he could not interfere in what was taking place.

Sir Stafford has told us that the British Government is not going to take any further initiative from them as they have managed to get completely stuck in rats of their own making. We do not rely on the British Government for anything except to obstruct political and economic advances in India. The initiative lies with others who do not live in rats. The dominating factor of the situation is the fact that India can only be defended effectively as a free country by the people themselves acting through their National Government. I notice that parts of what I have said torn from their context, have been given publicity by some sections of the press and by the radio. This is not fair. I think it is every Indian's duty to refuse submission to every aggression, old and new, and to resist it. We cannot and must not submit for that way lies a surrender of the soul and spirit of the nation. But it must be realized that effective resistance is not an individual matter and no one can deliver the goods except a free national Government with power and responsibility, which can organize the masses. This patent fact cannot be ignored and this is the crux of the question in India.

Cripps Explains Breakdown of Negotiations

"You will have heard that the draft declaration which I brought to India on behalf of the War Cabinet, and which I explained to you last time I spoke over the wireless, has been rejected by your leaders," declared the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, Member of the British War Cabinet, broadcasting from the Delhi station of All India Radio at 8.30 p.m. on April 11, 1942.

Sir Stafford said: I am sad that this great opportunity of rallying India for her defence and her freedom has been missed.

None could have been more fully conscious than I of the great difficulties which history has placed in the way of a settlement of the relations between British and Indian peoples and even more between the different communities in India.

In the past British Governments have been accused of using vague terms to cloak a lack of purpose; and when they have stated that it must be left to the Indian communities to agree amongst themselves, it has been said that this was only a device by which Great Britain might indefinitely retain its control over India.

The Congress has, since the outbreak of war, repeatedly demanded two essentials as the basis for its support of the Allied effort in the war. First, a declaration of Indian independence and, second, a Constituent Assembly to frame a new and free Constitution for India. Both these demands find their place in the draft declaration.

It was in the light of the demands and criticism of the Indian leaders that the War Cabinet drafted their declaration, with the object of convincing the Indian peoples and world public opinion of the sincerity of their desire to offer freedom to India at the earliest practicable moment.

To avoid the complaints that had been made in the past, they put out a clear and precise plan which would avoid all possibility of Indian self-government being held up by the views of some large section or community. But they left it open to the Indian leaders to agree upon an alternative method if they wished.

Of course, every individual and organization would have liked the draft declaration to express his or their point of view, forgetting that if it did, it would inevitably have been rejected by others.

The War Cabinet were thus in a position rather like that of an arbitrator who tries to arrange a fair compromise between conflicting points of view. They could not, however, without denying the very freedom that they were offering, impose a form of government upon the Indian peoples which they did not themselves freely choose. But in all this spite of criticism, those vital parts of the document with which all agree have never been mentioned. Full and free self-government for India—that is its central feature.

Immediate Difficulties

This critical and unconstructive attitude is not the best way of arriving at a compromise, but compromise there must be if a strong and free India is to come into being.

Some day, somehow, the great communities and parties of India will have to agree upon the method of framing their new Constitution. I regret profoundly for the sake of India, for whom I have a deep and admiring friendship, that the opportunity now offered has not been accepted.

But all this concerns the future. The immediate difficulties have been as regards the present. First, there was the difficulty as to defence. Upon that the attitude of the British Government was very simple. For many decades the defence of India has been in the charge of His Majesty's Government. This has led to an organisation which places the control of the armed forces under a Defence Secretariat headed by the Commander-in-Chief who is also the Defence Member. The Army in India—containing British and Indian units—the Navy and the Air Force all came under this supreme command.

The demand has been made that the defence of India should be placed in Indian hands. No one suggests that the Commander-in-Chief, as the head of the armed forces, should be under the Indian Government, but they say, the functions of the Defence Member should be transferred to an Indian.

"An Impossible Course"

This may sound simple—in fact it would mean a long and difficult reorganisation of the whole Defence Secretariat—an unscrambling of eggs scrambled many years ago—which would cause delay and confusion at the very moment when the enemy is at the gates and the maximum of speed and efficiency is essential in defence. The duty of the British Government to defend India and our duty to our American Allies who are giving such valuable help, makes such a course impossible.

To show our complete sincerity of desire to give to representative Indian members of the Executive the maximum of power, we offered to create a new War Department which would take over the Governmental relation of the Commander-in-Chief's General Headquarters and Naval and Air Headquarters and which would be in his charge as War Member, leaving the rest of the Defence Department—with a number of most important functions added—to an Indian Defence Member.

In the wider area of Defence, which touches almost every department of the Government of India, the administration would have been wholly under the control of representative Indians.

But none of these things was the real cause of the breakdown of the negotiations.

Why Talks Failed

In their final letter addressed to me, the Congress Working Committee have stated that the temporary form of Government envisaged during the war is not such as to enable them to join the Government.

They have two suggestions to remedy the situation. First, an immediate change of the Constitution, a plan that everyone else has admitted to be wholly impracticable while the war is proceeding; and second, that they are prepared to enter a true National Government with a Cabinet of Indian leaders untrammelled by any control by the Viceroy or the British Government.

Realise what this means. The governing of India for an indefinite period by a set of persons nominated by Indian parties, responsible to no legislature or electorate, incapable of being changed and the majority of whom would be in a position to dominate large minorities.

It is easy to understand that the great minorities in India would never accept such a system. Nor could His Majesty's Government, who have given pledge to those minorities, consent to their being placed unprotected while the existing Constitution lasts, under a simple and possibly inimical majority rule. It would be a breach of all the pledges that we have given.

Such a solution may sound simple and attractive to those who have no knowledge of the deep communal division in India, but it is in fact wholly impracticable and would never be accepted by very large sections of the Indian peoples.

"The Essential Need"

The essential need in India today is for all the leaders of all the main parties and communities to come together in a single National Government. A scheme that attracts some and repels other, such as the Congress has suggested, is of little value.

Nor does the precise form matter so greatly. Inspiration and leadership are not to be found in forms or conventions, they will be demonstrated by combined purpose and unity of action.

No Constitution and no convention will work unless those who lead the people will come together with a common determination to make it work. Had Congress leaders felt themselves able to join with the other leaders who were willing, then, indeed, a great work might have been accomplished.

One thing I must make clear. I alone in India carry the responsibility for what has been done, neither the Viceroy nor the Commander-in-Chief carries any responsibility for these negotiations. They have throughout done their utmost to help me, and I express to them and many other willing helpers of all nationalities my most sincere thanks for that help.

A "Genuine Effort"

We have tried by the offer that I brought to help India along her road to victory and to freedom. But, for the moment, past distrust has proved too strong to allow of present agreement.

But in that failure to achieve immediate result there is no bitterness. Our effort has been genuine. No responsible Indian has questioned the sincerity of our main purpose—the complete freedom of India.

We may differ as to the methods by which that freedom can best be reached both now and in the future, but upon one thing we must all be agreed, that it cannot be reached through a fresh conquest of India by a power such as Japan that has shown itself brutal and intolerant to its own Asiatic sister nations.

It is only necessary to visit Formosa or the occupied parts of China—as I have done—to know that through a Japanese conquest death, misery, and starvation will come.

The widely advertised propaganda of the Japanese, painting themselves as the liberators of China, has resulted in nothing but untold suffering and tragedy for hundreds of thousands of honest and peaceful Chinese, men, women and children.

The same propaganda, now being made to trick the Indian people into submission, holds out for them no better prospect than the dire suffering which have been inflicted upon their Chinese neighbours.

The basic philosophy of the Japanese Fascists, as of their German counterparts, is that they as a superior race have the right to enslave

all whom they can conquer. I have seen and heard of the exploits of the Nazis in Russia, in Poland, in Yugoslavia and in other Slav countries of Europe and I know that none but the most diseased imagination could ever conjure up the ghastly and sadistic horrors which these barbarians have made a reality throughout every town and village in that vast area.

An Overwhelming Tragedy

That human bestiality could sink so low is an overwhelming tragedy for the world, and it is a tragedy that we and you and all the Allied nations are determined to expunge from the pages of history, in the only way that we can, by the decisive defeat of those responsible for this brutalisation of humanity. No peoples with the culture of the Indians—a culture as old, as deep and as real as that of their Chinese neighbours—could ever stand by and tolerate these insults to their moral standards and to their common humanity.

Our philosophies, our religions and our traditions differ widely, but in whatever form we may each worship our own conception of supreme power and absolute goodness, we one and all, desire to see those ethical and moral standards which are implicit in our religion become the touchstone of our behaviour in all the wide and human contacts which make up our day-to-day life.

A Duty And An Obligation

And in this epic struggle for decent moral standards in the world we fight against the godless barbarism and bestiality of our enemies, but we do not fight alone. Russia, China, the United States of America, and all the Allied nations with their suffering peoples, stand beside us, a great company of gallant men and women who will give their all for those things which they know to be right and just. On the battlefields of Russia and China, in their cities and on their farms, millions of our fellow men and women have already given their lives that we might live.

To that great and gallant army of the heroic dead we not only owe a debt of gratitude, but we acknowledge a duty and an obligation.

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield." To strive, to seek, to find that righteous victory which they died to win, and not to yield to that barbarous aggression against which they made their bodies a living wall of resistance.

It is true that millions have died in those countries, as others have died in the crowded streets of our English cities, in our ships upon the high seas and fighting in our armies on the land and in the air; but as each has fallen others have crowded forward to take the vacant place and countless millions are even now preparing to strengthen and reinforce the effort, to make victory sure.

Plan For United Efforts

The hour has struck when India herself is being driven inexorably by the aggression of Japan into the front line of defence in a war which now spreads its evil tentacles into nearly every country in the world.

We shall do our utmost, despite all our heavy commitments elsewhere, and the United States of America will lend her great and growing aid as well, to assist the Indians in the defence of their country. We ask them to help us as we seek to help them. Together we can do much, divided far less.

Hard and difficult times surely lie ahead, the path of honour and of duty has never been an easy one, and today in those who would follow it to its end there must be found a greater courage and determination than ever before; but the end is certain as the slow wheels of justice grind out defeat for the aggressor nations.

The vast resources of manufacture of the United States, of Great Britain and of Russia, matched to the unlimited man-power of the Allied nations, can bring but one result—the final victory, and towards that victory India can and must play her part, a part that will give her the proud right to full and free representation in the council of the nations when they meet to make the final peace which can, if we will it, lead the peoples of the world into a brighter and happier future of organised and co-operative freedom.

The common peoples of the world will have opportunities in the world settlement such as they have never had before, and the Indian peoples and their leaders must make ready to play their full part in building up the new world order.

Call To Youth

This is the time when the youth of the world are called upon to make every sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice of life itself, but through that solemn service to humanity they earn the right to take their full share in the shaping of the future. Though old heads may be wiser, old hearts cannot have the fire and courage of youth—it is that fire and courage which we must summon to the Defence of India and to the building up of her freedom when victory is won.

Risks must be taken, innovations must be tried, and we must climb quickly out of the ruts of peacetime habits and customs. A new tempo is needed, a new devotion, a more total effort to finish quickly with the horrors of war.

I have seen that effort being made in the Soviet Union, the wholehearted devotion of an entire continent—more varied in racial origin than India itself—and the world has learnt what a great and courageous people inspired with the love of their country and of their freedom can achieve. I have witnessed, too, the Chinese—ill-equipped, lacking many essential supplies—indomitably carrying on their defence year after year and wearing down the aggressor who has penetrated deep into their homeland. The cities and towns of England have been deeply scarred and her people have suffered as none ever before from the concentrated hate of enemy bombing. Their courage and their fortitude have thrilled the world.

Now is the time for India and her people to join their courage, strength and their endurance in this great heroic and world-wide army of the common people, and to take her part in those smashing blows for victory against brutality and aggression which shall for ever free the masses from the age long fear and tragedy of poverty and of war.

Statement At Press Conference

Addressing a Press Conference held in New Delhi on the 11th April 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps said :

I have now received the replies from all the principal parties and communities to whom I submitted the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government.

The negotiations have been prolonged in the case of the Congress only. There have been many meetings and a number of formulae and suggestions especially upon the question of a Defence Minister. After very lengthy deliberations, the outcome of which seemed uncertain from day to day, I received the reply of the Congress.

It made it clear that the Working Committee were not prepared to accept the scheme or to enter a national government.

As a result of this and other answers I have had most regretfully to advise His Majesty's Government that there is not such a measure of acceptance of their proposals as to justify their making a declaration in the form of the draft.

The draft is, therefore, withdrawn and we revert to the position as it was before I came out here. Though not quite perhaps to that position,

"Frank And Friendly Spirit"

These discussions and negotiations have been carried on in the most frank and friendly spirit on all sides. We have all acknowledged each other's sincerity in the matter and although we must for the moment agree to differ, there is no bitterness or rancour in our disagreement.

Sometimes in the heat and excitement of discussion and argument we are apt to overlook the area of agreement.

There is a large and very important area of agreement as to the future freedom of India.

I shall be leaving New Delhi on my return journey on Sunday morning.

I want first to thank you all for your help and then I want to ask you to continue that help—not to me but to India.

The discussions are over, they will slip back into history and they will leave their impress a good, clear, healthy impress which will influence the future.

But the present and the future press upon us and must be faced.

India is threatened, all who love India—as I love India and you love India—must band their energies—took in his own way—to her immediate help.

That help cannot come through discussions and differences, it must come by drawing together the diverse elements into a closely-knit and common effort.

That is your task, there you can help whatever your party or community. We

have tried our best to agree—we have failed. Never mind whose fault it is, let me take all the blame if that will help in uniting India for her own defence.

Great Britain will do her utmost. America is doing all she can, and now India must devote herself wholeheartedly with total effort in every field of activity to defending her soil and to protecting her women and children from those ghastly horrors that have befallen her Chinese friends, neighbours.

You have my best thanks for what you have done to help me, you will have my even greater thanks in what you will do to help India.

Sapru-Jayakar Memorandum

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in a memorandum presented to Sir Stafford Cripps, dated New Delhi, 4th April 1942, strongly pressed for the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council and among other things asked that the majority required for any decision by a Provincial Legislature to adhere or not to adhere to the Union should not be less than sixty-five per cent of the Indian members of the lower House present at the meeting at which the decision would be taken. The memorandum opposed a plebiscite for the purpose and called attention to the necessity for the restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces.

Giving their personal views, Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar said: "We observe from the draft declaration that excepting Clause (E) there is very little in the declaration about the change to be introduced in the constitution of the Government during the period of the war. It may be that instructions have been or may be issued to His Excellency the Viceroy to bring about the necessary changes in the composition and the constitution of the Executive Government. If any such instructions have been issued, we are not aware of them, but we must point out that Indian opinion attaches the greatest importance to the transfer of real power in the Central Government at the present moment, and it is for this reason that we emphasize the necessity of the complete non-official assumption of Government without the reservation of any portfolio during the interim period.

"We have considered the terms of Clause (E) as originally given to us and as subsequently amended by Sir Stafford Cripps. In the amended clause, we find it stated that, while His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as a part of their world war effort, the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. We have carefully considered the terms of this amended clause, particularly in the light of the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps at the Press Conference, a summary of which appeared in the Press on the 30th of March, 1942. It is stated therein that Sir Stafford Cripps was emphatic that handing over political control and direction of Defence in the midst of the war to the Indian Government would be fatal, and further that if Indian leaders insisted on absolute control over Defence before accepting the scheme, then the scheme would fall through. We realise that the transfer of absolute control over Defence at the present juncture, when it is necessary that there should be unity of direction and control of military policy, would not be in the best interests of England and India. But we fail to see how this end will fail to be achieved by the appointment of an Indian Defence Member, who, we presume, will be a man possessed of a due sense of responsibility and would be only too willing to accept expert advice and to work in the closest co-operation with the War Cabinet.

"While we appreciate the necessity of unity of policy and control in matters of defence, we think, in common with most of our countrymen, that the appointment of an Indian Member in charge of Defence, working in close association and co-operation with the War Cabinet and willing to accept expert advice, will be taken at this stage as an unmistakable token of the reality of the transfer of such power and as a symbol of the confidence of His Majesty's Government in the people of his country. We have no doubt that the object of His Majesty's Government is that the people of this country should feel that this is their own war, but we feel that the requisite sense of responsibility for the defence of the country can best be stimulated by an appeal to their sense of pride and self-esteem and by the two countries—England and India—completely identifying themselves with each other in the common cause of defending this country. We strongly

h.c'd that it would be a mistake to ignore the strength of the sentiment of the people on this subject.

"We desire to state unequivocally that we are strongly in favour of the Indian people rendering every possible help in the successful prosecution of the war. At the same time, we feel equally clearly that in order to achieve that end, it is necessary that, during the period of the war, there should be an Indian Defence Member of the Council of the Governor-General. We are fully aware of the arguments to the contrary and we do not wish to overlook or minimise them but we feel that the arguments in favour of the adoption of this step are overwhelming.

"The adoption of an Indian Defence Member will have a great effect on Indian psychology. It will inspire the people with confidence and materially help in altering the present mentality of the people which in our opinion, is not adequately zealous in the successful prosecution of the war. We do not in the slightest degree desire that there should be any conflict between his powers and those of the Commander-in-Chief in technical matters or in decisions about the movements or disposition of the troops or similar other matters. We think that the presence of such a Member will, far from weakening the military position in India, strengthen it, and the political effects of this step will be very wholesome."

"Besides, there are, in our opinion, large and inexhaustible resources of man-power remaining untapped in the youth of the country, which can be mobilised by methods which a Defence Member drawn from the people alone can effectively employ. His approach to this store-house of strength will be by methods vitally different from those which the British official mind has hitherto employed with such little effect. The successful way in which the people of China, Russia and even the small Philippine Islands have resisted the overwhelming forces of Japanese aggression, contrasted with the debacle in Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon, graphically illustrates the difference between a struggle carried on by the people of a country under the direction of their own leaders and another pursued with the aid of a professional army, guided and directed by officers who are drawn from a different race. We venture to suggest that at this critical time, when the danger is daily approaching the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of unarmed helplessness and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which have led this policy, should be forthwith abandoned and a new era of hope and confidence inaugurated, leading to a joint effort by England and India on terms of mutual reliance and association. It is only such an association that would be productive of the maximum effort of this country, resulting, eventually, in a victory based on the self-esteem, honour and willing sacrifice of a proud people.

"On all these grounds, we desire strongly to press the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Executive Council as otherwise, the declaration, whatever its other merits may be, will fail to achieve the object it is intended to serve. It should not, in our opinion, be difficult to define the spheres of activity of the Defence Member and of the Commander-in-Chief so as to avoid conflict; nor should it be difficult to secure close co-operation and co-ordination between the two.

The second point to which we desire to advert relates to Clause (E) of the proposed declaration. While we recognise the justice of allowing any province of British India the liberty of remaining out of the new constitution and of retaining its present constitutional position, we are not free from considerable doubt and anxiety about the wisdom of the further provision which makes it possible for another Federal Union being established. Such a Federal Union may, in certain conceivable circumstances, be a rival or hostile Union. But apart from this, we cannot favour any step which may have the effect of breaking up the integrity of the country fostered by a long succession of Hindu and Muslim Emperors and a galaxy of British administrators. We are convinced that the creation of more than one Union, however consistent in theory with the principle of self-determination, will be disastrous to the lasting interests of the country and to its integrity and security.

"In the draft Declaration which has been handed over to us, we do not find any indication of the precise majority of votes which will be required in a provincial legislature to carry a resolution as to whether the province will or will not adhere to the Union. We are, however, of the opinion that in a matter of this momentous character, the method of a bare majority cannot be adopted, and the majority required for any decision on this question should not be less than 65 per cent of the Indian members of the Lower

Houses in which the resolution is passed. We do not think that a decision in which the Indian population is primarily interested should be allowed to be influenced by the votes of European members to whom the question of remaining in one Federation or another cannot be of the same importance as it is to the Indian members.

We are also strongly of the opinion that, once this principle of a prescribed majority of votes in a legislature is accepted, it would not only be superfluous but might easily lead to grave social disorder if resort were to be had to the further device of a plebiscite of the adult population of the province. We feel that, in the existing circumstances of the country, such a plebiscite, however democratic in theory, is bound to lead to serious consequences gravely disturbing peace and tranquillity not only in the province concerned, but in other areas to which the contagion may easily spread, leading to violent communal or religious conflicts. For these reasons, we cannot conceal our grave concern as to the wisdom and expediency of the provisions making it possible for some provinces to combine into a separate Union.

"We attach importance to the possibility of leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities coming to some mutual agreement before the cessation of hostilities—an agreement which may secure and safeguard the interests of all minorities by providing for (a) their representation in the legislature, (b) in the Government to be established, and (c) reservation to them of the fullest liberty in matters of conscience, religion and culture. If the contending parties begin to work together in a common cause during the interim period, they will, we hope, learn to appreciate one another's point of view, and a spirit of tolerance and confidence may be generated, conducive to a final settlement which will secure the position of the minorities in the fullest measure without causing a disruption of the well-established integrity of the country.

"If, however, all attempts during the intervening period to secure one Federal Union unhappily fail and the overwhelming wishes of the provinces to have separate union are indicated through their legislatures, and the evils pointed above of having a separate Union are prevented or mitigated, we have no objection to the experiment suggested in the draft declaration being made subject, of course, to what we have stated above.

"Lastly, we desire to call attention to the necessity for the restoration in the provinces of a popular form of Government. There is no reference to this question in the draft Declaration, probably, because it is intended to leave it for decision by the new Government which is to be established at the Centre. We consider, however, that the rule which at present prevails in so many provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act should be brought to an immediate end and their administration restored once more to popular control. If for the successful working of the Provincial Government it should be necessary to establish Coalition Governments, we would indeed welcome such an arrangement.

"On the other points arising out of the draft declaration of Sir Stafford Cripps, we do not wish to say anything more than that we are in general agreement with the line adopted by His Majesty's Government."

The Hindu Maha Sabha Memorandum

The Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha, in a memorandum on Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, issued from New Delhi on the 1st April 1942, said:

"There are several points in the declaration which are more or less satisfactory, but according to the statement unfortunately made by Sir Stafford Cripps, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*. As some essential features of the scheme are wholly or partially unacceptable to us, the Hindu Maha Sabha has no other alternative but to reject the scheme.

India should not be divided

"One of the cardinal points in the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has put forward on behalf of the War Cabinet is the right which has been conferred on the provinces of British India to keep out of the Indian Union or Federation. The basic principle of the Hindu Maha Sabha is that India is one and indivisible. In religious and cultural aspects there has been recognised the fundamental unity of India by the Hindus throughout the ages, and even unity in political sphere was an accomplished fact in many periods of this country's history.

Even during some two centuries of British rule, the political unity of India has been recognised and fostered and this has always been claimed by Britain herself as her finest achievement. Besides, India has been treated as one political and constitutional unit under the Constitution Act of 1931. The right to step out of the Indian Federation will stimulate communal and sectional animosities. The other option given to the non-accessing provinces to set up a rival Pakistan-Federation constitutes, in view of such Moslem movements as Pakistan and Pathanistan involving threats of joining hands with Afghanistan and other Moslem nations, a serious menace to India's security and this may lead to civil war in the country. The Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be true to itself and to the best interests of Hindustan (India) if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form. The Hindu Maha Sabha therefore has fundamental objections to the proposal.

Objection to right of non-accession

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority. India has already been one unitary State, and the existing provinces are constituted as administrative units. The analogy of sovereign States entering into a federation and surrendering portion of their sovereignty for certain common purposes cannot apply to Indian provinces.

"According to the scheme of Sir Stafford Cripps, a treaty will be signed between His Majesty's Government and the Constituent Assembly and such a treaty will implement the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government for the protection of racial and religious minorities. In the framing of this treaty all parties and sections will have an effective say. Such a treaty ought to completely satisfy the minorities. If, however, any minority is not satisfied with the safeguards in the proposed constitution, then the question of such safeguards can be referred to the tribunal of arbitration to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with disputing parties. We want to take our stand on justice and fairplay and we do not ask for any rights or privileges which we are not prepared to extend to any community.

Interim arrangements vague and unsatisfactory

"The Hindu Maha Sabha is not so much concerned with a declaration as to the future but the real question is whether England is willing to transfer immediately real political power to India and, if so, to what extent. It notes with regret that the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has announced is nebulous, vague and unsatisfactory with regard to the interim arrangements. The Government of India Act of 1935 still maintains the bureaucracy in power with the Governor-General and the Governors as their powerful protagonists. But, for the successful prosecution of the war, it is essential to transfer real power to Indian hands and to set up conventions whereby Indian Ministers can formulate and execute a policy of national defence, including the formation of national militia and the arming of the Indian people for the defence of the country.

"It has been the demand of the Hindu Maha Sabha that India should be immediately declared an independent nation with free and equal status in the Indo British Commonwealth. The declaration promises full national sovereignty in the future but the constitutional position and status of India during the interim period have not been made at all clear. Particularly in regard to defence, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is unacceptable to us. It is urgent and imperative that if India is to be an effective partner in the struggle for freedom, her defence policy must be determined and her defence arrangements must be made on the responsibility of her own Defence Minister enjoying the confidence of all sections of the people. The tragic experience of Malaya and Burma have demonstrated that apart from the deplorable failure of military strategy, the apathy and hostility of the people who were deliberately kept unarmed, contributed to the British reverses. The psychology necessary for full and willing co-operation in the present war amongst the Indian people cannot be created unless and until the defence of India is put in Indian hands.

Election of constitution-making body

"We note with satisfaction that this scheme provides for a constitution-making body for framing the future constitution of India, and that the Constitution Assembly may begin its work with the declaration of India's independence. But the principle on which it will be constituted is vicious. The constitution-making

body will be elected on the basis of the communal award which is not only anti-national but runs counter to the essential principles of democracy.

"Unless and until the scheme of His Majesty's Government is radically altered and reconstituted on the vital issues mentioned above, the Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be a party to its acceptance, inasmuch as the scheme is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*."

The Muslim League Memorandum

The Muslim League Working Committee in a resolution dated New Delhi, the 11th. April 1942, declared that the Cripps proposals, in their present form, were not acceptable.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, says the resolution, have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement made by Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of the Commons on the 11th of March, 1942, and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of India and also the interim proposals, during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the councils of their country.

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposal of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the Declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which had promised to the Mussalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the Constitution should be set up nor the Constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Committee while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent unions in India regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reason given below.

(1) The Mussalmans, after 25 years' of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims, which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory.

(2) In the Draft Declaration a Constitution-making Body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones; and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Mussalmans to compel them to enter such a Constitution-making Body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union. With conditions as they are, it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country.

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the Constitution-making Body, namely, that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected Lower Houses of the eleven Provinces, upon the creation of constituencies as a single electoral college by the system of proportional representation, is a fundamental departure from the right of the Mussalmans, hitherto enjoyed by them, to elect their representatives by means of separate electorates which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Mussalmans can be chosen.

The Constitution-making Body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principle of justice and equity to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions; and the Mussalmans by agreeing to this, will, instead of exercising

their right and judgment as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the Constitution-making Body, in which they will be a minority of about 25 per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft Declaration, has been conceded, presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Mussalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object for, in the draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing Provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Mussalmans cannot be satisfied by such a declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union; but in the letter dated the 2nd of April from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that "a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population." In this connection, it must be emphasised that in the provinces, where the Mussalmans are in a majority as in the case of major provinces of Bengal and the Panjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies; and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the total number namely 60 and 50 respectively is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Mussalmans of those Provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the Provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Mussalmans alone which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or from a Union.

(5) With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

Complete picture not available

With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the councils of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the Centre and discard the rest of the draft scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion, the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan Scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March, 1940, which is now the creed of the All-India Muslim League, namely, "The establishment of completely independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped

together to constitute independent States as Muslim free national homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign ; adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them ; in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them" is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future.

The Liberal Federation's Memorandum

Sir Hjoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Liberal Federation of India, *Sir Chimanlal Setalvad* and *Mr. Navshir Bhavsar*, Honorary Secretary of the Federation, saw *Sir Stafford Cripps* on the 2nd. April 1942, and communicated to him the following views of the Liberal Federation on the draft declaration :

The Council of the Liberal Federation has very carefully examined the draft declaration brought by *Sir Stafford Cripps*. It welcomes the proposals to make India a self-governing Dominion with the same status and functions as are enjoyed by Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth.

On examination of the different heads of the proposals, the Council feels that the provision giving liberty to any province not to accede to the Indian Union is fraught with serious difficulties and dangers. The creation of more than one Federal Union in India, having their own separate armies may result, in certain conceivable circumstances, in a conflict between them. It would almost immediately lead to customs barriers and complicated questions about ports, railways, existing public debt, etc., would arise. Moreover, the weakness of the military organisation of the one or the other of the different Unions will seriously impair the safety and defence of India as a whole. The Council further feels that communal feelings would be further exacerbated in the course of a decision about accession or non-accession.

All these and other considerations and the serious dangers and difficulties, should be fully considered before His Majesty's Government finally decide to implement these proposals. The Council has always been of the view that the interests of different communities should be adequately safeguarded and that the interests of different communities should have proper voice in the governance of the country. But the proposals now made so far beyond the necessities of the case will seriously affect not only the unity and solidarity of India, but her stature and influence in the Commonwealth of Nations.

One of the effects of the proposals is that the questions whether a province accedes to the Union or not will in the last resort be determined by a plebiscite, unless 60 per cent of the Lower House of the Legislature vote for accession. The plebiscite vote is to be determined by a bare majority. The Council feels that the decision of such a momentous question should not be concluded by a bare majority but that some minimum percentage, say, at least 55 per cent should be prescribed. The Council also sees no reason why women, who are entitled to vote for the elections to the Legislatures and can be and are members of the Legislature, should be denied a vote in the plebiscite.

With regard to the representation of the Indian States on the constitution-making body the Council urges that the people of the States should be given a voice in the selection of the representatives of the States on this body.

An Indian Defence Member essential

On the subject of Defence, the representation of India on the War Cabinet and the Pacific War Council is satisfactory so far as it goes. But this should not stand in the way of the appointment of an Indian as a Defence Member. Such an appointment will have a tremendous effect in producing the necessary psychological reaction, which will bring the Indian people whole-heartedly in the war effort. The Council of the Liberal Federation would also urge the British Government to appreciate the fact that totalitarian aggression involves totalitarian defence and that a total war cannot be won unless the Indian nation, as a varied political entity, throws itself into this war heart and soul. Malaya, Singapore and

Rangoon serve as grave warnings as to how, even in modern warfare, technical skill alone, without the spontaneous support of the millions on the 'Home Front' can achieve little on the military front. It is the considered opinion of the Council that full co-operation of the Indian people will not be secured in the war effort unless an Indian Defence Member is appointed.

With regard to the question of reconstituting the Executive Council, the Governor-General's Council should be nationalised, so that by conventions in the near future, the Governor-General may assume the position of a constitutional head of his Government.

States' People's Conference Memorandum

The Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference considered the proposals of the British War Cabinet as published on March 30, 1942.

The Standing Committee is naturally interested in all the proposals made because of their direct or indirect effect on the future of the Indian States, which is bound up with the future of the rest of India. But the Committee proposes to consider only those proposals which directly affect the people of the Indian States.

The Committee has noted that the whole approach to this question on the part of the British Cabinet is vitiated by the extra-ordinary assumption that only the British Government and the Rulers of the States count in the disposal of these vital issues. Nowhere is any reference made to the people of the States who number 90 odd millions. This would in any event, have been an extraordinary assumption and procedure, but in the modern world and in the course of the world war that is going on, when so much is repeatedly said about a new order and democracy and freedom, such a deliberate omission and ignoring of 90 million people is significant of the way the mind of the British Government functions even in these times of peril and disaster. It is an insult to those people and any proposals based on such insults, can only be resisted to the uttermost. The only alternative to such a course would be for the States' people to give up all their cherished objectives and dreams and submit indefinitely to an intolerable slavery.

Based On Unwarranted Assumption

In these circumstances, it is hardly necessary for the Standing Committee to consider these proposals in any detail when they are based on unwarranted assumptions and premises which can never be accepted. Nevertheless the Committee desires to emphasise that these proposals are utterly harmful and injurious to the cause of freedom both in the States and in India as a whole. The Committee desires to repeat what has been authoritatively stated before that it "cannot admit the right of the Rulers of the Indian States or of foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people within the States or in the provinces and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital-interests."

To treat the so-called treaties between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, as a justification for the political fragmentation of India in opposition to or ignoring the opinion of the people of the States, is a position wholly untenable in the modern world. It must be remembered that only 30 or 40 States have such treaties and that in the making of these treaties the States people had no hand. These treaties were made long ago in circumstances which no longer exist. It is intolerable that these ancient treaties should be made to come in the way now of political and economic advance on the part of the people.

Establishment of Responsible Government

The States' People's Conference holds as its fundamental objective that the present States system in India must be ended and responsible government should be established in the States. It holds with the Indian National Congress that "Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole India inclusive of the States; for, the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it is being maintained in subjection."

The Indian States system represents an order which has ceased to exist all over the world and which is a denial of both national and personal freedom. It suffers from not only the autocratic personal Government of the Ruler but also from the direct and indirect intervention and control of irresponsible British authority. It thus suffers, as has frequently been pointed out in the past by high British officers, from the evils which inevitably flow from this extraordinary arrangement. In some ways it represents a system far worse than that of feudalism.

against which the present war is said to be waged. It is the people of the States and not their Rulers of the British suzerain authority that stand for democracy.

In the proposals under consideration no reference whatever is made to the internal democratisation of the States. It is stated there that the States will have the option at two stages to join the rest of India. First, in the drafting of a constitution; secondly, in accepting membership in the Indian Union. At neither stage is there any reference to the people of the States and only the Rulers are supposed to decide these vital questions which affect the people. The people of the States demand the right of self-determination at every stage through their elected representatives and any decision made with reference to them can have no binding effect of them.

Perpetuating British Domination

In the event of the Rulers of the States keeping out of the Union, it would appear that British Paramountcy is intended to continue together with all the other evils that present. It has been stated that foreign British armed forces may be stationed in the States to give effect to this paramountcy. In present circumstances, when both the States and the rest of India are under British control, this however undesirable, is a feasible proposition. But in the event of the rest of India forming an independent Union, the stationing of foreign forces in the States will create new problems affecting both the safety of the States and that of the Indian Union. Questions will inevitably arise as to how these foreign forces can move from one State to another through independent territory. As a result a large number of British Colonial territories calling themselves Indian States will be created owing ultimate allegiance to a foreign power. Such a development can only lead to continuous conflict and instability.

The Standing Committee, therefore, rejects and condemns three proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet in regard to the States. The whole scheme is a complete negation of the avowed war-aims of the British Government and would appear to be an attempt to consolidate the British Colonial domination in large parts of India and to maintain autocratic rule in the States. The Committee declares that nothing short of full self-determination and the right to frame the constitution of the States as well as to participate in the Constituent Assembly for all India through their elected representatives, can be accepted or can meet the requirements of the situation.

Congress Support urged

The Standing Committee respectfully draws the attention of the Indian National Congress towards all these remissions and statements of policy that have emanated from its executive from time to time with regard to the Indian States, and trusts that the Congress will accept any constitutional scheme for India in which the right of self-determination for the people of the States has not been conceded on par with British India and in which provision is not made for the same democratic, political and economic rights as for the people of the provinces.

The Standing Committee calls upon the people of the States to strengthen their respective organizations in order to bring pressure upon their Rulers for the fulfilment of their demands and to be prepared for all the eventualities that will necessarily arise in the course of such awakening.

Momin Conference Memorandum

The Committee of the All-India Momin Conference adopted a resolution at New Delhi on the 8th. April 1942, declaring that the Cripps proposals fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and are not acceptable unless modified.

The Committee firmly believes that the solidarity, integrity and unity of India are vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India. The Committee cannot, however, lose sight of the fact that a section of the Muslims is against the introduction of a single unitary system of government in this country apprehending such a system to be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims residing in the Muslim majority provinces. But the Committee, being conscious of the fact that the fear and apprehensions of such Muslims are the outcome of the mutual distrust and suspicion of the communities inhabiting this country, has full belief that such communal dimensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India.

The Committee holds that the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised inasmuch as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulaters' within India.

The Committee opines that the constitution-making body, as envisaged by the proposals, would reflect the opinion of only 10 per cent of the inhabitants of India and can, therefore, hardly be called a democratic body.

Stressing the need for transfer of control of India's Defence to Indians, the Committee declares that the masses must be made to feel that this war is being fought in the interest of India and that it is their own war.

SUGGESTED CHANGES

The Committee considers that the proposals are absolutely unsatisfactory and fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and regards them as quite unacceptable unless they are modified in the manner suggested below :

1. that no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for full ten years;
2. that instead of allowing the existing Lower House of the Provinces to nominate representatives to the constitution-making body, provision be made to constitute that body by electing its members by means of adult franchise;
3. that the control of the Defence of India be forthwith transferred entirely into Indian hands; and
4. that the peoples of the Indian States be given the right to elect representatives to the constitution-making body.

The Depressed Classes' Views

"The proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps placed before us, as settled facts, if accepted by us, would undoubtedly place us under the yoke of our oppressors and blood and tears would be our lot for ever", said Rao Bahadur *M. C. Rajah, M. L. A.*, in a statement to the Press, issued from Poona on the 22nd. April 1942, expressing his views on the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Continuing, Rao Bahadur Rajah says that the Depressed Classes do not view favourably the proposal of His Majesty's Government to set up a Constituent Assembly as the constitution-making body inasmuch as in this caste-ridden and sect-ridden country the Depressed Classes will have absolutely little or no chance, through such an electoral college as envisaged in the proposal, of returning genuine representatives of the community to the constitution-making body. It will only aid the Congress Party to secure a fully packed gathering in such a body.

"If the portfolio of Defence is also to be handed over to the Indians, that will be the last instrument placed in the hands of the Congress by His Majesty's Government to emaculate and strangle the Depressed Classes politically", he adds.

Proceeding Rao Bahadur Rajah says, "Ninety per cent of India's wealth is reported to be her agricultural produce and 90 per cent of India's tillers of the soil are the Depressed Classes. I feel that it is my duty to point out, that India will march onwards to its promised goal, that it will progress forward to the extent to which its least favoured community, the Depressed Classes, march onward and progress. It is, therefore, necessary that if any further power devolved upon the Congress or the Muslims, it should be so devolved that the interests of all classes, however small, should be very carefully protected and safeguarded and their aspirations nourished and not smothered."

Concluding, Rao Bahadur Rajah sounds a note of warning that no arrangement which the British Government might enter into with the Congress and other political parties without the consent of the Depressed Classes would be binding on the community and that if any such arrangement was made it would be strongly resented and stoutly resisted with all the means at their command.

Moderate Sikhs' Memorandum

On the invitation of Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia, a meeting of Moderate Sikhs of the Punjab was held at Amritsar on the 8th April 1942 at Majithia House, Sardar Jodh Singh, Principal of the Khalsa College, presiding. Over 150 Sikh leaders including Sardar Bata Singh, a member of the Council of State, were present.

After four hours' discussion the meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians,

that a representative government owing allegiance to the Crown and including at least one Sikh be established at the centre, that seats on of provinces should not be allowed, and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities including Sikhs.

A memorandum on these lines was submitted through Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia.

Cripps Explains Breakdown in Commons

In the House of Commons on the 28th. April 1945 Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, opened the debate on his mission to India. He said that he did not think that any one in this country need regret that the proposals for the solution of the problem of Self-Government for India were put forward. No one blamed His Majesty's Government for the failure to reach an agreement.

Sir Stafford Cripps added: "I do not believe it is possible to find under the existing circumstances a fairer solution of the problem than the Government's declaration."

Sir Stafford spoke as follows :

"When it was announced that I was to go to India with the Cabinet's proposals, this House was good enough to express its hopes that the mission might have a successful conclusion. That hope, was, I know, re-echoed by the great mass of the British people, by the Dominions and by a multitude of friends in Britain, India, the United States and elsewhere. Unfortunately, events have brought disappointment to these hopes, but I do not think anyone in this country need feel regretful that the proposals were put forward or need blame the British Government for the unfortunate fact of the failure to reach an agreement.

"OUR SINCERITY OF PURPOSE DEMONSTRATED"

"I should like to emphasise, at the outset, what I fear may prove rather a lengthy account of my mission, that, in my view, nothing but good will result both from the fact that the proposals were made and from the almost equally important fact that the War Cabinet sent one of its own members to discuss them in India with the leaders of Indian opinion (cheers). This method of presentation of the proposals has, I believe, demonstrated our sincerity of purpose (cheers).

"Let me say a word or two regarding the background to my visit. Undoubtedly, the moment was a difficult one and a number of people have made comment on it. It is a pity that something on the same lines was not done earlier."

"There is much in the relationship of this country to India that could be criticised, analysed and argued about. But I do not propose to embark upon any such argument, as it is far more profitable, I believe, to spend the time available in an examination of the present and future rather than in an attempt to allot blame for the past. It is a task we can very well leave to the historian.

"MOMENT CHOSEN A DIFFICULT ONE"

"The moment chosen was a difficult one for three main reasons. First, because of the imminent approach of the enemy to India's shores. Japanese forces, by land and sea and air, were almost at the gates of India, and in such circumstances, many things that might have been usefully discussed and negotiated in more peaceful times could not be dealt with, because there was the overriding need to do everything in our power to carry out our duty to defend India from a foreign invader. Second, owing to the events in the Far Eastern theatre of war, accompanied by highly skilled, though grossly misleading, propaganda from Axis sources, an atmosphere of defeatism and anti-British sentiment was showing itself in certain sections of Indian opinion. Indians too, were uncertain of the future, and of the British Government's view as to what that future should be. Third, with the approach of Self-Government or Dominion Status as a reality, communal differences of view as to the form of government suitable for the future in India had tended to become more definitely crystallised, and, especially the idea of two separate Indias, which even two years ago was little more than a vague vision of certain extremists, had come to be a definite and accepted programme of the most powerful Muslim political organisations. There were, of course, other factors in the situation, but these were the principal ones which increased the difficulties of obtaining any general understanding among the Indian people.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVE

"It was the need for a clarification of the situation and for consolidation of Indian opinion in a favourable direction that impelled the British Government to decide that some positive steps must be taken and taken quickly. The British Government's objective and hope was that we might use these very difficulties to bring together all the main leaders of Indian opinion for the double purpose of solving India's future and reinforcing her defence against the invader threatening her shores. To accomplish this, two things were necessary, first, to give a clear, unequivocal promise regarding the future; second, to address an invitation to the various communal and political sections of Indian opinion to come together on the Viceroy's Executive Council for the immediate prosecution of the war in India. This invitation would have to be made upon the basis of the offer regarding the future status of India. In the circumstances of the communal situation in India at the present time, it must be borne in mind that the future is inevitably linked with the present. I am confident that no mere temporary arrangements could have been reached without some exposition of our future intentions.

"Had we attempted to deal only with the present, we should immediately have been met with the demand for a clarification regarding the future. The difficulty of the communal situation has recently been emphasised by Mr. Gandhi in an article in the *Harizon* of April 19, where he makes the following statement. "The attainment of Independence is impossible until we have solved the communal tangle. We will never tackle this problem so long as either or both parties think Independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble—the royal way of non-violence or the way of violence."

Conflicting Demands

"The British Government also had to deal with certain definite and often conflicting demands voiced by various leaders of important sections of Indian opinion. The Congress was known to have demanded repeatedly Independence for India and a Constituent Assembly which should devise the new constitution for the Indian people, and perhaps the most important of all, a single Indian Government for the whole of India, British India and Indian States together. The Muslim League, on the other hand, had adopted, as the main plank of its programme, the demand for Pakistan: a territory made up of that rather vague congeries of areas in which Muslims are in a majority. The more dispersed, but still important minority of the Depressed Classes desired specific protection against the adverse effect of the caste system, while the Sikhs, that brave fighting race (*cheers*) who have done and are doing so much to help Britain in the defence of India, desired some form of protection against majority rule by another community. There were many other minorities, religious, racial or social, who equally asked for special treatment, either along the lines of that already accorded under the 1935 Act or upon some more generous scale. Then, outside British India, were the Princes and their peoples, some Princes having special treaty rights arising, in many cases, over a century ago."

"Among these conflicting claims it was necessary for the British Government to attempt to lay down some method whereby the Indian people could determine their own future—a method that would be acceptable to as many shades of opinion as possible. It was, of course, wholly consistent with the whole trend of earlier declarations, that if all sections of Indian opinion could agree upon some alternative method of Self-Determination, there would be no difficulty regarding its acceptance by the British Government. But in the past, when it had been left to the Indian communities to agree upon some manner of deciding their future, the British Government had been accused of relying upon the impossibility of an agreement in order to perpetuate their own domination over India. It was, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme whereby the refusal of a large minority to co-operate would not hold up the majority in their demand for Self-Government.

Clause relating to Interim Period

"So much for the considerations upon which that part of the draft Declaration dealing with the future constitution of India was based and in which resulted in the form in which it was made before the Indian leaders and in which it appears now in the White Paper. The second part of the draft Declaration was to deal with the immediate period before the new constitution could come into being. It was left in vague and general terms, but subject to one vital and precise reserva-

tion. The reason for this form was that it was desired to leave open for discussion the way in which participation by Indian leaders in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, to use the words of the document, could be made most effective and immediate. The single express reservation was as to Defence, and I shall return to that point in detail since it was one of the difficulties which arose during my discussions in Delhi.

"Let me, now, say a word as to the manner of conducting these discussions. I was most anxious that there should be no suspicion, whatever, that the British Government were hand-picking those whom I saw and consequently I asked the main organisations themselves to appoint those they wished to meet me. This they did, and they mostly expressed the wish that I should not interview any other than those of their Working Committees (laughter). Certain individuals I did see, such as Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Jayakar, the present or past Prime Ministers of all Provincial Governments, the Governors, and lastly but by no means least, members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indeed, it was to this latter body that I first disclosed the details of the draft Declaration immediately upon my arrival in India and after seeing them, each one individually. It was to the same body that I first announced the failure of the agreement. The British Government are fully aware of the service that has been done by the members of the Viceroy's Executive, and especially by those Indians, who have represented the interests of their peoples in that body. For that reason, I considered it necessary to go first and last to them.

Indian Press Both helpful and Fair

"As the House knows, I kept the draft Declaration from publication for the first week of my stay in Delhi in order that during that period I might submit to all the principal Indian representative leaders personally. It then became clear that its contents were becoming generally known, and it was considered better that it should be published and this was done. The Indian Press were both helpful and fair in that they gave the fullest publicity to all I said to them in Press conferences, while of course expressing their own views, often very forcibly.

"It is worthy of note that the skilful and analytical minds of the Indians sometimes lead them to seek out and emphasise every point as to which there may be doubt or as to which there may be disagreement, while they are apt to pass over points as to which there is agreement. This, sometimes, gives an appearance of much more keen and concentrated opposition than in fact exists. On the fundamental vital facts of their Self-Government and their Self-Determination there was, I believe, no single case of disagreement, not excluding representatives of the European community whom I saw twice. Disagreement came upon the way in which Self-Determination should be exercised, and upon the transitory provision for the Government of India until the new constitution could come into force.

A Legacy of the Past

"It must always be remembered that the one legacy of the past is the unwillingness of any considerable section of Indian opinion to accept any British offer unless the offer was also accepted by at least one of the two principal bodies—the Congress and the Muslim League. The state of internal opinion is such that, unless there is to be a large measure of acceptance of an offer, no minority cares to lay itself open to the accusation of being the creature of British Imperialism. It was, therefore, to be anticipated and we did anticipate that there would either be general acceptance or general rejection of the draft Declaration.

"Before I pass to particular matters around which discussions developed, I must make clear one other matter relating to the negotiations. When I was sent to India by the War Cabinet, I was given full authority to arrive at a settlement within the terms of the draft Declaration. Its essentials had to be maintained—matter which I myself regarded as of importance as it was the one and only way in which general, discursive and endless discussions could be avoided. But, I alone was responsible for what was put forward to Indian leaders by way of explanation and amplification of the details in the draft.

"I naturally maintained close contact with the Viceroy. We met, in fact, every night during my stay and discussed the progress of events. I also maintained close contact with the Commander-in-Chief. Both were most helpful, but the responsibility for what was done was mine, not theirs. There was a tendency in some Indian quarters to suggest that they were responsible for the discussion over Defence. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"There is perhaps one other person to whom I should refer to avoid any misunderstanding since his name has been somewhat bandied about in the Press. It so happened by coincidence that while I was in New Delhi, the Economic Mission arrived from the United States, headed by Colonel Louis Johnson, representing directly in that matter, President Roosevelt. He was entertained by the Viceroy on his first arrival, and while he was there, one of the Congress leaders asked to see him. After consulting the Viceroy and in accordance with the latter's advice, he saw Pandit Nehru and in a most helpful conversation ascertained what at the time seemed to be the difficulties in the way of settlement. I also called upon Col. Johnson by way of courtesy on his arrival, and gave him as accurate a picture of the situation as I could. Thereafter, at my suggestion and in accordance with his own personal desire to be of any assistance he could, he had other interviews of great help in clarifying the situation. At no time did he not otherwise than in a purely personal capacity, and he like two or three of my good Indian friends, merely did his best to give what help he could. I am personally most grateful to him and I am sure the Congress leaders are similarly so. But, I wish to make it abundantly clear that there was no question of American intervention, but only the personal help of a very able and pleasant American citizen.

Congress Attitude to Dominion Status

"Let me now come to the difficulties that arose. These were mostly concentrated into my discussions and correspondence with the Congress leaders. The Muslim League did not deliver me their objections until after they knew the result of my negotiations with the Congress. Questions outside the Congress objections which were raised by other sections I will deal with separately.

"The difficulties fell under three heads, which will be observed from a perusal of the final resolution of the Congress and the letter from the Congress President in the White Paper. The first were those related to the method of determining the new Constitution, the second those relating to Defence and the third those relating to the general form of the interim government.

"So far as the first category was concerned there were three objections. The first to the use of the word 'Dominion' and its definition in the opening paragraph of the draft Declaration. This was not a matter of prime importance. The Congress claim has been for independence and they were afraid that their followers would attach undue importance to the apparent limitations included in the definition, although, I think, the leaders themselves appreciated the added words in Clause C of the draft Declaration which reads: 'The Treaty will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member-States of the British Commonwealth.' I think these words were accepted as making it perfectly clear that India could, in fact, leave the British Commonwealth of Nations should the Indian Government under the new constitution so desire it.

Provinces and Right of non-accession

"The second objection was the most substantial one. It was as to the right of non-accession of the provinces after the new constitution had been decided by the constitution-making assembly. I would ask members to study the two resolutions of the Congress and the Muslim League and then to look at the draft Declaration. They will, I think, come to the conclusion that the draft Declaration does no more than what Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have consistently stated that they were prepared to do—that is keep open the issue of Pakistan—and they also, I am sure, realise that the scheme of the draft Declaration is as fair a compromise as possible between two extreme views. It was the British Government's duty to try and get an agreement by compromise, and not give either party all they wanted and then force it upon the other. I do not personally believe it possible to find, under existing circumstances, a fair solution of the problem—a solution which aims at and provides for a single United India but which admits, if in the last resort parties cannot agree upon a form of constitution enabling them to work together, that the Muslim must be allowed, in those provinces where they can get a majority of the whole electorate, to vote those provinces out of the Union.

"I should add one word of explanation regarding the proposal made for effecting this non-accession, and which does not appear in the document itself.

The only ultimate test must be the wish of the actual majority of the adult male population of the province—that is to say, by a plebiscite. But it was not necessary to go up to the trouble of a plebiscite where the result is a foregone conclusion. It was, therefore, suggested that every province should pass in its Lower House a formal vote of accession to the new Union, but if a minority of 40 per cent or more were against accession, then the minority should have the right to a plebiscite, which should determine the matter by a simple majority. I don't emphasise once again that the whole scheme was no rigid unchanging plan since it was expressly open to Indian communities to agree among themselves on a better alternative.

Position of Indian States

"The third and last objection was as regards the position of Indian States. The Congress has now, for many years, interested itself in the lot of the people in the Indian States and has declared that, in any new Constitution, the people, as distinct from their autocratic Rulers, must have a say. They, therefore, protested not against the Indian States coming into the constitution-making authority, but against their representatives being nominated by the Rulers and not elected by the people. Unfortunately, in my view, representative institutions have not yet developed in a great majority of the Indian States, which must be dealt with as they are, if they are to be brought into the constitution-making authority—and that participation, I believe, every one desires including most of the States' Rulers themselves.

"If there was a machinery in the States whereby popular representatives could be chosen, the British Government would be only too pleased. Already, a small beginning has been made in some States by the more enlightened Rulers and their Dewans. I am certain this House would wish the British administration in India to do all it can to encourage and expedite that development. But, for the moment, we can only deal with the situation as it exists historically. I need not trouble the House with all the complexities of the present constitutional position so far as the Indian States are concerned since, under the draft Declaration, the position would have been altered only so far as alteration was necessary to adjust the economic relationships of the new Indian Union or was caused by the action of the Indian States themselves in joining the new Union.

"However, none of these three differences with the Congress Working Committee would have been decisive of a negative result. For, though objecting and registering their protest, the Congress and the Muslim League and other bodies, such as the Hindu Mahasabha, would have been prepared to co-operate, upon the immediate situation, despite the making of a declaration by the British Government and that is probably the most one can expect under the circumstances. It would, in fact, have meant a solution, for the Self-Determination laid down in the draft would then have held the field with finality, subject only to the various communities and bodies in India arriving at some alternative method by agreement.

Minorities other than Muslims

"There is one other matter with regard to the future to which I must refer. That is the position of the minorities such as the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, Indian Christians and others. Each wished not unnaturally to have some special specific measure of protection included to cover its own case. But once Self-Determination has been promised to India, as proposed in the draft Declaration, it would be impossible for any British Government to impose terms in the new Indian Constitution. To do so would be a negation of Self-Determination. We have, however, in the past given undertakings to these minorities but in none of these cases other than that of the Muslims could these promises be dealt with by such device as non-accession. The minorities are not sufficiently localised or self-contained even in the case of the Sikhs, to make that possible, assuming that, upon other grounds, it was desirable. Some other solution therefore had to be found. I have not the slightest doubt that these minorities, all of whom would have been represented in the constitution-making body, in accordance with their strength under the Communal Award, would have obtained ample protection under the constitution from the majority. Indeed, the forces operating within the constitution-making body would have tended, very much, in favour of the minorities. But in view of our pledges we could not leave the minorities to rely upon this alone. We therefore, inserted an express clause as to the Treaty covering minority protection which will be found in Paragraph 2 of the draft Declaration.

"I should like to record here that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League expressed the slightest objection to this method of treating this subject.

Minorities themselves were, of course, unable to say at this stage what form of protection they wished for, since until the form of the new constitution is known, nobody can state how within that form the minorities can best be protected. That would have had to be a matter for negotiation when the main lines of the constitution have been decided upon. The minorities were all, I think, anxious to come into a temporary Government had it been formed under the terms of the draft Declaration despite their criticism of the scheme as a whole as lacking more specific protection for their own interests.

Defence control

"I now pass to the second category of objection—that relating to Defence. This is a matter which is far more complicated than might appear on the face of it, and whereon there was a distinct division of opinion amongst Indians themselves. Upon one thing, there was, I think, practical unanimity, and that was the actual technical conduct of the war in India and the control of the armed forces for the fighting purposes must remain under the British Commander-in-Chief. Every one realised that that was mere common-sense. So, there was no difficulty regarding it. The difference of opinion came when the responsibilities of the Government of India as apart from those of the British Government were considered. These latter—that is the direct responsibilities of the British Government—would have been quite satisfactorily dealt with by having a representative Indian on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council, both of which posts were offered to Indian leaders. It was first sought to clarify the position as between the British Government's direct responsibilities and those of the Government of India by rewording the final draft of Clause E into the form in which it now appears in the White Paper: 'During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must inevitably bear responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.' It was thought by those words to define as clearly as possible the division of responsibilities between the British Government and the Government of India. But, there is another cross division of responsibilities, much more difficult to define or separate out.

"The House will appreciate that, since the last war, the Commander-in-Chief in India has also held the post of Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and his actual function and activities are divided between the two posts he holds. In fact, the Defence Secretariat and the Defence Department and staff are, from the mere fact that they have a common chief, all interlinked and interdependent in such a way as to make anything like a complete detailed separation of the functions of the Commander-in-Chief from those of the Defence Minister a very long and complicated matter, and one which, if it was attempted at such a critical moment at this, would throw into chaos the whole Defence organisation in India.

FORMULA EVOLVED AS REGARDS DEFENCE MEMBER

"Nevertheless, I took the view—and the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief agreed—it will be difficult for representative Indians on the Viceroy's Executive to rouse the people of India to their defence, unless they could say with justice that at least some part of defence was the responsibility of a representative Indian and so of the Indian peoples. That was the point which was stressed by practically every one I interviewed including the Europeans. It was in an attempt to overcome this very real difficulty that I spent a good deal of my time at New Delhi. Various suggestions were made and several formula tried, until eventually one was worked out which became the final suggestion and is the only one with which I need now deal. It will be found on Page 8 of the White Paper. Its object was quite simple, to allocate to the Commander-in-Chief, as War Member of the Viceroy's Executive, all administrative functions under the Government of India for the vital and efficient carrying on of the war—that is the relations of his General Staff, Naval Staff and Air Staff, whilst at the same time leaving to a representative Indian other functions of Defence, roughly corresponding to the list on page 8 of the White Paper under the heading, Annex 1, together with a number of other very important functions, examples of which are given in Annex 2 and which would in fact have made the new Defence Department one of the largest of all departments in India.

"The House will, of course, realise that numerous other aspects of Defence, such as, Civil Defence, Communications, Labour, etc., are already in the hands of Indian members of the Viceroy's Council and would have continued so, although percentages might have been changed. It was impossible for the British Government to go further with safety (cheers) and no risk could be taken at such a moment as the present on so vital and immediate a matter as the defence of India. Moreover I do not believe that the minorities, who contain some of the finest fighting elements in India, such as, the Panjabi Muslims and the Sikhs (cheers), would have consented at this stage to any further devolution of Defence responsibilities. This question did not actually arise, and the British Government were not able to go further. From the attitude of these minorities, I am confident they would not have consented to any further transfer in this field. I believe that this latest formula might have gained acceptance and at one moment, the Indian public seemed to think that a satisfactory solution had been found. I feel pretty sure, had the Congress leaders been able to accept finally the draft Declaration and enter the new Government, they would, upon the question of Defence, have been able to rally their Indian followers behind them. But it was not upon this issue that the final break came, though it was no doubt to some undefined extent involved in the breakdown.

Form of Interim Government

"The final question which was raised at my last and long meeting with the President of the Congress and Pandit Nehru, was as to the form of the temporary Government that might be in power until the end of the war and the coming into operation of the new constitution. I had, from the outset, made it clear to those whom I saw that it was not possible to make any constitutional change, except of the most insignificant kind, prior to the new constitution coming into operation as a result of the labours of the constitution-making assembly. This fact had been accepted by everyone without discussion as it was obvious, that it was a practical impossibility to start upon the discussion and framing of a new constitution at the present time. And, if such a discussion had been practicable and had been embarked upon, it would have occupied many months during which nothing could have been done by way of forming a new Government. Not only so, but any such alteration now would have been thought to prejudice the situation under the new constitution and would undoubtedly have met with opposition for that reason. Any such step, therefore, as recasting the constitution at the present time, was admittedly out of question. This was made quite clear in my letter to the President of the Congress, dated April 7, where I said: 'As the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities.'

Cabinet anxious to make a reality of the offer

"At the same time, the British Government were most anxious to make a reality of the offer under Clause (c) in any way practicable and consistent with the existing constitution. It was always possible, in such circumstance, by mutual understanding, with co-operation on both sides, to do much especially when all are intent upon a common object so vital and all-embracing as the defence of India. Questions as to the formation of a new Government, how members of the Viceroy's Executive should be treated, how the business therein should be conducted, were of course essential matter for the Viceroy who had to carry on the Government of India and not for me as a member of the War Cabinet on a visit to India. I, therefore, told the Congress leaders that the general principle of participation, or co-operation was laid down in paragraph (c) of the Declaration which stated that the British Government desired to invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principle sections of the Indian people in the councils of their country, but the exact nature of its operation could only be decided as the result of discussions with the Viceroy, once Indian leaders had made up their minds that they could accept the draft Declaration upon other points. I stated that I was prepared to remain in India in such an event until the new Government was formed so that I could, if necessary, give any help required, but I could not bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive. I informed them, after a discussion with the Viceroy, that immediately they decided to accept, he would call the principal leaders into consultation as to the formation of his new Government and that the only British members upon whom the new scheme insisted were the Viceroy himself and the Commander-in-Chief. I also pointed out to them if the conditions offered by the Viceroy were such that

they could not accept them they would of course, be as free as any other individuals who refused to take office or if they found they could not work in the Government, they would be free to resign, though naturally I hoped such a situation would never, in fact, arise. I see no other way myself in which the matter could have been arranged, but Congress leaders, as is shown by their final letters, apparently felt they would not have wide powers they thought necessary for their successful participation in the Government.

Issues on which Final Break came

"As I pointed out in my broadcast from New Delhi, the position of complete power asked for by the Congress—and which was not demanded by any other section of opinion in India—would leave them in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to anyone but themselves or in a loose way perhaps to their political or communal organisation, and there would have been no protection for any minorities. I am quite confident none of the minorities would have accepted such a position and least of all the Muslims (cheers). It was on this issue that the final break came, followed as I had expected, by the rejection by the Muslim League for reasons precisely opposite of those by the Congress, but all concerned with the future rather than the present.

"I regret and the British Government regret most profoundly that our efforts had failed, but do not let the House or the people of this country imagine that all the results of the War Cabinet's action and my mission are on the debit side. There is much. I venture to think, on the credit side as well (cheers.)

"First, there is the advantage which accrues from the methods which have been adopted in this case. Instead of a somewhat vague declaration, put out without previous consultation with the leaders of Indian opinion, a precise and clear statement of a suggested solution has been discussed in India with all Indian leaders by a member of the War Cabinet sent there for that particular purpose. The fact that a member of the War Cabinet was sent in the stressed circumstances of to-day indicated the depth of the genuineness of our desire to reach a settlement of our outstanding difficulties.

"Second, the content of the scheme has put, beyond all possibility of doubt or question, that we desire to give India Self-Government at the earliest practicable moment and wish her to determine for herself the form that Government shall take. However great the criticism of the details may have been, no responsible Indian leader has challenged our sincerity upon that point. I think it accurate to say that this is the first time such an assertion could be truly made, and it is a most important and significant fact for our future relationships.

"Thirdly, the whole of the discussions proceeded upon a basis of frank and mutual understanding and in an atmosphere of friendliness though the past was too strong for complete confidence to have been established. I have a feeling that we have taken a step forward especially as far as the younger elements in India are concerned, who are perhaps less influenced by the struggles and bitterness of the past than some of their older colleagues who still retain leadership.

India's Determination to defend country

"Finally, the whole discussion upon the issue of Defence has served to bring to the front the determination of the Indian people to defend their own country. Such statements as that by Pundit Nehru—a man of great determination—or the more recent attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari, must do much to influence Indian opinion. The representative of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah and the leaders of other parties and communities, such as the Sikhs and Mahatmas, all expressed to me personally their readiness to stand with us in the defence of their country and do their utmost to help in every way. It is unfortunate that they do not find themselves in a position to give help as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but it is good to know that each in his own way is prepared to assist. We have been brought closer to our Indian friends as fellow-defenders of their country, but we are not yet so close as we would wish or even as is necessary for the most effective defence of India.

"Looking back at this historical incident and an important incident in the history of both our countries I feel no regret at the decisions taken by the British Government. I am convinced that they were just and we have done all we could in an admittedly difficult situation, to bring about agreement and better understanding between the two peoples of the two countries. It is in fact the

part—exercising its influence upon all parties—that have proved too strong for us, and we must now leave the leaven of better understanding to work quietly towards an ultimate satisfactory solution of the political problem. If we are to do this, let us, at all costs, forego the transient satisfaction of blaming others.

Dear not closed

"I stated when I left India that in default of acceptance the draft Declaration must be considered as being withdrawn. But this does not and cannot close the door to that closer co-operation which we desire to see in the defence of India or to a solution of the problem of Self-Government after the war. It means that the British Government have done their best to make their contribution to a solution of the problem both in the substance of the draft Declaration and in the method of its presentation to the Indian people. For the time being, there is nothing further we can do. We must be patient, open-minded and willing to consider any proposals upon which Indian leaders can agree. But, for the moment, we must concentrate upon our duty—to do our utmost for the defence of India, a task in which our great American allies have generously come forward to offer their help which we, and Indians alike, welcome and appreciate. Many Indian leaders too will do their best to arouse the Indian peoples in their own defence and I hope by co-operation in defence we may move a step nearer to the solution of our problems.

"I am certain that the members of this House and the British people and all well-wishers of Democracy, the world over, will continue to hope that, through successful resistance to brutal Japanese aggression, the Indian people will reach their goal of Self-Government and self-determination without internal strife and bitterness, and that thus India will emerge as a great equal of the free nations of the world, able to make her full contribution to the future of the new civilisation after the victory of the Allied cause."

Sir B. Cripps concluded amid loud and prolonged cheers.

The Hur outrages in Sind

History of Seventy Years of Crime

On the 1st, June 1942 Martial Law was proclaimed in the area of Sind afflicted by the criminal outrages of the Hurs. Over a period covering more than six months the Hurs have, by wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity, terrorised whole districts. The means available to the civil authorities have failed to cope with the situation because of the fanaticism of these followers of the Pir Pagaro and the terror they inspire in their victims who are too cowed to bear witness against them. A special force of troops was recently despatched to aid the civil power in restoring order in the area roughly lying to the East of the Indus between Rati, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas. The Military Commander has instructions to take all steps to restore civil security and order with all possible speed. To this end he has proclaimed martial law which will enable summary justice to be enforced by special courts against the Hurs. Complete control of the civil administration rest with the military commander who will have the advice and assistance of the civil authorities in the area concerned.

The Hurs are a criminal tribe of Sind and the neighbouring States. The history of these gangsters goes back to the last century.

Significantly, a tale of the treacherous murder of a holy man is the starting point of the story of how the appellation "Hur," a name sacred among Muslims, came to be applied to these Sindhi and Baluchi tribes of criminals.

Murder in Mesque

About the middle of the last century, Hashbullah Shah succeeded his father as Pir of Kingri. Pir Hashbullah Shah recognised as his "Khalifa" or Deputy for a part of the Hyderabad district, one Ghulam Nabi Laghari who was destined to leave his impress on the subsequent history of the ignorant followers of the Pir.

But in another sub-division of the Hyderabad district, lived Pir Hashbullah

Shah's cousin, Pir Fazbullah Shah, famed for his piety and eloquent and impressive sermons which drew to him an ever increasing procession of devotees. This excited the jealousy of the Kingri order. Pir Fazbullah Shah was murdered in his village mosque in the holy month of Ruzman in 1865.

Pir Hazbullah Shah was charged with instigation, and his Khalifa, Ghulam Nabi Laghari, and some others were charged with murder. But the Pir and his Khalifa were acquitted, though a kinsman of the latter was sentenced to death.

Hur Brotherhood

The unwavering loyalty of Khalifa Ghulam Nabi Laghari to Hazbullah Shah during this episode, earned for him from the Pir the title of "Hur" after the name of the Arab General who fought on the side of the Prophet's grandsons, Hassan and Hussein, and was killed in the holy war against Yazeed at Karbala. The Khalifa thereupon started a Hur Union which gradually embraced almost the whole ignorant section of the Pir's followers and this section came to be known as Hurs.

The tenets laid down by Ghulam Nabi Laghari for the Union emphasised the tie of brotherhood among the Hurs. They were to treat one another as brothers, never to act against one another and always to help and co-operate. Soon criminals and known offenders found membership of the Union of advantage to them. They found in it ready sympathisers and reliable co-operators. Other evils crept into the Hur tribes. "Brother" members were to be admitted to the circle of each other's family like nearest relatives. Immorality spread, so much so that in the inner circle of the Hur Union, adultery of wives, sisters and daughters with Hur "brothers" was regarded with no sense of jealousy or shame. On the contrary, it was overlooked, connived at or even facilitated.

Muslim Resentment

But among Khalifa Ghulam Nabi's tenets, the first was the sanctity of the person of the Pir. Ghulam Nabi illustrated his doctrine by the sanctity and unity of God laid down in the Koran. The doctrine sank so deep into the minds of the ignorant followers that the Pir came to be regarded in the light of God who cannot have any relatives. Once the Pir's son was nearly slain by a Hur for going into his father's presence with his shoes on, and his life as "heir-apparent" was always in danger on the theory that he might try to murder and supplant his father. Recklessness in regard to human life became a characteristic of the sect; so that the Hurs did not hesitate to put out of the way anybody, even the Pir's relatives or Khalifas whose influence they became jealous of who, in their opinion, led the Pir to treat them with disfavour.

So low had the Hurs fallen even before the end of the last century that the general Muslim gave them the name of "Lurs," that is, unholy. The Pir was reproached for tolerating the doctrine recognising him in the place of God, etc. Indeed, some of the Hurs constructed mosques facing north, towards Kingri, instead of towards the west, that is Mecca. Later the Hur villages became conspicuous for the absence of any mosque at all.

Attempts at reform were followed by murders. Pir Hazbullah Shah's maternal uncle, Karam Ali Shah persuaded him to try to correct the Hurs. Karam Ali Shah was murdered by a band of disguised Hurs, among whom was said to be one of the Khalifas, about the year 1873. Next, one Mohammed Saleh Rajar was said to be using his influence with the Pir in an attempt to combat the tenets of the Hur Union. He was murdered in 1883 or 1884. Again in 1888, the Pir's trusted attendant, Chutal Khan Laghari, was found working against the Hurs. He, too, paid with his life.

All this time, the Hurs went their way, and the brotherhood continued to help and protect criminals. For example, one of them murdered a woman, and to avoid arrest disappeared into the forests where for years, provided in every manner by his "brothers," he lived comfortably. Several murders followed until he was captured in 1898 in a woman's house. But one charge only could be brought home to him and he was transported for life.

Another, Bachu, the murderer of Chutal Khan Laghari referred to above, was sheltered for eight years by the Hurs. But perhaps wearied of inaction as well as of the necessity occasionally to evade the police, he gathered round him a band of desperados and commenced a career of brigandage. He and his large gang were responsible for outbreaks of crime at intervals from

September 1893 to the beginning of 1896 in parts of Sind. He committed murders, dacoities, highway robberies and other outrages. He surrendered on May 7, 1896, after all his best men had been either captured by the police or killed.

In the first two decades of this century, too, lawlessness was caused in parts of the province by Hurs (which was aggravated by a visit of the Pir to those parts).

The Hurs Of Today

In the criminal character of the membership of their fraternity, their callous attitude towards human life and their fanatical and jealous loyalty to the person of their Pir, the Hurs are unchanged today.

There was no abatement of crimes committed by Hurs during the period 1890 to 1930. The Hurs murdered one of the Khalifas, or the Pir's deputy, in 1922, beat a brother of another in 1927, threw acid at a third in 1928, murdered a fourth in 1929, and committed obscene acts before fifth in 1929—all because the victims had caused annoyance to the Pir. Quarrels among the Hurs resulted in a murder in 1925, and another in 1926. The Hurs murdered two Hindus in 1929 at Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir's residence, and the mother of a man confined by the Pir in the Pir's "Kot" in the same year. There were two cases of theft by the Hurs of the Pir-Jo-Goth in 1925, another case of house-breaking and theft by the Hurs in 1929, and a theft in 1930 of a gun which was afterwards found in the Pir's possession.

The Pir himself was an accused in a case of dacoity in 1927 and of murder in 1928. Sixteen personal retainers of the Pir who were Hurs, were ordered on April 4, 1930, to be deported to the Bombay Presidency for being concerned in these crimes, as no evidence could be collected to bring the crimes home to them owing to their close connexion with the Pir which prevented anybody coming forward as a witness.

Indeed, the present Pir, Sibghatulla Shab, known as Pir Pagaro was born in 1908 and he succeeded as Pir in 1922 when still a minor on the desire of his father. He grew up to be a very wild man and several murders were committed by his followers at his instance, but it was difficult to get evidence against him. Eventually in 1930 after a number of serious complaints had been made, the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, decided to raid the "Kot", the Pir's residential quarters, a sort of fortress, in the village Pir-Jo-Goth, (an island of British territory in the Khairpur State), the population of which is about 5,000. The police seized a quantity of unlicensed arms and ammunition, found evidence of orgies of debauch and sadist practices to which the foul Pir is addicted and, most curious of all, a young Muslim boy confined in a box.

The Boy In The Box

The story of the boy in the box, as also of some other victims of the Pir, is related in the judgments in cases against him. The boy was one Ibrahim, the elder son of an unfortunate woman Mariam, for causing whose death the Pir Pagaro had been tried and discharged earlier. Ibrahim was a comely lad of 14 or 15. About the year 1936, he went into the "Kot," the fortress in which the Pir lived, to work as a labourer. When the day was drawing to close the Pir's eyes fell on the lad and he took such a powerful fancy for him that next morning he sent Ibrahim an offer of service under him. Ibrahim joined, the duties assigned to him being to wait on the Pir and to clean the engine which he had installed within his "Kot."

Three weeks after, Ibrahim upset a glass oiling cup and broke it in the engine room. This trifling loss so much put out the Pir that he tied Ibrahim's arms behind his back and flogged him with a cane. But this did not abate the violence of his passion, and he saved Ibrahim's eyebrows, pulled out his eyelashes, blackened his face with oil and soot and commanded his servants to subject him to disgusting indignities parallel only by the treatment accorded in Nazi concentration camps. When Ibrahim had stood on his legs in this state for about an hour his arms were untied and he was given a bath, but was not allowed to leave the "Kot." On the fourth day on the excuse of going to see his wife and newly born son in the village, Ibrahim ran away to Larhosa. But three of the Pir's hounds were sent after the boy who was brought back.

Then began Ibrahim's incarceration. He took up his old duties, but was not allowed to leave the gates of the "Kot" and was guarded day and night inside. Thus passed three or four months, after which Ibrahim was allowed to meet his mother in the "Kot."

Sukkur Collector's Letter

A few days later the Pir received a letter from the Collector of Sukkur requiring him to dismiss Ibrahim and three other servants. The latter were sent away but not Ibrahim. Twelve months passed. The Pir now proceeded on his tour of areas inhabited by his followers, and Ibrahim had to travel with his master like a woman in a closed litter on camel's back! In camps he lived in the Pir's tent under guard. Seven months of tour thus passed. A fortnight after they had returned to Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir again proceeded on a tour, visiting Sukkur, Quetta, Lahore, Delhi, Simla, Bombay, and Karachi accompanied by Ibrahim from whom he could not or would not separate himself. They were back home again after 22 days. Ibrahim was now told that the Superintendent of Police and the Collector of Sukkur and the Commissioner in Sind had all spoken to the Pir in the course of his recent tour enjoining on him to give Ibrahim his liberty, but that he had denied that Ibrahim was his prisoner and therefore did not consider it safe to restore him to freedom.

Another Letter

Stricter surveillance was enforced over Ibrahim. Another year passed, and another letter about Ibrahim came from the Collector of Sukkur. The reply was returned that Ibrahim was not in the Pir's service. Henceforward the lad was confined under guard in a room. Some more time passed, and Ibrahim pining to see his wife and little son and other relations, threatened that he would run away. He was now put in chains with one Ghul Hussain chained to him to keep close watch on him and locked up in a room in the vicinity of the quarters, inside the "Kot," of Rahim Shah, younger brother of the Pir. This close confinement continued till Rahim Shah, his mother, sister and aunt, apprehensive of their safety owing to their strained relations with the Pir made a masterly escape from the Pir's fortress.

Soon after, the Police Superintendent's Camp at Pir-Jo-Goth necessitated a change of prison for Ibrahim, though he continued to be chained to Ghul Hussain, with two other men mounting ceaseless guard over them. After the Superintendent's Camp had been moved the Pir treated Ibrahim with less vigour. He struck all his chains but did not let him go out of his presence. But at night Ibrahim was confined in a box which used to be padlocked. This box had a circular hole at the bottom from which came the air which Ibrahim breathed. He was provided in the box with a mattress, a drinking cup and an earthen pot in which to answer the calls of nature. This manner of confinement continued till the flight from Pir-Jo-Goth of three women, Eman, Gulian and Nuran.

Story Of Three Women

These three women were inmates of the Pir's "Kot" from the time of their girlhood, ministering at first to the pleasures of the accused or his father as the case might be, and "when whatever charm they possessed began to pall, serving as maids to their legitimate wives." The Pir Pagaro had taken malicious delight in subjecting them to "Indescribable tortures and unnamable indignities." As the Judge observed in another judgment, these women had to lay bare their entire life as inmates of the Pir Pagaro's "Kot" as they were to figure as witnesses not only in their own cases against the Pir but in four other cases against him. At the dictates of an odious custom and the will of their parents, they surrendered their virtues to the Pir-in-power but, the Judge maintained, were not "abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame and decency, that they would give utterance to such foulness without feeling defiled."

Emboldened by the success of Rahim Shah, the younger brother of Pir Pagaro, in eluding the vigilance of the Pir's guards and unable to contemplate without acute mental suffering and overpowering distress their past experiences and the fresh torments which they knew awaited them in the Pir's "Kot," they negotiated one of the walls of the "Kot," in the small hours of the morning of February 6, 1930 when the Pir was away. Eman and Gulian safely landed outside but the rope gave way before Nuran had completed her descent and she fell injuring her back and feet. Daylight was fast approaching and their courage born of sheer desperation was now ebbing out. They abandoned their flight and directed their steps to the residence of the Pir Pagaro's step-mother. They secured asylum and prevailed upon the lady to inform the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur. On the latter's arrival, four days later, on February 8, they begged him to take them with him and release to go back to the Pir of Pagaro's service.

The Larger Box And The Smaller

The women were taken by the police to Sukkur which necessitated the Pir's visit to the town. Before leaving he locked Ibrahim up in the box and instructed his servants to keep the lad immured there till he returned. The Pir's instructions were carried out to the letter and, during the seven or eight days that Pir Pagaro spent at Sukkur, the box was not opened except to give Ibrahim food and "sometimes, though rarely, to take him out for an airing." Even after the Pir Pagaro's return home, Ibrahim continued to be confined in the box except when he was taken to the engine room to work there. On such occasions he was taken in chains with Ghul Hussain chained to him.

On the arrival of the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Pir-Jo-Goth a few days later, Ibrahim was transferred to a larger box which lay in Pir Pagaro's garden. Two or three days later, however, came the news that the District Superintendent of Police was again coming to Pir-Jo-Goth. The garden was now considered unsafe and Ibrahim was removed from the larger box and locked in a smaller one which lay in a narrow passage at the back of the Pir Pagaro's "Aghnai" Bungalow. Here it was that the Superintendent of Police found him two days later, after an elaborate search in the presence of the Pir Pagaro and four others whose turn it had been to keep guard over him that month. When Ibrahim was taken out of the box, he looked like a ghost, as pale as death, and smelt like a pestilence. In the box lay the drinking cup and an earthen pot which "reeked of urine, mute witness of his long immurement."

Pir Pagaro Convicted

The Pir Pagaro was sentenced under section 244, I.P.C., to three years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to suffer rigorous imprisonment for six months in addition, under section 245, I.P.C. for two years; under section 29 (7) of the Arms Act to three years and a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to nine months' rigorous imprisonment; under section 29 (4) of the Arms Act to two years' imprisonment. Total sentence amounted to about eight years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2,000 for confining the boy Ibrahim and for illegal possession of twelve rifles, three guns, two revolvers and one rifle barrel, and 25,000 rounds of ammunition and apparatus for manufacturing the latter. The Pir was released from jail on November 22, 1936. The fine of Rs. 2,000 was realized in full.

After Release

On release in 1936 the Pir Pagaro set about rehabilitating himself in the eye of the wider public. A pilgrimage to Meera was undertaken. Of course, Meera or so Meera, or whether he was a worthy spiritual guide or an ex-convict, he continued to be worshipped by the large majority of his followers. Further, the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1937 setting up responsible Governments in the Indian provinces gave him some political importance. His following is large, larger than that of any other Pir in the Province. The Huns, perhaps, total 6,000, less than 100 of them are desperadoes who will carry out the Pir's wishes at all cost. There is also the other section of the Pir's followers known as "Hafiz Jinnah" who follow Islamic principles and are to a certain extent a peaceful people. The followers of the Pir are found in an area stretching from the south of Sukkur District down through the neighbouring Khairpur State into the Sind taluqa of Shahdadpur and Sinjhana of the Nawabshah District and the Sanghar taluqa of the Thar Parkar District. Thus the new Constitution placed in the Pir Pagaro's hands the priceless weapon of the thousands of votes of his followers.

A Prophecy

Even after the release of the Pir there were a long series of crimes varying from petty thefts to murder. Besides his criminal proclivities, the Pir is imbued with the idea that, according to an old prophecy, a Pir whose feet are post-marked in a certain way, would one day become the King of Sind. He fulfils this description and is firmly convinced that he will fulfil the prophecy.

The Pir then started calling the more ardent of his followers around him and took their pledge of support even to death. Such picked persons he styled as his "Ghazis" and the number estimated to have been compiled was 6,000. In the beginning of June 1939 he was reported to have made his headquarters in the jungles of the Khairpur State where he was said to be recruiting, training, and arming a large body of Huns.

Learning that the Government were not aware of his activities he carried

it to be published that he was preparing to help the Government with a body of "Civil Guards." He further prevented a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the Sind War Plans Fund. But the enrolment of the "Ghazis" continued and there were stories of attempts to organise and train them on military lines. It is of interest to recall that while on tour earlier in the Jaisalmer State, he took pains to carry out parades in the fashion of the Khaksars and also arranged "sham fights" which he personally supervised. About the same time he was reported to be renewing his contacts with terrorists who had been in prison along with him in Bengal.

Further Outrages

By an understanding with the Government, the Pir began to live at Karachi and was required not to leave Karachi without permission. But he left Karachi without permission, went to his bungalow at Garang in Thar Parkar district and from there to Mir-Jo-Goth which is in the Sukkur district. He was sent back to Karachi by the district authorities on instruction from the Government.

His absence from Karachi coincided with a dastardly crime. The murder was committed in Sukkur of his cousin Pir Fatehali Shah, who had been clamouring that his life was in danger from Pir Pagaro. Pir Fatehali Shah had actually been given a guard of two armed policemen at his bungalow in Sukkur. But on October 14, 1911, these Hurs descended on the bungalow early in the morning and taking the policemen unawares murdered Pir Fatehali, a servant and one of the policemen.

On the Pir Pagaro's return to Karachi, he was served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules to remain in Karachi. Now occurred some cases of sabotage of telegraph and telephone lines on the railway between Rohri and Reti. The Government decided to arrest the Pir and removed him from Sind to a place outside the province.

Fresh offences were committed by the Pir's followers. It is known that on return from his previous deportation Pir Pagaro expressed very strongly to his followers his disappointment that they had not protested against his removal and had not created trouble for Government in the way of committing offences on the railways or otherwise; and told them that if he were ever removed again from Sind, he expected they would follow such a course.

Accordingly his arrest was followed by the cutting of telegraph wires and sabotage on the railways and by more murders and dacoities. Early in February 1912, the Hurs attacked an armed police post of a Head Constable and five Constables; two policemen were killed and two injured and the police arms were taken. Other outrages and damage to telegraphs and railways continued. In February, the number of persons murdered by the Hurs was 16; 23 persons were wounded. Other outrages have been committed since in an attempt to intimidate the Government to release the Pir and bring him back to Sind.

The Difficulties

The suppression of the Hurs has presented difficulties. Their main hideout is somewhere in the Makhi Dhand area of the Banjar taluqa, which area is a thickly forested area of lal, scrub and jungle with tall and thick grass over about 125 sq. miles or more.

Also, the methods adopted by them have overawed the population of the affected areas and their co-operation is difficult to obtain. The Hurs have driven the conviction into the public mind that they forget nothing; reprisals for acts unfriendly to them are known to have been taken even after the lapse of years. They are not only unforgiving but brutal in their punishment to their victims. They have an efficient intelligence service. On the other hand intelligence about their plans is difficult to obtain. They have a code of their own by which they recognise each other, and a stranger going to them generally courts certain death.

Suitable measures are being taken by the Government to deal with the trouble. Large numbers of them have been arrested. In April 1912, an Act was placed on the Statute Book conferring on Magistrates special powers for requiring from Hurs and people who assist them security for keeping the peace and good behaviour and providing for imprisonment up to three years for failure to give security; and providing for Special Judges and Special Magistrates with exceptional powers for the trial of offences committed by Hurs and people who assist them.

As the Provincial Police was found inadequate to handle the situation, the Provincial Government have secured the services of some platoons of the Frontier Constabulary and a force of the Punjab Police. A special Officer assisted by a small military force is surveying the whole problem.

It is an outbreak of crime in an attempt by fanatical and notorious gangsters to intimidate the Government into releasing their leader.

Round up of Hurs

The proclamation on June 1. of martial law over an area in Sind did not have any immediate reaction and was in fact taken very quietly in the districts concerned. It had, however, the natural effect of causing the immediate dispersion of some of the larger gangs of Hurs who had, by reason of their aggressive behaviour and terrorisation of the people, been able in some places to operate almost with impunity. This dispersion has not prevented Hurs from continuing to perpetrate outrages against the public. Several further outrages have already been reported.

There are, however, some indications that the strong action now being taken is already tending to stiffen civilian moral. This is suggested by the incident reported from the Perumal Taluka near Sawghar. An attack by 20 Hurs was successfully repulsed by the villagers themselves, four Hurs being killed and two guns and camels captured. All the property seized by the dacoits is reported to have been recovered: one chowkidar lost his life in the action.

So far 14 men have been arrested in Hyderabad, Sind, and 9 dacoits have been apprehended in the Dero canal area of Mirpurkhas district. Three dacoits were armed with hatchets, and a horse and a camel were captured with them. A member of one of the most prominent gangs has already been caught near Singhoro and 41 Hurs seized in Shabdadpur area; 21 suspected persons have been taken into custody in the Rohri area. A patrol pursuing another gang succeeded in capturing 12 more dacoits. Operations are continuing. Armed protection has been provided for stations and running trains.

Military Patrols

How a military patrol in pursuit of a gang of dacoits covered 122 miles in 48 hours, of which nearly 100 miles was performed on camel and foot, is related in reports from the Sind Martial Law area.

This patrol had received information that a gang was operating south-east of Sukkur and immediately set off in pursuit.

Trackers assisted the patrol and, at one stage, after travelling for about three hours, discovered that the trail had bifurcated which necessitated the patrol being split.

At last a part of the gang was traced to a small village. The force deployed and carried out a rapid search but the quarry had flown.

The track was then followed for a further ten miles and the gang overtaken.

The other section of the patrol was equally successful, and altogether 14 men and various members of their families were captured. Two guns were confiscated while amongst the baggage was discovered a silver tumbler inscribed as being presented by the Pir Fagaro.

A large military detachment has commenced a drive west of Shabdadpur towards Singh.

This widespread activity of military and police patrols has done much to spread a feeling of confidence throughout villages in the area, while the capture of the prominent Hur leader, Ahmed, a short time ago, has lessened considerably the number of organised dacoities.

During the week ending with June 28, 1942, seven dacoities occurred and two canals have been breached.

Hurs numbering 151 have been detained and are under examination. One Hur was shot when resisting arrest.

Night running on the Karachi-Lahore main line has been resumed.

Mischiefous elements in one village are spreading rumours to the effect that troops search houses, rape women and loot. The headman has been ordered to trace the source of these stories and authorized to carry out arrests. The absurdity of such stories is instanced by the following extract from the *Mirpurkhas Gazette* :—

"We take pleasure in writing that the conduct of Military in Mirpurkhas and suburbs has remained so far satisfactory. No complaint of any sort has been heard of anywhere. Every merchant, hotel-keeper or fruit-vender receives his proper dues. We express our gratefulness for this to the Military Officer-in-Charge on behalf of the public and hope that he will maintain discipline so that no occasion should arise for any complaint."

Notorious Hur arrested

Ahmed, son of Hassan Mhar Lura, who was wanted in connection with many offences, including the murder of Pir Fatehullah in 1934, has been arrested by a military patrol along with two of his sub-lieutenants and ten other Hurs. Another leader, Yusuf, who escaped, is being pursued. Ahmed was the most prominent Hur leader in the Sukkur area.

The Sukkur area has been the scene of much military and police activity. While a combined military and police sweep through the hills to the north-east of Sukkur searched five villages and raided another, resulting in 20 arrests, a military detachment was surprising 30 to 40 men attempting to erect an obstacle on the road between Tando Adan and Saidabad about 160 miles from Sukkur. Another detachment patrolling the area Matari arrested eight men who have been sent to Hyderabad Jail. A patrol at Sehmand has arrested 28 Hurs while a raid carried out in this area yielded a further ten prisoners. A particularly fruitful search was made of villages in the Gandoo Deh area and among articles confiscated have been a rifle, a cartridge making machine and a number of cartridges. Further bad characters armed with hatchets have been apprehended. In some cases bribes of Rs. 60 per head were vainly offered to the police.

Consequent on the murder of a P.W.D. Sub-Divisional Officer by Hurs on June 4, punitive measures have been taken against villages in the Lotke area, known to have harboured accomplices. These villages are nine miles south of Sanghar which is 60 miles north-east of Hyderabad near the Mira Canal.

Reports of dacoities continue to come in. Some have been reported from Singhar and Khirpo respectively 60 miles north-east and east of Hyderabad; in connection with them 25 arrests have been made. Deh Robo has been raided by dacoits armed with guns, two people being murdered and two houses looted. As a result of these dacoities a considerable round-up has been carried out, and arrests include one party of 260 by the military and another 30 suspects apprehended in Shahpur, and Mirpur Mathelo. Two informers have been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

Hurs use strange Weapons

Locked away in a room at the headquarters of Upper Sind Forces, Hyderabad, are antique firing pieces, noise-makers, and axes—property of 1943 gangsters.

Powder and small shot take the place of the Tommy-gun; in place of the automatic they use the pistol which was the pride of the highwaymen of old.

This odd assortment of weapons has been collected by military and police forces operating in Sind against the Hurs. These are the arms with which the Hurs ride out against villages and small communities to murder and loot. Each weapon in this museum-armoury is laid out on a table. Underneath is a label tersely telling the story.

Boomerangs

One interesting weapon is a fairly good substitute for the Nazi-concentration camp rubber truncheon. It is a length of wire hawser with a substantial piece of lead at one end. Says the official note: "Bludgeon. This was constructed from a piece of wire hawser stolen from a telegraph pole."

With this strange collection of weapons are scales for measuring out powder and shot and a bag containing small shot—round pellets—which flatter when they strike their target and are extremely difficult to remove.

Boomerangs, too, are there; but apparently the Hurs are not adept at the use of this type of weapon.

Noise-makers on view are particularly interesting. They consist of long pieces of hollow lead tubing with bows, like pipes, at the ends. In these bows gunpowder is fired, the intention being to trick the lead intelligents into thinking the Hurs' armament is much heavier and more numerous than it is.

Iron cutters, too, are remembered by the Hurs. A bottle is shown with hooks like tea leaves in it. This is described as a "shoot-quenching mixture of alcohol and gunflint."

But the Hurs' great weapon is the axe. Their method is to shoot a person with a gun or rifle at extremely close quarters—in the stomach—and then to drag him for a distance by the leg and smash the business with the axe.

With large numbers of Hurs being rounded up, however, it becomes increasingly clear that their mentality is almost entirely of the "sub-in-the-bush" type.

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Bardoli—December 28 to December 30, 1941

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli on December 28 to December 30, 1941. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajgopalachariar, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Suankarrao Desai, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Khan Sahab were present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout.

The following resolutions were passed :—

POLITICAL SITUATION

(For text of the resolution refer A. I. C. C. proceedings).

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

Bardoli—30-12-1941

Dear Maulana Sahib,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all war on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will therefore please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for the speech against all war with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely
M. K. Gandhi

WORKING COMMITTEE INSTRUCTIONS

Recent development in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts

of the country and there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aerial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitement. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organisation is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should, therefore, address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organisation and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee, therefore, call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steady and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by unsocial elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organised in both the urban and rural areas. Such organisations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organisations working for similar ends. This volunteer organisation is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should, therefore, avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessities of life as well as of many other things which are of every day use. Big scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a wide-spread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is therefore, necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessities of life. The Committee would especially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but to release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The Soviet Union has stood for certain human, cultural and social values which are of great importance to the growth and progress of humanity. The Working Committee consider that it would be a tragedy if the cataclysm of war involved the destruction of this endeavour and achievement. They have admired

the astonishing self-sacrifice and heroic courage of the Soviet people in defence of their country and freedom, and send to them their warm sympathy.

The Committee also send their greetings to the Chinese people who, through four and a half years of devastating war and suffering, have never wavered and have set an example of unparalleled heroism.

INDIANS IN MALAYA AND BURMA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress record their deep sympathy with the people of Malaya, Burma and the East Indies, particularly the Indian residents in those countries, in the trials and hardships they are facing as a result of the world conflict between ambitious and grasping nations. India, absorbed in her own problems and difficulties, cannot forget her children abroad and trust that they will, in the midst of the novel perils they have to face, hold together and organise such mutual help as may be possible, and thus wrench strength out of misfortune.

ORISSA MINISTRY

Ever since the Congress ministry resigned in Orissa efforts have from time to time been made to set up another ministry. The Working Committee notes with regret that some members of the Congress Party have been associated with these designs and one of them has been appointed a minister. Such members have been called upon by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to resign their seats and fulfil their election pledge. Public meetings have been held in their constituencies at which their conduct has been condemned and they have been called upon by their electors to resign their seats, so they have forfeited their confidence. But they have failed to do so.

The Working Committee considers their conduct as a betrayal of their constituencies and contrary to ordinary constitutional usage and integrity and therefore, deserving of the severest condemnation.

The normal functioning of the Act of 1936 had been suspended under Section 93 of the Act and the Legislative Assembly has not met for more than two years now. When the notification under Section 93 had been withdrawn and a new ministry had been formed, it was bound to take the earliest opportunity to seek a vote of confidence from the legislature. But the Assembly has not been convened although weeks have elapsed since the formation of the ministry. The Working Committee is of opinion that the Governor's failure to convene the Assembly thus deprives its members of their rights to pronounce their verdict on the conduct of the new ministry and is deserving of condemnation, specially in the circumstances mentioned above. A vacancy caused by the death of a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly has remained unfilled for a long time and no steps have been taken even after the withdrawal of the proclamation under Section 93, to hold a bye-election in that constituency. This omission which has resulted in depriving the electorate of its right to elect a representative, in the light of recent developments, is of a piece with the other unconstitutional acts mentioned above and equally deserves condemnation.

The Working Committee approves of the action of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee in calling upon the recalcitrant members to resign their seats and authorises the President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to take such disciplinary or other action as may be necessary.

A. I. C. C. MEETING AT WARDHA

The Working Committee decided that a meeting of the A. I. C. C. be held at Wardha on January 15 and subsequent days to consider the present political situation.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—January 18 to January 27, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from January 18 to 19, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Govind Ballabh Pant, Jammalal Bajaj, Feroz Khan Noon, Bhulabhai Desai, Syed Mahmud, Pt. Motilal Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Partabhi Sitarawoyya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout. The following resolutions were passed—

INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity the Independence Day on January 26, 1912. Since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. The celebrations on the 26th must express the declaration of our national will to freedom.

The Working Committee call upon all Congressmen and women to take the Independence Pledge given under in public meetings called for the purpose. Where owing to illness or other physical disability or owing to being an out of the way place, individual Congressmen are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes individually or in groups.

PLEDGE

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the India people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading good-will among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget the distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charita and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resurrection of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible, produce of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

RE-FUNCTIONING OF CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The President's instructions dated December 27 about the refunctioning of Congress Committees are confirmed. All elective Congress Committees will, therefore, continue to function as such and will consist of Satyagrahis as decided after the Ramgarh Congress. Those members who ceased to be members of the Committee by not signing the Satyagraha pledge or after signing it did not offer Satyagraha when called upon to do so, will not be considered members of those Committees any longer, unless they were exempted from Satyagraha or were prevented by illness or other sufficient reason from offering it. Provincial executives will consider such cases and take action in accordance with the principles laid down above.

PRIMARY MEMBERSHIP

All those who pay their subscription for the year 41 and 42 on or before the 30th June shall be deemed to have been primary members of the Congress for those years in terms of articles III and IV of the Congress Constitution.

The Working Committee also considered the non-official resolutions to be moved at the A. I. C. C. meeting.

The Committee considered the following matters.

(1) THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY PARTY

The Committee considered the representation from the Congress Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly requesting permission to attend the Assembly meetings. The Committee after consulting Main Iftikharuddin and some members of the Assembly decided that in the existing circumstances no useful purpose will be served by lifting the ban against Congress members attending the Punjab Assembly. The Parliamentary Board may, however, permit attendance under special circumstances for specific purposes.

(2) ASSAM

The president reported to the Committee that he had been informed that Lakhimpur in the province of Assam had been declared by the Government as a Notified Area. As a consequence many normal activities of the Congress were banned. Congressmen in the province asked for directions. The Committee decided that Congressmen in Lakhimpur should carry on normal Congress activities as far as possible and avoid conflict with the authorities.

(3) PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE A. I. C. C.

In view of the suspension of the normal activities of the Congress due to the inauguration of Individual Civil Disobedience movement the Committee decided that the provincial contributions to the A. I. C. C. for the year 1941 be remitted and only contributions for the year 1942 be realized.

(4) DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that members of the Forward Bloc and the Communist Party have been carrying on for a long time anti-Congress propaganda and activities. For the Central Assembly bye-election the Forward Bloc set up a candidate of their own against the nominee. The Committee decided that it was open to any P. C. C. to take disciplinary action against members of any group if their activities were against Congress policies and if they flouted Congress discipline.

(5) FUNDS OF THE WEST KISTNA GODAVARI DISTRICT

The Committee passed the following resolution about the funds of West Kistna Godavari district deposited in the Andhra Bank.

Read letter from Mr. A. Anjappa forwarded by the President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

Resolved that

If the suit filed by Mr. A. Anjappa in the Berwada subcourt is withdrawn by the party as stated in the aforesaid letter, the President, A. I. C. C. is authorised to arrange with the Andhra Bank Ltd., Masulipatam and to draw at once the deposit in the Bank made in the name of Shri Rajendra Prasad as President of the A. I. C. C.

The President is further authorised to make the money available for utilisation in the following manner:—

The amount shall be spent for some item or items falling within the purview of the Constructive programme of the Congress at such centre or centres in the West Kistna District and in such manner as may be decided upon by a Board appointed by the Executive Committee of the Andhra P. C. C. in which Dr. B. Patasabhi Srinarayya and a representative chosen by the Executive Committee of the West Kistna District Congress Committee shall be included. The Andhra P. C. C. Executive may include also a member as suggested in Mr. A. Anjappa's letter. The Board so appointed shall hold the moneys and utilise them for the aforesaid purpose, the tenure of the members of the Board and the rules under which they shall function shall be settled by the Executive of the Andhra P. C. C.

(6) LOCAL BODIES

The Committee was of opinion that it was not desirable at present for Congressmen to involve themselves in local bodies elections. The P. C. Cs. however

are left free to decide this question in the light of local circumstances subject to the general Congress policy of non-participation in war effort.

Proceedings of the A. I. C. C. Meeting

Wardha—January 15 and 16, 1942

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held at Wardha on January 15 and 16 in a spacious pandal erected for the purpose. 219 members out of a total of 300 were present. The province-wise attendance was as follows :—

Sl. No.	Province	No. of members present	Total strength of the Province
1.	Ajmer	5	5
2.	Andhra	20	27
3.	Assam	3	3
4.	Bihar	15	41
5.	Bengal	21	51
6.	Bombay	3	5
7.	Delhi	4	4
8.	Gujarat	12	16
9.	Karnatak	8	15
10.	Kerala	4	12
11.	Maharashtra	15	15
12.	Maharashtra	15	22
13.	Nagpur	5	5
14.	N. W. F. P.	3	7
15.	Punjab	10	20
16.	Sind	5	5
17.	Tamilnada	18	20
18.	U. P.	27	64
19.	Utkal	14	18
20.	Vidarbha	4	5
	President	1	
	Ex-presidents	4	6

219

300

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, the Congress President reviewed the events that led to the Bombay resolution of the A. I. C. C. in 1940 and the individual civil disobedience movement under the leadership of *Gandhiji*. He also explained the circumstances under which the Bardoli resolution of the Working Committee was passed.

Maulana Sahib said : "Nothing had happened to warrant a change in the country's attitude. We were today exactly where we were fifteen months ago when the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed the resolution on *Satyagraha*. We had not moved an inch forward. Not that we did not want to move. We wanted control of the Government of our country, we wanted freedom and independence whether in times of peace or war." Proceeding he said that he had no doubt that the members present would agree with the Working Committee that nothing has happened during the last fifteen months to induce Congress to change its attitude to war which was one of complete non-co-operation. That was the Congress position in 1940 and that remains the position today.

The Congress President then explained that there were two alternatives before the Congress : One was slavish submission to the autocracy that rules the country and the other declaration to the world of our attitude to the present war which was one of non-co-operation with it unless certain vital conditions were fulfilled. At Bombay, say, earlier, the Congress turned a new leaf. It was imperative to give a fight in order to protect the honour and maintain the very existence of the Congress. The movement launched by *Gandhiji* in terms of the Bombay resolution was of a special kind. It was a representative and selective movement. All the previous Civil Disobedience Movements were mass movements. This one was confined to select individuals. It was not the aim of the movement to embarrass the Government in its war effort.

At Bardoli the events of the last fifteen months were reviewed and stock of the existing situation taken. The outcome of Bardoli deliberations was before the members.

The Congress president then explained wherein he and many other members of the Working Committee differed from Gandhiji leading to Gandhiji's decision to be relieved of the official leadership of the Congress. Gandhiji was opposed to participation in the war on the pure ground of non-violence whereas they were opposed to it on political grounds. Gandhiji had declared that he would not have the independence of India if secured at the cost of non-violence and on the condition that the country should participate in war. That was not his (Maulana Sahib's) position or of those who agreed with him. He was prepared to accept the independence of the country at any time it was available, whether in times of peace or under the shadow of war. He would of course make certain that the independence got or achieved was of the genuine variety. Nothing pained him more than to have to differ from Gandhiji but he could not be false to himself. If the political demand formulated by the Congress was conceded and the country had full and genuine independence he did not think the country would reject it. Though it was a remote contingency it could not be ruled out of calculation.

People had misunderstood the Bardoli resolution, said Maulana Sahib, the reason being the simultaneous appearance of another resolution of the Working Committee by which Gandhiji was relieved of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution. The two resolutions were independent of each other. It was not correct to say that Gandhiji was relieved of the leadership of the Congress in order to enable the Working Committee to repeat its conditional offer of participation in the war. The resolution of the Working Committee was no more than restatement of the well known Congress position. The bonds between the Congress and Gandhiji were indissoluble; death alone could snap them.

MINUTES

After the speech of the Congress President the General Secretary placed before the Committee the minutes of the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Bombay on June 19, 1940. The minutes were duly confirmed.

CONDOLENCE

The following condolence resolutions were passed :—

SRINIVASA IYENGAR

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. records its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-president of the Congress and conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

The All India Congress Committee offers its sorrowful and reverent homage to the memory of Rabindra Nath Tagore who has passed away in the fullness of his magnificent achievement, leaving an imperishable heritage to his country and the world. India thinks of him with pride and gratitude and glories in this great son of hers who came in line with her ancient sages and as an embodiment of her own rich and manifold culture. Full of the wisdom that has been India's splendid inheritance, he was a living synthesis of the old and the new, of the East and the West. To our rich inheritance he added the glowing products of his mind and imagination and created a world of song and joy and beauty which lightened the burden of the present generation and which will inspire the generations to come. True son of India, he yearned and laboured for the freedom of the motherland and the ending of her poverty and her many other ills; true citizen of the world, who knew no narrow boundaries, he sought peace and freedom and enlightenment for mankind. In Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati he created the schools and university of his dreams and it is India's privilege and duty to nurture them, so that they may grow and flower and be the monument of one whose magnificent life will ever be a challenge and an inspiration to his countrymen.

A. I. C. C. MEMBERS AND OTHER CONGRESSMEN

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its sense of sorrow at the death of those members of this committee and other congressmen who have passed away during the last 15 months and conveys to the bereaved families its sincere sympathy.

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

After the passing of the condolence resolutions the President requested Mahatma

Gandhi to address the members. The following is a summary of Gandhi's speech in Hindustani introducing the Bardoli Resolution.

I was not a little perturbed when the Maulana raised me sky-high. I do not live up in the air. I am of the earth, earthy. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Bardoli. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good not bad. But before I say anything on the question, let me make one or two things clear.

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had that not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the matter of that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa—after I found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that this method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to cover many stages towards Independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

The Maulana has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have been taunted as a Baniya. I regard that as a certificate of merit. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be bartered away even for Independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to Swaraj as never before. We dare not exchange it even for Swaraj. For Swaraj thus got will be no true Swaraj. The question is not what we will do after Swaraj. It is whether under given conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swaraj. Again, do you expect to win real Independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the Independence of the humblest and poorest amongst us. It cannot be obtained by joining the war. For the Congress to join any war before the attainment of Complete Independence is to undo the work of the past twenty years.

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not even to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our elders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be endorsed by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C., but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not sit in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a mirror in which all groups can see themselves. The original was Jawaharlal's draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee at whose hands it has undergone material changes. The original had left no room for Rajaji to work. The sub-committee opened a tiny window for him to squeeze in. Jawaharlal's opposition to participation in the effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. Rajaji would participate. If certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-co-operation like Balaram Babu have certainly a place, for, until the concrete event takes place, non-violence rules supreme.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door to negotiation on the impossible or unpolitical ground of non-violence. The resolution throws the burden on the Government of wooing the Congress on the basis of participation in the war effort. That nothing is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world. And since there is a party in the Congress who will welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It is likely in the end to make all of one mind. Out and out believers in non-violence of the political type have the whole field open to them.

When there was a talk of the A. I. C. C. being possibly divided, several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should again listen to mad Gandhi's advice in order to retain his leadership, and become a religious organisation instead of the political organisation that it has been all these years. Let me dispel them of their fear, and say that the Congress can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. All that the Congress has decided to do is that it will allow the world to deal with it in terms that the world can understand, and if the terms are good enough, it will accept them. But you may be also sure that the Congress will not be easily satisfied. It will go on repeating 'Not this', 'Not this', until it wins the real commodity it wants. You will, therefore, say exactly what you want, and I will also say all I want. That is why I have decided to issue three weeklies, and I will go on venting my views therein with the fullest freedom, as long as I am allowed to do so. In the meanwhile, if you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. I therefore do want to cheat the world of its jubilation over the resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your convictions.

Some friends have complained that the resolution has no operative clause. The complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen, it is addressed to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

But there are the instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. It is a substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert. It is good that, so long as I am alive and well in mind, it is so reserved. And so far as I am concerned, there will be none, if the Government do not interfere with *Harizan*. For this weekly will constitute enough propaganda against Germans, Italians or Japanese. I can have none against the Russians who have done great things for the proletariat. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. I would like to think that India will, through her non-violence, be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Even political non-violence has potency of which we have no conception. *Harizan* will deliver the message of peace from week to week. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a token. I want every worker to be out for constructive work. And if I am rendered powerless, I may become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plan. Events will show the way.

So much for civil disobedience.

Though the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, in my opinion the parliamentary programme can have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors—the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-cooperation. But the power of non-cooperation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction. Hence today the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress. And in this all parties are at one.

Do not please go away with the idea that this is a rift in the Congress lute. The Working Committee has worked like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. It will require much

more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, and yet I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.

Let there be no lack of understanding or seal among Congressmen. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you be idle. I certainly will not. Lastly, let those who think the constructive programme is ineffectual know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolutions to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience—individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all. But let me warn enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as your expert that those who regard the constructive programme as ineffectual do not know what non-violence is and how it works.

Some Congressmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I became a visionary, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress; I did so seven years ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. Colleagues like the Marlar and Rajendra Bahu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who hailt up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pharoosabhai and Tifak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?

Pt. Jawaharlal's Speech

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the following resolution recommended by the Working Committee. The resolution was seconded by Rajagopalachari. The Working Committee resolution with a minor change accepted by the Committee was passed, 19 voting against it. Some members of the Committee remained neutral. All amendments moved were rejected.

POLITICAL SITUATION

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought in all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil; not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endured on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1930, wherein they condemned Nazi and fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the emancipation of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of

deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhiji desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded far over fourteen months and about twenty-five thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Provinces and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy, nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial and whose only offense seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression from any quarter and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the large causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A.I.C.C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds to-day and defines Congress policy still.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Speech

In the course of the discussion on the resolution Babu Rajendra Prasad made the following statement clarifying the position of those members of the Working Committee who did not entirely agree with the resolution and had therefore remained neutral.

"I seek your permission to make my own position and that of some other members of the Working Committee clear regarding the resolution. This resolution opens the door, however small the opening may be, for armed help in this war particularly for the defence of the country and for the larger causes which are emerging out of it, provided that British Government accepts India's demands. Our belief is that arms have not settled any dispute in the world nor are they ever likely to do so in future. It is the universal experience of all countries that dependence on arms leads from one war to another. The defeated party starts preparing for another war so that it may defeat the victor and in this way one war lays the foundation of another war and nothing gets settled. We, therefore, believe that war has not solved any problem and nothing can be finally

Note: The amendment represented by the words in italics was accepted by the Working Committee.

entitled so long as dependence on arms continues. What I am stating here is not a mere theoretical proposition. We are convinced that it is also politically necessary. The happenings in the world even in the course of the present war have shown the futility of armed resistance in the case of many countries which have had warlike traditions and had made tremendous preparations for war. It is politically wrong in our opinion to involve the country in war at this time. Having accepted the path of non-violence the country has made tremendous progress during the last twenty or twenty-two years. The benefit which the country has derived from it is obvious. We do not like to give up this tried principle at this critical time even to a limited extent. We, therefore, consider that the opening that this resolution provides for armed assistance in this war is not in the best interests of the country and we wish that India should not in this war and on the present occasion also in the least relax its hold of the principle of Ahimsa. We realise at the same time that by merely passing the resolution we are not called upon to take up arms today. That can happen only if the British Government makes a declaration in favour of Independence of India and transfers the responsibility of administration to our people. There appears to be no change of that happening today. We have not accordingly thought it necessary to resign from the Working Committee. When the British Government opens the way for armed assistance by the Congress, then will be the time for us to make our choice."

INSTRUCTIONS

The following 'Instructions' recommended by the Working Committee were passed by the A. I. C. C.:-

"This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other Subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorised to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his committee:-

For text of the instructions see page 374.

A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following circulars were issued by Sh. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees:-

Circular No. 1.—January 21, 1948.

Now that the Bardoli resolution has been accepted by the A. I. C. C. all controversies created in its wake must cease. Congressmen and Congress Committees must forget the remote contingency of an understanding with the authorities, in which the mover of the resolution did not himself believe. They must direct their energies to the task before the country in the present emergency when the war has approached the borders of India. In this connection the Working Committee at Bardoli issued certain instructions for the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees which have since been embodied in a resolution of the A. I. C. C. A copy of these instructions was forwarded to you from our camp office at Bardoli. Copy of the resolution based upon the Bardoli instructions is sent herewith for your information and necessary action thereon.

The resolution rightly points out that the Congress can help and serve the people "only if its organization is strong and disciplined." For then alone can congressmen command the confidence of the people. We must, therefore, address ourselves immediately "to the task of strengthening the organization and reviving and maintaining contact with the people in the villages and towns." To this end it is essential that every village "should receive the message of the Congress." But this alone is not enough. The Congress message must be accompanied by concrete day to day activity. The present resolution states that the "constructive programme adopted by the Congress and explained from time to time by Gandhiji is of particular importance at this juncture." Worked in the spirit of its author, it means no harm whatsoever to any legitimate party or interest. In the words of the present resolution "it is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the cooperative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contact with the people and services to them which are necessary for winning their confidence." In fact the constructive programme represents duties

neglected heretofore, the non-performance of which has principally resulted in our present state of helplessness and slavery. In the circumstances existing today, on account of war, when prices of commodities have already risen and are rising and causing distress and no adequate steps have been so far taken by the authorities to meet the situation "the constructive programme presents unique opportunities not only to steady the people but to serve and organise them." The high prices and scarcity due to dislocation of trade and transport are likely to increase than diminish in the near future, due to the increasing stress of war. At such a time it is not big industry, the target of the war machine, but small decentralised industry carried on in the villages, that is likely to help and serve us.

To secure effective and speedy working of the constructive programme following directions may be noted and carried out as far as possible.

(1) The P. C. Cs should get from all the districts lists of workers with their names and addresses and record of work. Such lists may also be sent to the A. I. C. C. office.

(2) Chief provincial workers should visit various districts and call meetings of workers and explain to them the steps that have to be taken for carrying out the various items of the programme. The names of such workers as consent to participate in any item or items of the programme must be recorded and suitable work organised for them.

(3) A Provincial member-in-charge or a sub-committee for constructive work be appointed. The person in charge or in the case of the committee its members must have full faith in the economic and political efficacy of the programme to be worked out. There may be similar members-in-charge or committees in the districts. Such members-in-charge or committees will keep themselves in constant touch with workers in the district, understand and meet their difficulties, raise funds and do such other work as may be necessary for the efficient working of the programme.

(4) Training centres may be opened, if possible, in every district where workers will receive necessary training in the different departments of work undertaken. The P. C. Cs must also try to have the services of agricultural experts, who would advise village cultivators about the best food crops that can be grown and their substitutes in the present emergency.

(5) Days may be observed throughout the province to popularise different items of the constructive programme. For instance, there may be a Khadi Day, a Hindu-Muslim Unity Day, a Harijan Day, a rural uplift day and the like. These days should not be merely for show. They should serve to focus people's attention on the various aspects of our nation—building activity.

During these times of stress and strain, owing to the great poverty, unemployment and scarcity prevalent in the land, there are possibilities of food riots and consequent looting of grain shops, etc. We have reports of such looting and rioting from several places. Advantage may also be taken by anti-social forces of the prevalent uncertainty and scarcity to create internal confusion. If the constructive programme is worked in the proper spirit the possibilities of looting and rioting will be minimised. To that extent the anti-social forces can also be kept in check. But this may not be enough. Therefore, wherever possible volunteer corps may be formed. They must be principally in rural areas, for self-reliance, mutual cooperation and to face any emergency that may arise. Though a uniform and some sort of drill increase the efficiency of a volunteer corps, yet in the present circumstances, wherever there is any possibility of conflict with authorities or with rival organisations, such aids may be dispensed with. The external help derived from uniform, drill etc. can be more than compensated by the patriotic zeal and enthusiasm of the organisation and its members. Wherever possible the Congress volunteers should cooperate with like organisations of other parties with similar aims. It is needless to remind you that non-violence must be the basic principle of our volunteer organisation.

In short "To the villages" must be the slogan of Congressmen. Every member of a Congress executive or of an elective Committee, if not every Primary Member, should make himself responsible for some one or more items of constructive programme. He must keep a careful day to day diary of his work. Such diaries must be inspected by the authorities from time to time and suggestions made and instructions issued in the light of what is recorded.

The A. I. C. C. office must be kept fully informed of the organiza-

tion introduced and the progress of the work undertaken. The head office will always be happy and ready to cooperate in the effort.

Please acknowledge.

Circular No. 2.—January 27, 1942

(1) We are sending you herewith copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee at its last meeting held at Wardha about the enrolment of Primary members.

Those who want to continue their membership have to get themselves enrolled for the current as well as the preceding year and pay a consolidated fee of eight annas. Continuity of membership will entitle them to participate in elections as laid down in Art. VII Sub-clauses (a) and (c). Those who want to enrol themselves for this year have to pay the usual membership fee of four annas.

(2) The office has been receiving enquiries about matters connected with Local bodies. For the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees the Congress policy about local bodies is stated here afresh:—

The Congress policy of non-cooperation in war effort still continues. In accordance with that policy Congress parties must withdraw from such local bodies as have participated in the war effort in the past or do so now or in the future. Wherever Congressmen have withdrawn from such bodies they cannot contest bye-elections. An exception to this rule was made only in the case of Madras Corporation. It must be clearly understood that the act of cooperation in war effort is continuous. It lasts at least as long as the particular local body that cooperated in the war effort continues in existence.

In deciding whether Congress Committees should participate in any fresh elections to local bodies regard should be had to the circumstances prevailing in the province or localities concerned. There is no ban against contesting these elections. The Provincial Congress Committees are left free to decide the matter in the light of the effort such contests would have on the policy of non-participation in the war effort and the working of the general programme of the Congress.

Circular No. 3.—February 2, 1942

Several questions regarding the interpretation of the Working Committee resolution on 'refunctioning of Congress Committees' have been referred to us for decision. Since these questions affect a large number of congressmen, the position is made clear here.

A too rigid interpretation of the resolution should be avoided. It should be enough for the purpose of the resolution. If congressmen broadly conformed to the condition laid down therein. For example, those who went to jail once but could not repeat satyagraha on release should be allowed to remain on the elective committees. Also those intending satyagraha who sent their names to Gandhiji for approval but were not accepted may be allowed to remain on the committees. Those who were arrested before the C. Disobedience movement started or those who were arrested under the Defence of India Rules during the pendency of the movement should be considered qualified for holding offices and remaining members of elective committees. In doubtful cases full advantage of the doubt must be given to the members concerned.

The policy to be followed should be liberal. No party prejudices must be allowed to vitiate a just and equitable decision. If yet there are complicated cases they must be referred to some impartial tribunal.

The expression 'elective committees' occurring in the resolution covers all Committees from the A. I. C. C. and the P. C. C. downward.

The vacancies created should be filled up. In the bye-elections nobody can stand as a candidate who is disqualified in terms of the resolution.

You will please send copy of this circular to your subordinate committees.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—March 17-18, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha on March 17 and 18, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Kalyanadas Chatterjee, Bhanu Prasad Das, Bhulabhai Dasa, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali, Khan Sahib and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jajramdas Daniellram attended the meeting by special invitation. Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sitting of the Committee.

MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha on January 13-17, 1942 were confirmed.

LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The Committee passed the following resolution on the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

The Working Committee record their deepest sorrow at the sudden and premature death of their colleague, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, who for twenty years was a member of the Committee and treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great true servant and a leader and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Srimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee considered the steps taken by the P. C. C. C.'s to carry out the programme of self-protection and self-sufficiency laid down by the A. I. C. C. in January last and the progress made so far. The Committee were of the opinion that while work was being organised in some provinces there was not sufficient stir in others. It decided that (i) the A. I. C. C. office should send out inspectors to the provinces oftener. (ii) The provinces should seek greater co-operation from the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. (iii) The A. I. C. C. office should send further instructions to the P. C. C.'s.

PUNJAB

The President placed before the Committee a letter from the leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab asking for permission to attend the Assembly. The Committee was of opinion that nothing had happened which called for change in its previous decision. The parliamentary Sub-Committee was free to permit attendance on special occasions for specific purposes.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Delhi—March 29 to April 11, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali, Khan Sahib and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Working Committee meetings till April 4th.

DRAFT DECLARATION

The Committee considered the draft declaration issued by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government. The resolution of the Working Committee on this declaration as also the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps are given in full in page 224 and following.

NATIONAL WEEK

The Committee passed the following resolution for the observance of the National Week.

"The National week this year has been upon us at a time of great crisis and peril to the nation. It is incumbent upon us all to prepare ourselves in every way to face this crisis and, whatever the larger policies that may be followed in an ever-changing situation, is clear that the present Congress Programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection is the essential foundation of every other policy and activity that might be undertaken. To this programme and to the constructive activities included in it, therefore, Congressmen must address themselves intensively during this week."

THE PRESIDENT

The Congress President nominated Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as treasurer of the A. I. C. C. in the vacancy caused by the death of Seth Jammalal Bajaj.

WORKING COMMITTEE

The President nominated Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya a member of the Working Committee in the vacancy caused on that committee by the death of Seth Jammalal Bajaj.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Allahabad—April 27 to May 1, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1, 1942. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Jajramdas Daulatram, Narendraadev, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Achyut Patwardhan, S. Satyamurti, Vishwanath Das, Gopinath Bardoloi, were present by special invitation.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE A. I. C. C.

The Committee passed the following draft resolutions for the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolutions see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 291).

The Committee approved of the following Draft resolution on the political situation in the country, to be placed before the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolution see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 293).

THE MADRAS RESOLUTIONS*

The Committee considered the two resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative party under the presidency of Shri Rajagopalachariar. The President observed that the resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature were at variance with the declared policy of the Congress. As a responsible member of the Working Committee Shri Rajagopalachariar should have avoided all association with the two resolutions. If he felt strongly on the subject he should have discussed the matter with his colleagues of the Working Committee before giving expression to his views. In the event of his being unable to carry the Working Committee with him, it was open to him to resign and then propagate his views. Shri Rajagopalachariar admitted that knowing as he did the views of his colleagues of the Working Committee on the subject, he should have first talked the matter over with them before moving the two resolutions at the Congress Assembly Party in Madras. He was, however, unable to withdraw the two resolutions as they represented his considered views. In his letter of resignation addressed to the President, he expressed his regret for publicly ventilating his views on a highly controversial question before consulting the President. Following is the full text of his letter to the President, dated Allahabad, 30th. April 1942 :—

Dear Maulana Sahib,

With reference to your observations on the resolutions passed on my motion by the Madras Congress Legislative Party, I admit that I should have talked the matter over with you and other colleagues of the Working Committee before moving the resolutions, knowing as I did their disagreement on the subject. I write this to express my regret.

I have explained to you already how strongly I feel. I believe that I should be failing in my duty if I do not endeavour to get people to think and act in the direction which my conviction leads to. I feel that in the public interest I should move the resolutions already notified by Mr. Santanam. I desire, therefore, to request you to permit me to resign my place in the Working Committee.

Let me tender my grateful thanks for the unqualified trust and affection bestowed on me by you and the other colleagues during all these many years that I have served in the Committee.

Yours sincerely
C. Rajagopalachariar

The President regretfully accepted the resignation of Shri Rajagopalachariar from the Working Committee.

*Passed on the 23rd. April 1942. For text see Chronicle of Events.

Proceedings of the All India Congress Committee

Allahabad—April 29 to May 2, 1942

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Allahabad on April 29-30 and May 1-2, 1942 in the special pandal erected for the purpose. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. One hundred and seventy members were present.

The provincewise attendance was as follows :—

Ex-Presidents	...	...	...	4
Ajmer	...	...	...	2
Andhra	...	...	...	12
Assam	...	...	...	2
Bihar	...	...	...	16
Bengal	...	...	...	22
Bombay	...	...	...	4
Delhi	...	...	...	4
Gujrat	...	...	...	9
Karnatak	...	...	...	0
Kerala	...	...	...	1
Mahakoshal	...	...	...	9
Maharashtra	...	...	...	8
Nagpur	...	...	...	4
N. W. F. P.	...	...	...	4
Punjab	...	...	...	13
Sind	...	...	...	4
Tamil Nadu	...	...	...	10
United Provinces	...	...	...	36
Utkal	...	...	...	4
Vidarbha	...	...	...	2

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MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. held at Wardha on January 15-16 were confirmed.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings the *President* traced the course of Congress-Cripps' negotiations. He said that a month and a half back they met at Wardha. At that time it was known that the British Government had decided to make a new approach to the Indian problem. It was announced that Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the War-Cabinet, would proceed to India with fresh proposals for the settlement of the Indian problem. The Working Committee at Wardha decided that he (the Congress President) should meet him on behalf of the Congress. After meeting him, if he thought necessary, a meeting of the Working Committee may be called.

He had, he said, a series of interviews with Sir Stafford Cripps. He told Sir Stafford Cripps that the draft declaration as he read it was disappointing. It gave nothing. The bulk of it referred to an uncertain future. The proposals about the present were not vague yielded nothing to popular control. Defence was to be the sole responsibility of His Majesty's Government in England. This reservation reduced to nullity the supposed transfer of power from British to Indian hands. In war time defence covered every sphere of civil administration and if defence was reserved everything was reserved.

Sir Stafford in his earlier talks, had assured the Maulana Sahib that what was contemplated in the draft was a national Government. The position of the Viceroy vis-a-vis the government would be the same as that of a constitutional monarch in relation to his Cabinet. Maulana Sahib pointed out that the way the communal and the Indian States' problems were sought to be settled was highly objectionable. In any case these problems should have been left to be settled by Indians themselves. As time passed the picture he (Sir Stafford) had conjured up at the beginning of the negotiations began to fade away. What was left was not worth looking at.

The British attitude, continued the Maulana Sahib, had been helpful ever since the outbreak of War. While the Congress had made it clear to the country and to the world that if ever an accommodating spirit was necessary for a

settlement, it was there in their resolutions. They had gone far to secure a settlement but it was clear that the British Government had no trust in them. The Government was not prepared to entrust defence to Indians. The stand taken up by the Working Committee with regard to the Cripps proposals would have involved them in active participation in the war. It was well known that some members of the Working Committee were with Mahatma Gandhi in their support of out and out non-violence. But he was happy to say that throughout the two weeks of the Delhi negotiations these members viewed every proposal from the point of view of those colleagues of theirs who believed in the defence of their country by other than non-violent means. They made it clear that consistently with their firm belief in non-violence they would do their best to assist any national Government that was formed as a result of the negotiations. The president had nothing but praise for them. Whatever decisions they made were unanimous. It would be wrong to say that they considered the Cripps proposals without having in their minds a clear idea as to the lines on which the communal and other problems should be solved. But so far as Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was concerned the only question they were considering at the time was that of transfer of power from British to Indian hands. He had no doubt that they would have produced a satisfactory solution of the communal problem if the question of transfer of political power had been satisfactorily settled.

It was said in some quarters that the Cripps' mission though it did not produce a settlement had succeeded in changing the attitude of the people towards the war. This was absolutely wrong and misleading. If anything, the mission had done almost irreparable injury. It must be understood that a slave India will have nothing to do with the war. Only a free India can defend itself. Sir Stafford Cripps was now saying that the initiative in dealing with the Indian situation must henceforth lie with the leaders of the Indian people and not the British Government. The Maulana made it plain that the Congress would take no further initiative in the matter.

The Maulana then referred to the imminent peril of invasion by Japan. Only a slave mind could imagine that Japan would give India freedom. National self-respect demanded that they should not think in terms of a change of masters. They would resist the Japanese aggression, their differences with Britain notwithstanding. There could be no welcome for Japan, whether active or passive. Had they been a free country they would have resorted to armed resistance, if any country attacked them. But armed resistance was denied to them. The weapon of non-violence was, however, with them for the last twenty-two years. No one could take away this weapon from them, and they were determined to use it.

RESOLUTIONS—LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The following condolence resolution was moved from the chair and passed, all standing :—

The All India Congress Committee recorded their deepest sorrow at the sudden death of their colleague, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj who for twenty years was a member of this Committee, the Working Committee and was also the treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular, he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great and true servant and a leader, and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Frimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

REJECTION OF CRIPPS' PROPOSALS

Shri Rajendra Prasad then moved the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British government. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Asaf Ali :—

"The All India Congress Committee having considered the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals of the British Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps and the correspondence between him and the Congress President endorses and approves the decision of the Working Committee."

The resolution was passed with only four members dissenting.

Two members from the Punjab, *Sardar Pratap Singh* and *Gopal Singh Qasmi* sought permission to move an amendment to that part of the resolution on Cripps' proposals that dealt with the point of non-accession of the provinces to the Indian union. The President held the amendment out of order. He said that the Working Committee resolution should be either accepted or rejected as a whole.

BANNED RESOLUTIONS

The Committee passed two resolutions as recommended by the Working Committee.

(I) The lesson of Rangoon and lower Burma. (II) Evacuated lands and the behaviour of soldiers.

The Government of India issued the following notification banning the publication of these two resolutions by the Press :—

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication, by any printer, publisher or editor in British India, of the whole or any portion of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on the 28th April, 1942, beginning with the words :—"The Committee has noted the recent extraordinary happenings in Burma and notably in the city of Rangoon" and ending with the words : "In particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give way to it".

In exercise of the powers provided by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of the whole or any part of that portion of the second Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on April 28th which begins with the words "the Committee has also noted with dismay" and ends with the words "must be resisted by the people at all costs."

EVACUEES AND REFUGEES FROM MALAYA AND BURMA

The Committee passed the following resolution on 'Evacuees and Refugees from Malaya and Burma :—

The All India Congress Committee has noted with indignation the arrangements made for and the treatment accorded to evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma to India. The officials whose business and duty it was to protect the lives and interests of the people in their respective areas, utterly failed to discharge that responsibility and, running away from their post of duty, sought safety for themselves, leaving the vast majority of the people wholly uncared and unprovided for. Such arrangements for evacuees as were made were meant principally for the European population and at every step racial discrimination was in evidence. Because of this and also because of the utter incompetence, callousness and selfishness of those in authority, vast numbers of Indians in Malaya and Burma have not only lost all they possessed but have also undergone unimaginable sufferings, many dying on the way from lack of the necessities of life, from disease, or from attacks from anti-social elements.

Racial discrimination was shown at the base camps in Burma where special arrangements were made for Europeans and Anglo-Burmese while Indians were left almost uncared for ; in the according of special facilities for transport and travel to the Europeans and Eurasians ; and, in the general treatment given to Indians and non-Indians along the routes and at the various camps. In particular, this was in evidence in the scandal of a safer and more convenient route being practically reserved for non-Indians, while Indians were forced to travel by a longer, more difficult and more dangerous route.

The Committee is aware that recently some alterations have been made in these arrangements and that Indians are now being brought over by air from Myittha, and can also avail themselves of the safer land route in limited numbers. The treatment of the evacuees and refugees on the Indian side of the border though somewhat better now is still far from satisfactory. But from all reports the conditions at the base camps for evacuees in Burma are highly unsatisfactory and the worst sufferers there are Indians. The Committee calls upon the Government of India to make all necessary arrangements

for the speedy evacuation from the unoccupied zone in Burma of all Indians who wish to be so evacuated. Suitable Indians, official and non-official, should be appointed to supervise and look after the interests of Indians in the base and other evacuation camps and routes used by evacuees. The Committee trusts that non-official relief agencies will be permitted to send workers and doctors all along the Manipur route from Dimapur to Tamu and beyond to the base camp on the Burma side, as well as to Myitkyina, which is the air base for refugees.

The problem of the evacuees and refugees from Burma is not solved by merely bringing them to India. Every effort should be made to find suitable work for them in existing establishments or on the land, or regular semi-permanent camps should be started where productive work for wages is organised.

The Committee expresses its appreciation of the fine service rendered to the evacuees by various non-official relief organisations and by their voluntary workers. The Committee calls upon the Indian public to extend all possible help to the evacuees, and particularly all employers to provide employment for as many of them as possible. The Committee also extends its warm welcome to all those Indians who have returned to the homeland in these distressing circumstances and assures them of its deep sympathy and anxious interest in their cause.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant moved the following main resolution of the Session. The resolution was seconded by *Shri Rajendra Prasad*:—

In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India, and the attitude of the British Government, as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown. They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger, not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an imperialist government and refuses to recognise the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to nazism and fascism as to imperialism. If India were free she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war, though her sympathies would, in any event, have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership, and with intimate contacts with the people. A free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her. The present Indian army is in fact an offshoot of the British army and has been maintained till now mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own.

The essential difference between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast man-power of India herself is not utilised for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interests and dangerous to the cause of her freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible man-power should remain untapped, while India develops into a battleground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or on her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control. India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The A. I. O. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis, as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain, even in a partial measure, British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety, and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon

her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of the nation may be. In case an invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them. In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. *They desire our help only as slaves, a position which we can never accept.*

The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme, and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

AMENDMENTS MOVED

Several amendments were moved to the resolution. Most of them were, however, withdrawn before voting. The two amendments moved by Dr. Ashraf and Sajjad Zaheer were voted upon and rejected by an overwhelming majority. Only four votes were recorded in their favour.

The two amendments are as follows:—

Add in paragraph 3 after India's participation in the 'imperialist phase of'.

Delete in para 3 line 6 after 'her own policy' the words "and might have kept out of the war though" and substitute "she would join with the people of China, U. S. S. R., America and Britain etc., to fight the menace of Fascism."

Delete in paragraph 6 the words "expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation" and substitute "an all-out national resistance by every possible means."

Delete in para 6 from "such resistance..... any other way."

Sajjad Zaheer

Dr. Choitram Gidwani's amendment that in para 6 last line delete the words "beyond our non-interference" and substitute "except as slaves" was adopted by the Working Committee with a variation in phrasing. The words in italics represent the amendment adopted by the Working Committee. The resolution was passed by the Committee.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. office received notice of six non-official resolutions to be moved at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. The resolutions were arranged according to ballot.

The President received a requisition signed by fifty-one members of the A. I. C. C. requesting that special permission be given for the following resolution to be moved at the A. I. C. C.

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

The President in view of the importance of the subject as also the number of signatories to the requisition permitted the resolution to be moved when the non-official resolution on the same subject notified by Shri K. Santanam came up for consideration before the Committee. The President observed that the two resolutions will be voted upon separately, but the debate will be a joint one. The non-official resolution given notice of by Shri K. Santanam was as follows:—

CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

"The All India Congress Committee notes with deep regret that the attempt

to establish a National Government for India to enable her to face the problems arising out of the present grave situation have failed and that as a result of this, Nationalist India has been placed in a dilemma. It is impossible for the people to think in terms of neutrality or passivity during an invasion by an enemy power. Neither is it practicable to organise an effective defence, independently and unco-ordinated with the defence measures of the Government. It is absolutely and urgently necessary in the best interests of the country at this hour of peril to do all that Congress can possibly do to remove every obstacle in the way of establishment of a national administration to face the present situation; and, therefore, inasmuch as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from United India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas, as a condition precedent for united national action at this moment of grave national danger, the A. I. C. C. is of opinion that to sacrifice the chances of the formation of a National Government at this grave crisis for the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India is a most unwise policy and that it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation, should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing a constitution for India and thereby remove all doubts and fears in this regard, and to invite the Muslim League for a consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

Considering the circumstances in which the resolution came up before the A. I. C. C. the president allowed Shri *Rajagopalachariar* to move the resolution. Shri *K. Santanam* seconded it. The debate on the two resolutions lasted for three hours at the end of which they were voted upon. The resolution moved by *Rajagopalachariar* was defeated, 120 members voting against it and 15 members voting for it. The resolution given notice of by the 50 requisitionists and moved by Shri *Jagat Narayan Lal* was passed, 92 voting for and 17 voting against it.

Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri *Jagat Narayan Lal*, the President gave it as his opinion that the resolution in no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals.

The other non-official resolution notified by Shri *K. Santanam* and to be moved by Shri *Rajagopalachariar*, which could not be taken up for consideration owing to lack of time is as follows:

FORMATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS

"Whereas the Presidency of Madras has been seriously affected by the conditions resulting from the Japanese aggression and the lives of the people are subjected to growing dislocation and it is suicidal for the present and disastrous for the future, for the people's representatives to remain passive and allow the present authoritarian administration to function under such circumstances, and whereas it is desirable to make every effort to secure such conditions as may enable the people effectively to offer resistance to the aggressor and inspire them for all the sacrifices involved in the defence of the mother-land, the All India Congress Committee authorises the Congress Legislative Party in Madras to accept responsibility of Government if invited to do so, and further advises them to invite the Muslim League to participate in such responsibility and assist in the formation of a popular government for the province."

A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following Circulars were issued by Sh. *J. B. Kripalani*, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees:—

Circular No. 5.—February 7, 1942

Please send us the following information:

I (1) The total number of satyagrahis still in jail in your province. The satyagrahis are (a) Those who offered satyagraha and were arrested (ii) Those who were approved by Gandhiji but did not offer satyagraha and were arrested under some section of the D. I. E.

(2) The total number of other political prisoners in jail in your province. If possible please send us the names and other particulars of these prisoners. In what prisons are they at present? If there is any alleged reason for their non-release from any source that also may be mentioned.

II. I hope our circular No. 1 in which certain suggestions for the speedy

working of the constructive programme were made is under your active consideration. Please let us know what steps have been taken so far to implement the A. I. C. C. instructions. To enable you and us to record the progress of work from month to month you will do well to make a survey of the existing Congress organisation and the constructive work going on now in the province. You may get statistics from each district under (to suggest only a few) the following heads:—

(1) The number and strength of Congress Committees working in each district. (2) Constructive centres organised by Congressmen in rural or urban areas. (3) Villages where there are no Congress Committees functioning or are without active Congressmen. (4) The number of spinners, (apart from professionals). (5) The special difficulties that the district is experiencing in organising spinning, carding, weaving etc. Is cotton locally cultivated? (6) The crops sown in the district. The proportion of food crops to money crops. (7) The general economic condition of the people especially the peasantry. (8) Any special facilities in the district or part of the district for any handicraft. (9) The social and economic condition of Harijans. Any Harijan Congress worker in the district? (10) Hindu-Muslim relations. (11) Other minorities such as Christians, Sikhs etc. (12) Any volunteers uniformed or otherwise in the district and their work. (13) The part our women-folk are taking in the various constructive activities of the Congress.

You will find that the collection of this data will enable you to carry on more effectively and systematically the work that we have undertaken to face the present emergency. Millions have to participate in this work. To secure the intelligent co-operation of the millions, our workers have to have a clearer and wider perspective than they have shown hitherto. Work carried on in a perfunctory and haphazard manner will not produce lasting results. The times that we are passing through will brook neither sloth nor inefficiency. All Congressmen have to hew themselves and accept responsibility for some definite, solid piece of work. If we all do our duty, we need have no uneasy fears as to the future. The Congress today and for that matter every Congressman is faced with a crucial choice. The organisation and its component parts have to live up to their faith and affect the future or perish.

We can, if we keep alert and vigilant, wring strength and unity out of the dangers encompassing us today. Danger infuses fresh life and vigour in the brave. All our Congress committees have to be compact, business-like bodies and their members active Congressmen. Where necessary individuals should be put in charge of sections of work.

No changes in the Congress constitution are necessary for activating Congressmen and Congress Committees. What is needed is a change in our outlook, in our way of doing things. Those who cannot adapt themselves to the call of the time will best serve the Congress by resigning from the Committees. Let our committees consist exclusively of active Congressmen.

III. It is my considered view that every P. O. C. executive should invite the secretaries of allied Congress organisation in the province such as the secretaries of the Provincial branch of the A. I. S. A., and A. I. V. A., and A. I. Harijan Sangh, the A. I. Talimi Sangh etc., to their meetings. The P. O. C.'s will find the presence of those secretaries helpful in chalking out their own schemes of constructive activity. The secretaries of these organisations when invited must be considered members of the P. O. C. executive. Maulana Sahib is in agreement with this suggestion of mine. The U. P. P. O. C. has already adopted it.

You are requested to send us the information that we have asked for in this circular and in our circular No. 1 as soon as possible.

Please send copy of this circular to all District Congress Committees.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Circular No. 6—February 22, 1942.

Inter-provincial consultation and co-ordination are necessary and helpful in normal times. They are more so during these anxious times. Various problems face us today. Each P. O. C. has got a plan of its own to meet the common problems and problems peculiar to itself. Under these circumstances it would be of advantage if select active workers from provinces could meet together, compare notes and benefit by mutual experience. This will not only give them valuable information but enable them where possible to pool their resources.

Periodical meetings of representatives of all provinces, some of them very far-flung, in one place though desirable would not be possible, especially in these days of travel difficulties. The expenses involved would also be considerable. It is,

therefore, suggested that the following Regions of contiguous provinces may be formed for inter-provincial consultation and collaboration.

- (1) Assam, Bengal, Utkal.
- (2) Bihar, United Provinces, Mahabhojal, Ajmer-Merwara.
- (3) Punjab, Sind, Frontier, Delhi.
- (4) Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra, Karnatak, C. P. (Marathi) Vidarbha.
- (5) Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerna.

It would be desirable to hold one meeting a month of each of these Regions. If that is not possible, at least one meeting in two months should be held. Each province may send anywhere from one to three representatives to the meeting of its Region. I may add that the purpose of these Regional meetings can be served only if the representatives selected are the provincial presidents, secretaries or active field workers who have a personal knowledge of the difficulties, resources and methods of work in their respective provinces.

I should like you in collaboration with the provinces in your Region to arrange the first Regional meeting as soon as possible. I or some other representative of the A. I. C. C. would like to be present to facilitate work. I would, therefore, request you to inform me as soon as possible of the date during which it may be possible for you to settle in consultation with each other a meeting of your Region.

I suggest that the following provinces may in each of the five Regions take initiative and set the machinery of consultation in motion to the end that the first meetings may be called as soon as possible. Subsequent meetings need not be held in the same province in the Region. The meeting place may be changed from time to time.

- Region 1. Bengal.
 " 2. United Provinces.
 " 3. Punjab.
 " 4. Bombay.
 " 5. Tamil Nadu.

If any of the provinces suggested here for taking the initiative in the matter is for any reasons not in a position to do so this office may immediately be informed so that arrangements may be made with some other provinces in the Region, to do the needful.

After these first meetings have been held, it will be possible for us to work out co-ordination among the regions themselves.

Circular No. 7—March 6, 1928

You must have read Gandhiji's leading article in the last issue of Harijan dated March 1st under the caption 'Criminal Assaults' dealing with danger of women being molested by soldiers. Gandhiji has advised our sisters to be fearless and self-reliant. This advice has come none too early.

Whenever there is danger to woman's honour the tendency in our country is to segregate them or to remove them to places of safety. This under the present circumstances is scarcely a remedy. The danger is daily increasing and very soon there may be no place of safety anywhere. If for any reasons those in authority now are unable to check soldiers from molesting women, the position will be much worse, when unfortunately there is an invasion from outside. Moreover, segregation is no remedy. It is likely to make our women more timid and helpless than they already are.

The only way, therefore, is to ask them to be brave and self-reliant. This can best be done by organizing them. They may be invited to participate fully in the present programme of the Congress. Fortunately our programme is such that in working it there can be no difference between men and women. It can be carried out as efficiently by men as by women.

Congress Committees are, therefore, requested to progressively associate more and more women with their activities. This may be done by creating in the provinces, where they do not already exist, women's departments or appointing women organizers. The work of these departments and organizers will not be different from the general Congress work. It must also be carried on under the general supervision and direction of the Congress Committees; but the special charge of the Women's Department or Organizers will be to approach women, to induce them to take interest in Congress work and generally to organize them. Every Congress activity must be helped by an auxiliary force of women. They must fully participate both in the programme of national

self-sufficiency and self-protection. They must have a volunteer organisation of their own. This is the only effective way of making them fearless and self-reliant.

Every circular issued from this office must, therefore, be taken to include men and women whatever may be the expression used. Specific mention will be made if any instructions from this office are meant for men only.

Circular No. 8.—March 24, 1948

The Working Committee which met in Wardha on March 17 considered the reports of the working of the constructive programme received from provinces. The reports revealed that while the work was making steady progress in some provinces no serious beginnings were yet made in others. Constructive programmes being the only programme before Congressmen today, the strength and efficiency of our organisation will be judged by the extent to which Congress committees are able to mobilise their resources for carrying it out. A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who are guiding and controlling affairs in the provinces. Things happen or are made to happen in the country which tend to distract our attention from our task but we must be on our guard.

The programme placed by the A. I. C. C. before the country, is two-fold : (1) self-protection and (2) self-sufficiency. Fairly detailed instructions with regard to both have been issued by this office. It is now up to you to act and supplement and amplify them to meet local requirements. What is needed is not mere instructions but further and more intensive effort.

Self-protection has a double aspect : (i) protection from air raids and (ii) protection from internal disorder. Government and semi-government agencies are at work for organising protection against possible air raids. It is common knowledge that in spite of considerable expenditure government efforts lack popular appeal and support. The results achieved, therefore, bear little relation to the effort and money spent. For this and other reasons Congressmen cannot associate themselves with government-controlled bodies. But it would be folly to impede their effort unless what they do is against the A. I. C. C. instructions. The instructions that the official A. R. P. organisations broadcast to the people should be studied and such of them as are sound and reasonable should be commended to the people for adoption. These instructions may be added to by the local Congress committees according to the needs of the local situation.

The Congress has for the last two months been carrying on propaganda against fear and panic with considerable effect. Naturally the panic is greatest in areas which are in danger by Sea and Air. The situation in these areas has to be closely and constantly studied by local Congressmen and advice given to people. The problem of evacuation must be carefully considered. As pointed out by Gandhiji the military authorities would not like at critical times to be encumbered with the problems of such of the civil population as is not needed in a particular locality. Therefore, those whose everyday business does not require them to be in cities that are liable to attack from air and sea and those who are afraid, should leave such localities without creating confusion and panic. Before they leave they must make sure that they will not create problems for themselves and for those with whom they take refuge. There is time enough for regulated evacuation. Afterwards when actual bombing takes place, if the timid and those not wanted begin evacuation in hurry they will create problems as in other countries of which we are familiar through papers.

As to protection from internal civil disorder, we have already issued necessary instructions. The volunteer organisation that we contemplate for meeting the needs of the present situation is broad-based. Our previous volunteer organisations were subject to many rules and a fairly severe disciplinary code and were confined to Congressmen. This time we have thrown open the doors of the organisation to all our countrymen irrespective of political affiliations, the only condition being adherence to peaceful methods. Maintenance of peace and security is the chief aim of the volunteer organisation. It should not, therefore, be difficult to realise that this can be achieved only through peaceful means. No countryman of ours can have any reasonable objection to subscribing to this perfectly obvious and necessary condition. We are happy to note that the response to Congress call in this direction has been ample and spontaneous.

The drive, therefore, to enlist members of all communities and all political parties for the volunteer organisation should be further intensified. The organisation should be split up into units of ten or twenty, each in charge of a mohalla in the city or of a village or part thereof in rural areas. The units should mainly confine themselves to the service and protection of their respective localities. They should be in constant touch with the people. They should try to serve them in every way. They should help in organising mohalla meetings and otherwise carrying on the constructive programme. Their chief duty, of course, will be the maintenance of peace in the mohalla, prevention of disorder, and in the event of any disorder breaking out, protecting the people. Volunteers should be animated by community of feeling and unity of purpose. At night they should learn to watch and guard their respective localities. All this will give our people a sense of security, a common purpose and common action. It will give us and the people necessary training for co-operation and self-help.

The programme of self-sufficiency has been explained time and again by Gandhiji. Each passing day emphasises the urgency of carrying out this programme with speed and thoroughness. Conditions approaching starvation and nakedness, semi-starvation and unemployment have been the lot of many for a long time past. But the war lengthening out, many more have been thrown out of work and the earnings of many others have considerably diminished. Conditions will go on progressively deteriorating. The new taxation imposed by the central and provincial governments has added to the already great misery of the masses and hit hard the lower middle classes. Therefore, if the situation is not controlled, it will lead to all manner of highly undesirable consequences. It can be controlled only by the programme of 'self-sufficiency'. Many items in the programme require technical ability. Happily we have organisations carrying on this work for the past many years. They are technically equipped for the tasks they have undertaken. The All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association may be drawn upon for whatever technical advice and assistance is needed. Their co-operation and supervision should be sought. This will impose new duties and new tasks upon these organisations. The existing staff may not be able to cope with these. But if Congress Committees take up the self-sufficiency programme in earnest we have no doubt the A. I. M. A. and A. I. V. I. A. would willingly do their part. We had complaints from Congressmen and Congress Committees that the A. I. S. A. is half-hearted in its response to their needs. Many of these complaints are based on ignorance. The A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches are subject to definite rules and work under serious financial and other limitations. They cannot be as swift in their response to our demands as Congressmen would wish them to be. While we are putting ourselves in touch with the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. headquarters, you will please get into touch with the provincial branches and devise a technique of mutual co-operation. I hope you have carried out the suggestion I made in one of my previous circulars that provincial secretaries of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., Harijan Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and the Women's Department should be associated with your provincial executive. This should greatly facilitate mutual co-operation.

There is great paucity of trained workers in Khadi village industry and village work. The best thing under the circumstances for you will be to send some intelligent young men to Wardha to join the institutions started by the A. I. V. I. A. and A. I. S. A. for training workers. The expenses at Wardha for a student do not exceed Rs. 15/- per month, all told. The A. I. V. I. A. secretary, Sri Kumarappa has assured us that he will be willing to accept responsibility for the training of all those who are sent to the central institution of the association at Wardha. I have no doubt that the A. I. S. A. secretary will allow similar facilities. The expenses of course will have to be met by the P. C. C. sending out workers for training. For particulars of the training you will please correspond with the secretaries of the two associations at Wardha. Whenever there are provincial centres for training I am sure those in charge of them will welcome workers selected by the P. C. C. for receiving training.

Please note the following directions for your office :

(1) Send us a detailed report of the work done in your province every month, if not every fortnight.

(3) Send a report of your work to all provinces. Other provinces will send you theirs. This exchange of reports will keep the provinces in touch with one another and give you valuable suggestions.

(5) Send us copies of the circulars that you issue from time to time. If the circulars are written in languages other than Hindustani or English please send us their Hindustani or English renderings.

(4) You should appoint inspectors who will go round, see the work and submit reports.

(6) Send copies of our circulars, unless they concern you exclusively, to district Congress committees in your province. We have complaints from some districts that they are in ignorance of the instructions that we send to the province. Please acknowledge receipt.

National Week—April 6—13

The General Secretary, A. I. C. C., issued the following appeal in connection with the 'National Week' on the 30th. March 1942 :—

The National Week will be soon on us. It has been observed every year since 1919. It commences on April 6 when the nation inaugurated a non-violent mass struggle for the redress of its many and grievous wrongs and the attainment of Purna Swaraj. From this day the nation looked to itself, it looked inward. It renounced the enervating idea of salvation achieved through the help and goodwill of outside agencies. It inaugurated the era of self-reliance and national purification through work, suffering and sacrifice. The giant rose from its age-long slumber and determined to cast off the cobweb accumulation of centuries of social superstition and economic and political slavery. It determined to cast off disease, squalor, inequity, poverty, and slavery in one vast united effort of an awakened people.

This day also witnessed the ghastly massacre of the Jallianwalla Bagh wherein Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood mingled to cement unity in common calamity. From the blood-soaked earth of Jallianwalla Bagh, began a struggle which has been ever since widening in depth and volume. The country has witnessed the rise of the masses of Indian humanity to the realisation of their inherent strength.

The National Week has always been marked by the renewal of our general determination to achieve the goal of complete independence and self-purification through the intensive carrying on of the constructive programme. In the words of the sage at Sevagram the fulfilment of this programme is the sure key to Swaraj. Let the week, therefore, witness a fresh determination by all Congressmen and Congress Committees to do their utmost to carry out the manifold items of this programme. Let this week be dedicated to the double need of the hour, the need for self-protection and self-sufficiency. It is not enough today, as in the past, to organise sales of Khadi. It is more necessary that we lay emphasis on the production of Khadi through spinning carried on in each locality and in every house. Let people in their thousands determine to learn all the processes of cloth making leading up to spinning. Let a day in the week be set apart to the sacred task of Hindu-Muslim unity. Let another day be consecrated to the purge of the sin of untouchability. Let every day see the intensification of the life-giving national constructive activity.

We may also not forget that the message of Swaraj through our own effort and not through outside agencies, is carried to every hamlet and home in India. Let, therefore, everyday of the week dawn with Prabhat Pharis. Let every day end with national songs, processions and mass meetings where our determination to achieve Purna Swaraj is ever renewed. In this hour of temptation and trial let us rely upon ourselves and on the guiding Deity that rules the destinies of men and nations. Thus shall we dispel the clouds of despondency that darken the Indian horizon today. Thus shall we drive away the craven fear and panic. Thus shall we assert our manhood and our right to live as free and honoured nation.

Work for Women in the Emergency Period

The women's department of the A. I. C. C. has since January last issued a series of circulars to the P. C. C.'s women's department about work by and among women. The latest circular is given here under the signature of Sm. Suchika Devi, Secretary, Women's Dept., A. I. C. C. :—

With the approach of war nearer India, new problems are arising every day. It is becoming increasingly difficult to lead normal lives and carry on normal activities. The Congress Committee have been asked to react to their activities to new conditions. I have been approached by women from several provinces to suggest ways and means to meet the present difficulties. The greatest need of the hour is to take stock of the situation and organize. The recently published article of Mahatma in 'Harijan' on 'Criminal assault' draws our attention to a sinister side of the dangers that threaten us. We have to prepare ourselves to meet such and other emergencies with wisdom, courage and fortitude. It is not possible for individual and isolated women to do anything effective. The need of the hour, therefore, is for men and women to organize themselves and work in co-operation with each other and to help to allay panic, preserve peace and order, arrange for the safety of women and children, meet the economic situation arising out of the shortage of grains and other commodities.

The following are some of the suggestions for organizing women.

THE PROBLEM OF PANIC

A vast majority of them being illiterate, women are prone to believe false and fantastic rumours about. They are, therefore, likely to suffer from exaggerated fears. Nervous and panic-stricken women upset the whole household. They destroy its morale. Therefore, it is essential to arrange for the spread of correct information. Alarming rumours must be promptly denied. This can best be done by holding at regular intervals, mohalla meetings of women where they should be given the correct available information. Whenever necessary information may be given through hand bills and periodical bulletins.

(2) VOLUNTEER CORPS

A strong volunteer corps of women should be organized. They should be taught simple drill, first aid, the art of self-protection in an emergency etc. Much of the work of organizing women can be done through this volunteer corps. It should render whatever help it can to women and children leaving the town or refugees coming in.

(3) COMMITTEES

In the case of towns there should be a central town committee with branches in each mohalla. This committee through its branches should (a) convey to each home the day-to-day instructions of the local Congress Committee, (b) collect information regarding the difficulties of the mohalla and convey them to the Congress Committee, (c) arrange to teach spinning to the mohalla women, (d) arrange lectures on useful general information, (e) organize a short course of physical culture with special emphasis on how to ward off personal assaults, (f) find out cases of assaults and oppression on women, explain to the victims that such incidents are not to be kept secret under false ideas of modesty and honour, give publicity to such incidents and render help in bringing the criminals to book, be they civil or military, (g) keep in touch with men volunteer corps to be able to ask for assistance in any emergency.

(4) PROBLEM OF GRAIN SHORTAGE

Through the mohalla committees women must be given information about different substitutes when one kind of grain is running short. They must be warned against evils of individual hoarding. They should be taught the value of simple yet wholesome and nourishing meals and advised to give up wasteful habits in food.

(5) PROBLEM OF CLOTHING

The change of clothing which may come in the near future has to be tackled from now. Women can do a great deal in this direction. The mohalla committees should make arrangements to teach carding, spinning, silver-making. It can arrange to supply charkhis and cotton, take the yarn spun and arrange for the weaving of cloth. Unemployed local weavers are found everywhere today. These can be set up in their trade again, by means of the yarn supplied by the women's committees.

It is quite possible that all these activities may be beyond the scope of a particular organization. In that case particular items may be taken up by the different committees. It must be understood that organization and work means strength, one should be taken to see that women's organizations work in co-operation with the other branches of the Congress organization. In all that we do we should be ready and willing to have help from men.

Medical unit for Relief of Evacuees

President's Appeal

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued the following statement on the 28th. April 1942 :—

"The Government of India have accepted our offer to organise and send a full medical unit with helpers and volunteers and equipment along the Manipur Road to Sittang in Burma to give help to the evacuees and refugees coming to India. We are, therefore, taking immediate steps to organise such a unit and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray, Chairman, Civil Protection Sub-committee, has been requested to organise it in co-operation with the non-official relief organisations. This unit will consist of 8 doctors, 8 compounders, 2 sanitary inspectors, 40 sweepers and personal attendants with medical stores and equipment. The sending of this unit will cost a considerable sum of money but the object is such that I am sure sufficient funds will be forthcoming. The need is immediate. I appeal, therefore, for donations for this medical unit and for relief work among the evacuees coming from Burma. Donations should be sent to the A. I. C. C. Office, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, or to Messrs. Bakhraj & Co., Ltd., 5, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, or to Shri Brij Mohan Birla, Treasurer, Civil Protection Sub-committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, Birla Park, Ballygunje, Calcutta.

The All Parties Leaders' Conference

Third Session—New Delhi—21st. & 22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

The Presidential Address

The third session of the All Parties Leaders' Conference was held at New Delhi on the 21st. February 1942 under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Those present included Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir Mohamed Yakub, Dr. B. C. Moonje, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir R. P. Paranjpye, Sir C. B. Mehta and members of the Central Legislature, including officials and Europeans.

After Sardar Bhabha Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee had welcomed the delegates, Sir Jagadish Prasad read messages from Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Sir P. B. Nivaswami Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and others wishing the Conference success. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru then delivered his presidential address in the course of which he said :—

I desire to thank you for asking me once again to preside over this session which I look upon as a continuation of the sessions of the Conferences held at Bombay in March last and at Poona four months later. Since July when we met at Poona, events have happened both inside the country and outside, the meaning and significance of which cannot be ignored by any thinking person, though I admit that their interpretations may be different in different quarters.

When this Conference met for the first time in Bombay, it did not profess to advocate any scheme of a permanent constitution for India. We recognised that that should be left over to the verdict of the country under more peaceful times and that meanwhile we should direct our energy by pressing for changes in the system of administration during the interim period so as to enable the country to do its best in support of war-efforts. All our recommendations and demands were inspired by that feeling. I have naturally followed the course of criticism with close attention. I believe I may fairly say that in India we received a very substantial measure of support from the press generally. It is true that in some quarters we were represented—or shall I say misrepresented—as the agents of the Congress or the Hindu Sabha or possibly both. I repudiated this charge at once: I do repudiate this charge and this insinuation once again. We have not sailed under false colours. We did not profess, and do not profess, to represent any of the political organisations which are occupying the stage of public affairs in India. As a collection of individuals entitled to hold and express opinion on the present situation in India and the future, we deemed it our duty at the previous Conference, and we deem it our duty at this Conference, to say what in our opinion is best

calculated to serve the immediate object in view, to save this country from those disasters which I think will be the inevitable consequence of that prolonged and deplorable disunity which has disfigured our public life during the last few years and which in my opinion is threatening the integrity and the present safety of the country as well as the fruition of its aspirations in the future. I was also glad to notice that our recommendations received a considerable measure of support in the English press and in Parliament, but I shall be untrue to myself if I were to disguise my feeling of disappointment at the inability of those in power in England to understand our point of view or to make an adequate and timely response to our recommendations and demands which have always been conceived in a spirit of true service to the country and true friendship to England.

EXPANSION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

There was tardy and partial recognition of our demands. Between April and July last year we knew nothing as to whether any part of our demands was going to be accepted. It was shortly before we met at Poona that the announcement was made that eight Indian members would be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. I am free to confess—and I said so then—that the selection was excellent, and I do not see any reason why we should condemn these good men and true, merely because they do not happen to belong to the two major political parties. Our demand has been that during the period of the war the Executive Government shall be responsible to the Crown, that is to say, not removable by an adverse vote of the Legislature. Technically it may be open to the objection that the National Government to be national, must be responsible to the Legislature, but two considerations have always weighed with me, namely (1) that these are war times when normal constitutional ideas have got to be adjusted to the urgencies of the occasion, and (2) that we do not want it to be said that in the guise of establishing National Government, we have sought to concentrate all political power in the hands of any particular community or set of politicians. The Crown as a beneficent institution unidentified with any political party or section of the community, can be, at a juncture like this, a great unifying force, and we can wait until more propitious times before seeking to allocate power into different hands. Meanwhile, without being legally responsible to the Legislature, the National Government can, in actual practice, hold itself morally responsible to the country at large. For all these reasons, I think that these eight gentlemen who joined the Executive Council deserved every support even though the Executive Council still falls far short of our conception of a National Government.

And here let me express to you my own regret and sorrow—and I am sure I am expressing the collective sense of this gathering—at the death of my revered friend, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari. He was with me at Allahabad on the 22nd of December last and met a large number of Hindus and Muslims at my house. I had also a long private talk with him, and I can tell you that I was deeply impressed by his earnestness and anxiety to do something to bring about peace between the different communities and different parties. In his death we have lost a wise and sage counsellor. He was a true servant of India—not Muslim India or Hindu India but India as a whole—a man of great and varied culture and toleration, and altogether a person of great moral influence, and we mourn his death very sincerely. His name will be associated for ever with his great achievements in the premier state of Hyderabad. If unkind Fate had not taken him away from the scene of his earthly labours, I have no doubt that he would have rendered enduring services to the Motherland at this juncture.

Speaking for myself, I think it would not be fair on our part to dismiss men like Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Aney, Sir Homi Mody, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. N. R. Sarker, and Sir Feroze Khan Noon as men who have had no experience or who do not know what the country wants and what is best suited to the interests of the country. None of them can be described as a job hunter. Some of them, to my knowledge, have joined the Executive Council at great personal sacrifice and only out of a sheer sense of duty to the country. And I am sure that if others belonging to the major political parties had been ready to take upon their shoulders the responsibility which have fallen on theirs, they would have been only too glad. It is for this reason that in the special circumstances existing at present, we should do everything to strengthen their hands, and to treat them, not in any technical constitutional sense, but in a larger sense, as if they were our representatives, the custodians of our welfare and our honour, and the exponents of our aspirations and ambitions. I have been told that

high quarters the expansion of the Viceroy's Council has been described as having been futile and as having led to no results of an appreciable character. I shall not pit my humble opinion as against these persons, but I believe His Excellency the Viceroy himself paid them a very high tribute in one of his recent speeches at Calcutta. That should at any rate silence criticism on the part of those who, living in 1942, are still thinking as if they were living in 1920. We all know that the limited release of political prisoners was due to their effort and initiative. I wish that effort had succeeded in a larger measure and a more graceful manner. Speaking for myself, I have no sympathy for revolutionaries of any kind—Communists or Fascist, but so long as the crown of martyrdom is put on their forehead, they will continue to deflect public opinion from things that matter.

ALL PORTFOLIOS MUST BE HELD BY INDIANS

It must not, however, be understood from what I have said above that this expansion of the Executive Council meets completely our point of view. No, it does not. For I think a truly National Government has yet to be formed—and that cannot be formed until the portfolios which are still withheld from Indians are transferred to Indian hands. This is an occasion when blunt truth must be spoken even though it may wound certain susceptibilities or come as a shock to some people. I cannot believe that out of four hundred million people in this country not one man can be found who can administer the finances of the country. Nor can I believe that if an Indian Defence Member were appointed at the juncture, he could have committed graver mistakes than those which have admittedly been committed by the men in power. The fact of the matter is that under the present system you may collect money, you may enlist men in the Army, but you do not touch the pride of the country or evoke that enthusiasm for common service or those sentiments of national pride or that sense of concern for the safety and freedom of the country which can only be created when the country knows that the men at the top are its own men.

I wish to speak with some reserve on these delicate questions in view of the situation, but I do wish to say that what is wanted at the present moment is an act of courage and faith—and this is wanted as much on the part of England as on the part of India. At the back of our minds is undoubtedly the feeling that the old policy of distrust of Indians, on the part of England, still survives. Similarly there is also a feeling among us that mere pledges, however repeatedly they may be given, will not carry us very far when they are hedged in by so many preliminary and indefinite conditions. England has got yet to make up its mind as to its future relations with this country and to express it in unambiguous language as to our future—a future in which India shall not be treated as a dependency but occupy internally and in the councils of the Empire and at International and Peace Conferences, a position of honourable equality with England and the Dominions. It is my firm conviction that until such a declaration is forthcoming, our mental outlook will not change. It is equally my strong conviction that until then we shall not be in a mood to settle our mutual differences. That we have our differences I do not for one moment deny, but that is more or less true of other parts of the world—and this war bears ample testimony to it. It will not do for the British to say: "We are ready to hand over power to you, but we do not know to which hands we should commit that power." The position is, indeed, very curious. Some of us are dismissed as amiable, well-meaning people, but persons without any following. Others are dismissed because they have got too numerous, too intransigent, and too quarrelsome followings. The recent speech of the Duke of Devonshire who happens to be the Under-Secretary of State for India convinces me that whoever may have learnt or unlearned from the present trend of events in India and outside, the Duke has not. I sincerely hope that he does not represent the settled convictions of Whitehall. Lord Hailey has already given a warning against the dangers of manoeuvring for position which must be deplored under normal conditions and still more deplored under present conditions. If the India Office stands discredited to-day in India, it is because of such speeches. They do not help the solution of our internal difficulties; they only tend to inflame party or communal tension and to shake our faith in their good intentions. If people in authority in England in charge of our affairs cannot utter the right word at the right moment, let them at least cultivate the virtue of silence. Meanwhile the deadlock continues and the big political parties are sulking in their tents, relieving the tension at times by flinging mutual recriminations against

each other or indulging in dreams of world federation or at least a federation of Asiatic powers or building up other castles in the air. I am bound to say that I have never in my forty-five years of experience seen the average Indian being more critical of Government than at present. This may hurt the pride of the Government or the officials, but I think they ill serve India and England at this juncture who, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, delude themselves into a false sense of security or overrate their powers to ride the storm or tell the British that it is only the disaffected politicians of one party or another, who are withholding their co-operation or are critical of the government. I wish my friends in England to know—and I have many friends in England who, I am sure, will not misunderstand me—that England must lose no time in taking a bold and courageous step as much in her interests as in the interests of India. To put it shortly, my conviction is that the time has come when the British Government must recognise that in so far as political power is concerned, the centre of political gravity should not be Whitehall any longer but Delhi.

WHITEHALL REGIME MUST END

This is not an occasion for indulging in constitutional quibbling, or to use the words of Lord Hailey, for manoeuvring over punctilios. I had at one time the honour and privilege of being associated with Lord Hailey in the Government of India, and I can say with knowledge that if ever there was a man in the Indian Civil Service who, with all his faults and shortcomings, had a touch of statesmanship in him, it was Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey. And his recent speech in the House of Lords has once again confirmed my belief. I had also the privilege of knowing Lord Catto and coming into touch with him when he was a Member of the Income Tax Committee. Even at that time he struck me as a man of very broad views, and I can say that the two speeches which seemed to me to have some idea of the situation in India and of the needs of the country, were the speeches of these two noble Lords. I should not be surprised if they were repudiated by those who affect to know the Indian situation more directly and more immediately. It is, however, in the spirit of these two speeches that I would like the Indian question to be approached immediately, and if it is approached in that spirit and if Delhi can come into its own as against Whitehall, I believe we may look forward to the future with greater confidence. I confess I have never been fond of Whitehall. At the Round Table Conference I described the Secretary of State for India as the Great Moghul. The Great Moghul of Whitehall at that time was Mr. (now Lord) Bann. There is another Great Moghul now in Whitehall—and Indian history proves that we have got to make distinctions between one Moghul and another Great Moghul. In the twentieth century, however, any Great Moghul, living six thousand miles away from us, is an anachronism. It is therefore that I earnestly press that the big constitutional question should not oppress the mind of any one at the present moment and that the immediate situation should be dealt with bravely, courageously and in a spirit of confidence—and this can only be done by an act of self-abdication on the part of the Great Moghul at Whitehall. It will not do for anybody in England to tell us that political power now is concentrated in the hands of men in authority at Delhi. Local administration and authority may be exercised by them, but at every step we see the benumbing hand of Whitehall.

CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN THE PROVINCES

If this is the position at the Centre, what about the Provinces? We have the fact which cannot be denied that six Provinces—some of them bigger than some of the countries in Europe—are being administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The fact that Congress Ministers had no justification to throw up their offices can be no justification for the prolonged continuation of the rule of these Provinces autocratically by Governors under Section 93. We may assume Governors mean well and are doing the best according to their lights to meet the day-to-day situation, but they are greatly mistaken if they think that their rule is widely or generally appreciated or that their lights are not sometimes dim. We saw something of that darkness at Bhagalpur. I believe the time has come when constitutional form of government in the Provinces should be restored. Speaking for myself, I hold very strongly that in the interests of the Provinces themselves, people should be asked to accept coalition Ministries during the period of the war. I would make no

earnest appeal to our legislators who are theoretically still in a sea to accept the system with all its faults and shortcomings as a temporary expedient necessitated by war conditions. And I would also make an earnest appeal to them and to their leaders to rise superior to petty communal or party or personal jealousies, not to bargain at this juncture for the quantity of representation of each community or party, not to place their own community or party above the country, to remember that they are Indians first and everything else next, and that India is as much the home and concern of one party or community as of the other. It almost looks ridiculous that we should be talking of permanent constitutional issues—Dominion Status or Independence or Pakistan—or representation of this community or that community in the legislatures and cabinets, when the enemy is knocking at our doors. The significance of Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon should not be lost upon us, and the siren voices of those who broadcast to us from enemy countries, sometimes abusing some of us, sometimes encouraging all of us with hopes of freedom and independence, ought not to delude us. The unfolded tale of Europe—of France, Poland, Belgium, Denmark, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, countries which were independent until a year and a half ago—should be a warning to us. On the other hand, the courage and the power of resistance shown by China whose honoured and inspiring head has just been in our midst and whom, in common with others, we welcome, ought to inspire us with hope. Speaking for myself, I can tell you that while I do want freedom for this country and a position of honourable equality in international affairs, I do not think we need dissipate our energies in talking of the revolution that is to come or of the world federation and so forth, as if it were round the corner. However much we may blame the British for this thing or that, for their shortcomings, for their want of pre-vision in starting heavy industries in good time, in building up the military strength of the country according to modern standards, in training our youngmen before the war for eventualities which have overtaken us, and however much we may blame each other for our own shortcomings, the hour has struck when we should recognise that regrets for the past and mutual recriminations will carry us nowhere. On the other hand, they may infect us with a deplorable spirit of defeatism. We are not at the present moment concerned with the past; we are at the present moment concerned, and ought to be concerned with the immediate present. My advice, therefore, is that we must coalesce together—and if we cannot compose our differences for ever, we must at least call a truce. It may be that the common enemy of us all may be the common inspirer of common effort between Indian and Indian and between Indians and Englishmen. Let England see things clearly and let India also see things clearly. Let England touch our pride and let India rise equal to the occasion.

PREMIER'S REPLY TO LEADERS' APPEAL

At the conclusion of his written speech, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru read out Mr. Churchill's reply to his appeal and said :

" I recognise the courtesy of the Prime Minister in sending this reply. I also recognise the force of the observations that during the stirring times through which we have been passing since I sent my cable, probably he required sometime before he could make up his mind to devote his attention to the Indian question. I also think that it would be discourteous to prejudice his final conclusions on the other matters which I raised in the telegram which, along with my colleagues, I sent to him early in January last. He has said that he would let me have a reply later on. But I desire to make just a few observations. The situation as it has developed during the last two months is so urgent that a long delay in coming to final conclusions will be disastrous in my humble judgment to the interests of this country as well as England. Frankly, we have been pressing most of these ideas at this conference since March last and although I should be the last person to advocate precipitate action, yet the urgency of the occasion requires that there should be no unnecessary delay. In March 1941 when we met at Bombay, the Japanese aggression towards the east was at best a matter of speculation. To-day, you have the fact that the Japanese have overrun Malaya and Singapore and are threatening Burma very seriously, and God only knows what will happen to the whole coastline from Chittagong to Travancore and Cochin. It is for this reason that we have urged and do urge now that some definite steps should be taken by His Majesty's Government to

put heart and courage into the people of the country, so that if the war has to be conducted as the people's war, it should be conducted on those lines and a people's war cannot be conducted with an immobile bureaucracy at the top.

HOME MEMBERS' REMARKS CONTINUED

"Since my arrival this morning, a friend of mine handed over to me a copy of the speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell in the Assembly. I wondered whether he is in the true line of descent of Home Members represented by men like Sir William Vincent. He waxed eloquent in the Assembly about the dangers of "fifth columnists" and defectors. Let him know that he is after all a bird of passage in this country (cheers). This is our country. We have got to live here; we have got to die here; our interests are far more vital than those of Sir Reginald Maxwell (renewed cheers). I am not a defector; but I should like to put the last ounce of energy regarding the foreign situation, whether Japan or Germany. I wonder Sir Reginald Maxwell ever thought that with a speech like the one he delivered he would serve the interests of our country or the enemy by encouraging the enemy to believe that India is cowering with disaffection and ready to fall a prey to the enemy.

"Frankly, speeches like this do not serve any useful purpose at this juncture. I have said with regard to the Duke of Devonshire's speech that he had better practise the virtue of silence. May I ask this honourable member of the Government of India, this relic of ancient times unsuited to the present conditions, to change his point of view, to adjust himself to present conditions, to come out in the midst of the people. I say as a confirmed supporter of the British connection: Do not divide India into two or more watertight compartments, official and non-official. We meet at homes, at dinners, we talk small things; but we never get near to the rock bottom of things. Frankly, speeches like this are my despair. The Government of India may feel proud, I certainly do not, I only hope and trust that the Indian representative in the Government of India, will not take that speech lightly (cheers).

"Sir Reginald has asked us to look upon this Government as our own Government, but speeches like this do not justify us in hoping that this so-called Government deserves our confidence and it is for this that we have asked for a National Government. I wonder whether Sir Reginald Maxwell knows that a great countryman of his, Sir Stafford Cripps put forward views which we have been putting forward and what would have been his fate if he had been in India instead of in England. He might have found himself in an internment camp (renewed cheers).

PLEA FOR ABOLITION OF INDIA OFFICE

"The next thing to which I shall refer is the changes brought about by Mr. Churchill in the Cabinet. During the last ten years I have been a severe critic of Mr. Churchill's Indian policy; but at the same time with all his faults and shortcomings, with all his failures, I have admired him as very few people have admired him, and I admire him for the courage he has shown on this occasion. I should have been sorry indeed if he had been thrown out of harness. He has done the wisest thing in including Sir Stafford Cripps in the Cabinet. But do not overrate the influence of Sir Stafford Cripps. As against him there may be half a dozen men in England who may still be thinking in terms of the times beyond recall. I also hope that there will be substantial changes in the India Office (applause). It stands discredited. I do not think since 1858 when the Office was created, any other Secretary of State has done greater harm to India than Mr. Amery has done (cheers). He has practically destroyed our faith in the good intentions of England. Instead of bringing peace and harmony in the country, and while professing love for the minorities, and there is no greater friend of the minorities than myself—he has done everything he can to keep them apart. Therefore, I sincerely hope and trust that the advice given even by the Conservative paper, *The Daily Mail*, will be accepted by Mr. Churchill and a new spirit introduced in the India Office. Frankly, there is no need for the India Office to exist.

SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

Proceedings & Resolutions

POPULAR GOVERNMENTS IN PROVINCES

When the Conference resumed its session on the second day, the 22nd, February 1942, Sir Maharaj Singh moved a resolution expressing the opinion "that in the

Provinces the rule of Governors under Section 88 of the Government of India Act should forthwith cease and that popular governments enjoying public confidence should be established."

Sir Maharaj Singh, after recalling amid laughter his days at school in England with both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, said that Mr. Amery had not risen so far as India was concerned to the high expectations raised by his school days. Sir Maharaj Singh commented on the present condition in seven provinces, where, he said, they had gone back to the year 1800 from the constitutional point of view and where some sixty or seventy crores of rupees were being spent without any popular control. The present rule in these provinces was coming to an end in October, 1942, and after that, it would have to be continued by parliamentary legislation or some change would have to be introduced. "We ask that a change should be introduced now." "Any reform," he went on, "is better than no change. We recommend Executive Councils in the provinces, not as an alternative in which we had great confidence but because we felt it was better than nothing and the Executive Councils which we had in mind were not Executive Councils of the old days but those in which a majority of the members had, subject to certain exceptions, full power over Government as is the case with the Executive Councils in the Government of India." He appealed to the Congress, even implored them, to restore parliamentary government: they could do so in those provinces. "Where there is a will there is a way, if not, necessity often finds a way," he concluded.

Sir Jagdish Prasad asked how many Provincial Governors now regretted the disappearance of parliamentary government and had any government made an authoritative declaration that they would be glad to have popular Ministries back again. All that had been said was that until certain parties came to terms it was impossible to have National Government, the assumption being that while you could not force democracy down the throats of certain sections of the people, autocracy could be forced down the throat of all sections.

Raj Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna declared that the resolution raised not a peace-time issue but a war-time issue.

Sir R. P. Paranjpye pointed out that when people like him who had not always seen eye to eye with the Congress Governments were coming forward to advocate responsible governments in the provinces, it was clear they were doing so not with any selfish motive but because they were democratically minded and sincerely desired that democratic government should be established as early as possible. (Hear, hear). The resolution was adopted.

DEMAND FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The main resolution was moved by the *Rt. Hon. Mr. M. E. Jayakar*. It expressed "profound dissatisfaction" that all real power in the Central Government is still concentrated in British hands inasmuch as the key portfolios of Defence, Finance, Home and Communications continue to be withheld from Indians, the resolution called for abandonment at this critical stage of the existing policy of the British Government and urged the immediate adoption of the following measures by His Majesty's Government:

"1. A declaration that India shall no longer be treated as a dependency to be ruled from Whitehall and that henceforth her constitutional position and powers will be identical with those of the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth.

"2. During the period of the war the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be reconstructed as a truly National Government functioning on the basis of joint and collective responsibility and consisting entirely of non-officials enjoying public confidence and in charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to the Crown, and in regard to defence without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the executive head of the defence forces;

"3. The British Government should recognize the right of India direct representation through persons chosen by the National Government in War Councils wherever established and at the peace conference;

"4. The National Government should be consulted in all precisely on the same footing and to the same extent as His Majesty's Government consult the Dominions."

MR. JAYAKAR'S SPEECH

Mr. Jayakar commented caustically on the circumstance that a man of the status of Mr. Amery, who for 25 years had been working alongside Lokamanya Tilak,

was given charge of "Indians Overseas" as if other departments could not be administered by him or by other Indians. Referring to the Duke of Devonshire's claim that there was no impediment in India to the war effort, Mr. Jayakar narrated the Mahabharat story of the choice which Arjuna and Duryodhana made when Krishna offered them the alternative of his own spiritual and moral support or the support of his armed men. Arjuna chose Krishna's own individual moral support and Duryodhana the support of his armed men. And Arjuna won. "I hope", said Mr. Jayakar, "that history will not repeat itself. The moral support of this country, if obtained, will be a greater support than the support of hired soldiers and money. What could be greater than the moral support of a country like India which for centuries has put its whole faith in non-violence?"

Regarding General Chiang Kai-shek's visit, Mr. Jayakar referred to the belief in India that to see a great man was itself an inspiration and quoted an Englishman who had watched the Generalissimo from a distance at the ceremonial parade in Delhi. That Englishman had told him, said Mr. Jayakar, that the Generalissimo looked on with a sardonic smile as he watched the few tanks that passed before him. What he thought to himself nobody would know. Looking at the austere face of the Generalissimo mellowed by human sympathy, said the Englishman, he felt that if he was in his presence for three years, he would follow him to the ends of the testimony of a young Englishman.

General Chiang Kai-shek's own words, Mr. Jayakar proceeded, contained a note of admonition of the Indian Government, when he said that the united people of China were fighting this great fight for freedom and millions of Chinese had risen to heights of philosophy and patriotism, courage and endurance, sacrifice and resignation. Was the Government of India's policy likely to create any of these qualities in the Indian fighter, asked Mr. Jayakar.

For 150 years the Government had been telling the people of the country that they need not worry about the country's defences, the British Government was there to look after it. What was the position now? In a small place like Singapore, which had been declared once to be immune to all attack, they made the confession that there was no food, no water and no munitions. What guarantee did the Government give to the people? asked Mr. Jayakar, that these "three no's" would not be repeated in this country? "This Government", he declared, "has proved itself absolutely incompetent to conduct the war without the co-operation of the people. We want to tell this Government: 'Move aside. We shall take charge of the conduct of the war, before it is too late.'" Mr. Jayakar went on to recall that Lord Bryce, after seeing India under official leading strings, said while leaving the country that he "smelt of gunpowder every where." A similar admonition was contained in General Chiang Kai-shek's farewell message in which he said he hoped that the British Government without waiting for demands from the Indian people would forthwith grant them real power. The General must have seen, commented Mr. Jayakar, that what had been given was only the semblance of power. The General wanted this real power to be given in order that Indians might develop their spiritual and temporal resources more and more. The General also declared that there was no possibility of world peace unless freedom was given to China and India. That again was an admonition and a warning to the British Government. "I do not know," said Mr. Jayakar, "whether the stories of niggardly treatment given to the General are true. But it is certain that India did not give him the reception which a free India would have given."

Sir B. P. Singh Roy, supporting Mr. Jayakar's resolution, said that they wanted attainment of Dominion Status through evolutionary processes as it had been done in the dominions. This was no novel proposal. Let them begin with a convention and after the war, let the convention be incorporated in the constitution. All were agreed that transfer of power to representatives of the people would alone rouse popular enthusiasm for participation in war. He concluded that the unitary form of Government in the centre should take the place of the present diarchic system of Government.

Sir Jogendra Singh complained that nothing had been done to awaken the patriotic fervour of Indians. He added that unless people were made to feel it was their war there would not be sufficient response.

Mr. Jemadaras Mehta held that the August Declaration was hedged in with impossible conditions that would indefinitely postpone India's self-government. Britishers, he declared, had created vested interests to sustain which they were putting up all sorts of excuses to repudiate India's rights. He appealed to Britain to make a gesture which would heal the wounded feeling of Indians.

Pandit H. N. Karsu saw no reason why the British Government should not put the Federation scheme into operation straightway. He opined if the trusted leaders of the country appealed to the people it would have electric effect. He declared that the authorities in India were acting in such a way as if they were concerned more in maintaining their domination over the country intact than in winning the war. Sardar Ujjal Singh expressed the opinion that Britain had done little to protect them for the defence of the country. He added that the resources of the country were so vast that if they were properly tapped and harnessed, India would be turned into a great arsenal for democratic countries. Dr. Menon asked Britain to touch the soul and heart of India and give up her mentality of distrust. Sardar Sant Singh hoped that better counsels would prevail with Britain at this critical hour. The resolution was passed.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in his concluding remarks, said, "It was eleven months ago we conceived the idea of the fight against the solid rock of obscurancy, prejudice and shortage of statesmanship. Nevertheless, our record is not so poor as some imagine. We have not been altogether unsuccessful. From the moment the idea of the Conference was mooted, I was strongly of the opinion that there were enough parties in the country and that it would be fatal to bring one more into existence. I had resolutely refused to walk into the trap which Mr. Amery would have wished us to walk into, namely, the formation of a middle party. If it should have been necessary for me to appear on the platform of any party you would not find me wanting. We must steer clear of all political and communal labels. Some of us have been dismissed because we have no following. Others have been dismissed because they have a large following.

"It was the clear duty of the Government to have brought the different parties together. Frankly the Government must identify itself with the national sentiments but it has miserably failed in this. Are there no disagreements between the political parties in England? What about Sir Stafford Cripps, a left-wing Labour leader? He rendered signal service to Britain in Russia. But for him Russia and England would not have joined. So demoralised is the condition of the British people here that they challenge our wisdom and our good intentions and we are disturbed. I wish my voice reaches them. I wish to declare that the first thing England has to do is to tell her agents here to identify themselves with us and to get over their present mentality which is responsible for the cleavage between the various communities.

"Let Mr. Churchill know that the present Government is existing as a Government because it is independent of our votes. The situation is such that I am bound to use blunt language. I will not subscribe to the view that all wisdom is confined to the Britishers and all un wisdom to us. The Britisher knows much more to destroy by criticism than to construct by helpful suggestions. We shall be untrue to England if we do not ask her to realise the danger lying ahead. Why should it be assumed we are not alive to the perils of the war? What is the result of our helping them all these months? We have been reminded time out of time—as if it is the Bible of Indian politics and it will be heresy to depart from it—of the August Declaration of 1940. Whom has Mr. Amery pleased by this Declaration? The Congress? The answer is, 'No'. The Muslim League? The answer is, 'No'. The Hindu Maha Sabha? The answer is again 'No'. Mr. Amery is bereft of all moral support of India. If we have declined to accept the August Declaration it was for very good reasons. Technical objections are one thing and statesmanship is another thing. If amendments of the constitution are required to bring about the necessary adjustments, why not do it? It is stated that the August Declaration anticipated the wisdom of the Atlantic Charter. When we ask if the Charter applied to India, the reply is 'No'. Surely the English people ought to be able to say a simple thing in plain English language. I want England to make up her mind at once that India is no more to remain as a dependency. It does not involve a radical change of the constitution. Filling up of the gaps is all that is required. Did Mr. Churchill require a change of constitution for signing the Atlantic Charter? We want this declaration at once. This needs no change of constitution. We do not want to be handed over as babes of goods to others. We want to defend ourselves; hence our demand.

"In substance our demand is sound, just and honourable. I am not interested in the controversial question as to which party's views should prevail as

regards the exact form of the constitution. Already communalism has played havoc with us. I do not think it can be overruled until England declares India a self-governing country. I, therefore, think it is the essence of the situation that Mr. Churchill should make up his mind at an early date. If Mr. Churchill should fail, then was betide India and England. Mr. Churchill alone can answer clearly, bravely and courageously the call of statesmanship.

The situation is fraught with great danger. It will be wrong on my part to ask for details of the Government's strategy and details of the steps they are taking but we do not want the fate which overtook Malaya to overtake India. The situation is serious. I pay a tribute to Mr. Arthur Moore for the bold stand he has taken up. I wish there were half a dozen Moores and half a dozen less of persons who shall be unnamed. I endorse Mr. Moore's suggestions to broaden the basis of the Indian Army. I do not share the complacency of certain Governments on the efficiency of A. R. P. organisations and Civil Guards. I want these organisations to be brought more and more under non-official control. I feel strongly because the very life of our children and women is involved. We are very vividly conscious of the dangers and we, therefore, ask that all organisations for the defence of the country must be brought under popular control.

I earnestly appeal to all leaders of big national parties. This is not the occasion when any one can stand on personal prestige. The time has come when they should meet together and stand up against the foul enemy and prevent him from soiling sacred India. If they come to a working arrangement among themselves, they will have earned the lasting gratitude of the country. It serves no useful purpose to trace the history of communal questions. We must rigorously suppress communal feeling and work for India as a whole. Let all realise they are equally children of India. Let them save the country. In this calamity we shall have to stand or sink together. The occasion demands we must cease to think in terms of communalism. I pray my appeal will not go in vain. It would do you no dishonour if you bend before your countrymen. You have been bending before others. For once learn to bend before your countrymen. When we shall have passed the ordeal of fire, we shall then be able to solve our differences."

The C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference

FIRST SESSION—NAGPUR—7th, FEBRUARY 1942

The Presidential Address

The first session of the C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference was held at Nagpur on the 7th, February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member of the Government of India was present. Sir S. Radhakrishnan also addressed the Conference which was attended by representatives from all over the province.

Condemning the "deliberate policy of repression" followed by the British Government regarding the defence of India, Mr. T. J. Kedar said that injury to India from British occupation had been most grievous in the matter of Defence, and added that notwithstanding persistent urgings of Indian statesmen, the British Government had refused to give adequate opportunities to Indians to be trained in all arms and rise to the highest posts of Command. The cup of Indian humiliation had been filled to the brim by the importation of Australian officers to command Indian troops. Australia excluded Indians as undesirable. But Australian officers might soon be not available, because Australia was recalling her troops from overseas and officers for the Indian Army might perhaps be brought from South Africa or North America.

Referring to Mr. Amery's repeated utterances that Britain was willing to concede self-government the moment there was an agreement between the major elements in India, Mr. Kedar said: "We refuse to accept the *bona fides* of Britain in this respect. Britain has not professed that internal dimensions stood by way of Burma's political advance. Nevertheless, England refused Burma's plea for self-government. The conclusion is inescapable that England is making communal divisions in India as a pretext for refusal to part with power, and give up her exploitation of India." The Duke of Devonshire's utterance in the Lords, Mr. Kedar said, was positively mischievous, and it was nothing short of disgusting, resurgent minorities to greater intransigence. The British Government, Mr. Kedar urged, should forthwith declare that India was no longer a dependency of England and British

Dominions but was an equal in status and functions, that India would have equal representation in all Imperial and International Councils and that her representatives would be selected by the National Government of India and take instructions from that Government only.

Concluding, Mr. Kedar said: "At the very moment that Indians are being invited to defend the Empire and the democracies of the world, the White races flaunt their arrogant claim to a privileged status, on the sole ground of colour. The colour bar is laid enough at all times; it is wicked in war time. It undermines the hesitant loyalty of the coloured races in the British Empire and makes them prone to listen to Japanese propaganda for emancipation of the coloured races from White domination, and to the cry of 'Asia for Asiatics.' Dependent and discontented India is a liability; a free and friendly India will be an asset—an incomparable asset to England. I venture to suggest that, if England will even at this stage do the right thing and act according to our recommendations, there are good days ahead both for India and England and the future of democracies will be ensured". Mr. Kedar held that the Conference was a non-party one and their only concern was to suggest ways and means by which the political progress and integrity of India might be secured and the present dangers of external invasion and internal commotion might be effectively met. They had met to support the recommendation of the Nagpur Conference. Referring to Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Kedar said that the fact that Mr. Sarat Bose, whom the Bengal Premier had selected as Minister, was imprisoned and removed from Calcutta under the orders of the Central Government without the knowledge and consent of the Bengal Premier, who was responsible for Law and Order in the province, was enough to prove that Provincial Autonomy had considerably been attenuated if not abolished. Provincial Autonomy at its highest was never adequate or genuine. To-day it had practically ceased to be.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPEECH

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that the Indian National Congress had expressed its sympathy with Britain, Russia America and China, and it was no more pledged to the creed of non-violence. Yet, there was not nation-wide enthusiasm and effort for this war. The Congress was demanding that if this struggle was to be an inspired struggle, it was essential for the British to put their professions into practice and let India feel that the war was being waged not for vague terms like international democracy or freedom of nations, but for the freedom and independence of India as well. Only that feeling could rouse the enthusiasm of the Indian people.

Referring to the British Government's insistence that a Hindu-Muslim agreement must first be reached, Sir S. Radhakrishnan admitted that the people of India were to blame, but asked if the British had been helpful in enabling the people to solve this problem. He recalled the past history of India and the steps taken by the Government to keep the communities apart. The existence of Coalition Governments in the Muslim majority Provinces was evidence that sufficient understanding existed between the communities, and if the Government were sincere, they could proceed on that assumption. If the British Government were harping on the differences between the communities, the world could not help feeling that the war was being fought for maintaining the ramshackle structure called the British Empire.

Concluding, he said: "No nation has the right to oppress or conquer or even prosper by play of force. Every nation, weak or strong, must be granted freedom. It is therefore essential in the interest of world peace and the British Empire to grant the minimum demands of India."

RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects Committee of the Conference passed five resolutions. One demanded that the Government of India should immediately be nationalised and all portfolios including Defence, Finance and Communications be transferred to Indians who command the confidence of the country, though technically responsible to the Crown during the war.

Another resolution related to the international status of India, and the third urged abandonment of racial discrimination.

One resolution relating to the Provinces urged that Adviser Regimes must be ended, and popular governments should be brought in failing which at least non-official Executive Councillors should be appointed.

The All India Muslim League

WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI—21st. FEBRUARY 1942

Resolutions

Meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League were held at Delhi on Saturday and Sunday respectively, the 21st. and 22nd. February 1942.

Fifteen out of 23 members of the W. C. attended the first meeting, with Mr. Jinnah presiding. Three resolutions were passed.

DANGER OF WAR TO INDIA

By one resolution the Working Committee drew the attention of the Muslims of India in general and of provincial and other League branches throughout the country in particular "to the growing danger of war to India and the sufferings which people may have to go through under such conditions," and called upon them to be vigilant and ready to face any dangers if and when they come, with equanimity, courage and fortitude.

The Working Committee had full confidence that, in the event of grave developments or emergency, the Muslims would stand united and extend all assistance to the suffering and helpless and called upon the provincial Leagues to strengthen the Muslim National Guard organisation so that it might be able to render effective assistance in maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country and help the suffering humanity.

SUFFERINGS OF MUSLIMS IN FAR EAST

By the second resolution the Working Committee expressed its deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Muslims and other Indians in Malaya, Singapore and others places in the Far East, and called upon Muslims all over India to do all they could to give relief to evacuees and to those who were at present stranded in the various parts of India. The Committee further required the British Government to help them in every possible way.

SAPRU CONFERENCE DEMAND

The third resolution ran thus :—"The Working Committee have carefully considered the proposals formulated by the so-called Non-Party Conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and are definitely of the opinion that if the British Government are misled into accepting them, Muslim India will without doubt revolt against any such decision, for these proposals clearly mean the virtual transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up as indicated in these proposals on the basis of India being a single national unit and enjoying Dominion Status in action, thereby establishing Congress or Hindu Raj for all practical purposes. Muslim India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders, who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organisations in the country, under the guise of interim changes during the period of the war but in reality the object behind is to coerce the British Government at this critical moment to surrender and compel them to prejudice and torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. This will be a clear breach of pledges given by His Majesty's Government and recently reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in his speech at Leeds on February 4, in the following words : We shall stand by pledges, both by our general pledges as to India's future freedom, and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life, that they shall not be coerced under a system of government which they are not prepared to accept."

"The Working Committee deplore the method adopted by the Non-Party Conference and its President, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in levelling an attack against Mr. Amery who, as spokesman of His Majesty's Government, has refused to renege from the solemn pledges given to Mussalmans. The Working Committee trust that the British Government, in spite of present difficult war situation, will not submit to coercive methods adopted by Hindu India and will remain true to their pledges."

COUNCIL MEETING—DELHI—22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

The resolutions were confirmed by the Council of the League which met on the next day, the 22nd February 1942.

At the outset, *Maulana Safarullah* sought the permission of the Chair to move the adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of public interest, namely, the critical situation created in the Punjab by the regrettable attitude of the Unionist Muslim League in regard to the promulgation of the General Sales Act, affecting as it adversely does the commercial interests of the Muslims of the Punjab, who are deeply resenting the measure and are being sent to jail along with thousands of traders of other communities."

The chair ruled out the motion. Mr. Jinnah said that the *Maulana* had sufficient time to give notice of a regular resolution on the subject or in the alternative, bring the matter to the notice of the Working Committee.

The Council re-elected Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah as president of the League for the year, his being the only name recommended by all the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The announcement of his re-election was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers.

CIVIL DEFENCE WORK

The Council confirmed resolutions, passed by the Working Committee of the League at its meetings held on November 16, December 26 and 27 and February 21. There was some discussion in regard to the resolution relating to emergency work if war were to spread to India. Mr. Yamin Khan wanted the League to give a lead whether the Muslims should co-operate with other organisations in the civil defence work.

Mr. Jinnah said that the League had never declared that it would non-co-operate with any organisation. The resolution had left the matter to the discretion of the Provincial Leagues, who, in the interests of humanity, would carve out the best policy suited to the local needs.

Maulana Zafar Ali said that the Congress had already started work in connection with civil defence and the League should do likewise. He urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked not to interfere with the Muslim National Guard organisations.

Mr. Jinnah : It is for the leaders of the Provincial Muslim Leagues to make preparations to face all dangers, which are not at our door.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan : A conference of the President and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues is being held here to-morrow afternoon, when this question will be carefully considered and a proper plan would be chalked out.

MR. FAEUL HUQ CONDEMNED

The council adopted three non-official resolutions. One resolution strongly condemned Mr. Faeul Huq for "becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha and adopting a policy of ruthless repression against the workers of the Muslim League which is the only popular representative organisation of the Muslims of India and also against the Muslim students of Bengal, who have undergone great suffering in the Muslim cause." The Council expressed "its sympathy with the Muslim League workers and the Muslim students of Bengal, who have thus served the best interests of the Muslim India."

SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM KAZAKS

The second resolution expressed great concern and sympathy with the Muslim Kazaks "who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardships and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangement and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of north west India."

During discussion it was disclosed that the Government of India had sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the relief of Kazaks and had also decided to permit them to settle temporarily in Hamra district of North-West Frontier Province. Mr. Jinnah told the council that the question had been carefully examined by the Working Committee yesterday and they had decided to depute *Sadr Amjad Khan* to make personal enquiries and submit a report on Kazaks. He suggested that *Nawabzada Hashid Ali Khan* could be associated with the enquiry.

Mr. Jinnah also sought to disabuse Muslims of the idea that the League had large funds. He said that their only income amounted to about Rs. 14,000 a year, solely derived from gate money and membership subscriptions. In spite of these handicaps, they were doing their best to serve the Muslims. He assured the Council that he and the Working Committee would not rest till proper

arrangements for the Council had been made. Mr. Jinnah's suggestion was approved by the Council. Lastly, the Council, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in releasing Allama Iqbal, regretted the ban placed upon his movements outside India and urged upon the Government the need for immediate removal of these restrictions.

LEAGUE AND MINISTRY

The Council adopted a resolution, appreciating "the exemplary sense of discipline" shown by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and Sir Qasimullah Khan in resigning from the National Defence Council.

During discussion, Mr. Jinnah made a statement. He said that it was wrong to describe the Punjab Ministry as a League Ministry. In Bengal, he said, the Legislative Assembly consisted of 200 members of which 125 were Muslims. Similarly in the Punjab, Muslims were in a minority in the Legislature. In Sind Muslims had a majority of 10 but that majority could be reduced to minority whenever seven Muslims joined the non-Muslim minority, as had been done at present. It was true that in the North West Frontier Province Muslims had a clear majority, but the League did not function at the time of the last elections. He was confident that the League will have a majority after the next elections. Mr. Jinnah said that under the existing constitution, which was an *en-parti* constitution, as far as the League was concerned, the League in the nature of things could not form a Ministry and it was wrong to say that there was a League Ministry in any province, or the League was not representative of Muslims because it could not form a Ministry in any province.

The resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

REFERENCE OF HOLY PROPHET IN TEXT BOOKS

A resolution relating to references to the Holy Prophet and other Muslim saints in the basic school text-books evoked some discussion. It was pointed out that unreverential language was used in regard to the Prophet of Islam in some of the United Provinces schools. Mr. Jinnah felt that the matter, although very important, was the primary concern of the Provincial Muslim League. They had similar difficulty in Bombay and after the Congress Government had gone out of office, the objectionable textbooks were withdrawn by the Government. The best remedy would be to have committees to scrutinise all text-books for denominational schools so that nothing was included in the books by which the religious sentiments of any community were injured. He suggested that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should examine the whole problem and bring up the question, if necessary, before the annual session of the League at Allahabad in April next. This suggestion was accepted by the House and the resolution was withdrawn. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

ANNUAL SESSION—ALLAHABAD—3rd. to 6th. APRIL 1947

The Welcome Address

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Allahabad on the 3rd. April 1947 in the Jinnah Chaman amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Jinnah "Chaman" was beautifully illuminated and the huge pandal was packed to its full capacity.

Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, the President, arrived in the pandal exactly at 9-00 p.m. and was given a vociferous ovation by the crowd amidst shouts of "Jinnah Zindabad," "Muslim League Zindabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad."

The chief "Balar" of the national guard with a drawn sword led the procession. The President was accompanied by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Mr. Ghaznafarullah and Mr. Rizwanullah.

On the date were seated members of the Muslim League Working Committee, the Muslim League Council, the members of the Reception Committee, a number of Indian and guests. Separate arrangements were made for parish ladies on either side the dais.

After the recital of prayers, Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in English. The Nawab in his address explained at length the Muslim demand for Pakistan, which he said had "an immeasurable dynamic and potential value for the creation of a united India on the basis of justice and agreement in co-operation with the British Government, which is undoubtedly giving a lead in transforming

the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations." A united India, he added, would be an asset to any federation or comity of nations and that unity could be achieved only if all the four parties interested in India, namely, the Muslim nation, the Hindu nation, the British nation and the Indian States combined together to so adjust their differences as to draw up a scheme of united independent sovereign states in India which could easily merge themselves into a Federation or Commonwealth of Nations for the purpose of solving India's economic and defence problems irrespective of what form the political system of the country would take according to its genius and requirements of circumstances and situation.

Dealing with Muslim objections to a strong Central Government, the Nawab said that the Mussalmans as a nation deemed it highly detrimental to their vital interests to accept any such Government at the Centre based upon the parliamentary democratic form of Government as this would mean that even in those provinces where they happened to be in majority, they could not have an independent sovereign state without being subordinate to the Government at the Centre, where the Hindus would be in permanent minority.

Considering the question to whom power should be transferred, the Chairman observed: "Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus, although they happen to be in a majority, because the Mussalmans do not agree to it. Similarly, power cannot be handed over to the Mussalmans simply because the British Government snatched away the empire from them. If the power must necessarily devolve, it must devolve on the Mussalmans and the Hindus both, and if it is to be given to both it must be according to an agreed solution of the constitutional problems arrived at by the Hindus and the Muslims. If no agreement could be reached, then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Commonwealth of Nations and that obviously must be based upon fairplay and justice to both the nations, not to mention the classes and communities."

Continuing, Sir Mahommad Yousuf said: "If the English-speaking peoples with the same religion and same language could belong to a group of nations, there is no reason why the Hindus and the Mussalmans should not be treated as two nations on the basis of incontrovertible historical facts. The Congress demand for immediate independence and transfer of power while the enemy is reaching the approaches to India, and in the absence of any understanding between the Hindus and Mussalmans, seems to be fantastic and selfish in the extreme, and savours of coercion of the British Government in the hour of its trial. The Sayru demand, while it may be practicable as an interim arrangement, fundamentally prejudices the basic demands of the Mussalmans and hence cannot achieve the main purpose of an "all-out war effort" against the invaders of India. It has been rightly appreciated in the statement made by Mr. Churchill that a hurried statement may lead to a great confusion and hamper even the present war efforts which all classes and communities are making against the Axis nation. Sir Stafford Cripps has come out to India to discuss the tentative terms of the declaration which has to be made by the British Government based on the recommendations of a committee of distinguished members of Parliament. Let us hope that some solution will be found for a re-adjustment of the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans and some scheme would be evolved which will be in consonance with the two nations theory of the Hindus and the Mussalmans apart from other nations that exist on this continent."

Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as president for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day.

Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to every one of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it but I appeal every one of you to make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to that programme and the policy that we have laid down. I

don't want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us to understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our Press and even our opponents' Press has enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us. (Hear, Hear).

Now let us talk less, and work more. Not only that but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates—that must force us to realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen. *But ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you, Musslims, organise yourself to meet all eventualities whatever may happen.* (Hear, Hear). These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring and labouring because I think you have in my judgment to pick up the analogy: you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act as men and women. On that point I shall say no more.

CRIPPS PROPOSALS

I know that the uppermost subject which is today not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you, as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can, this draft declaration of proposals which have emanated from His Majesty's Government and they have come to the conclusion that they are just and final. Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details, I am going to pick up the main points. The main points that emerge from this document are, first the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one Dominion or two Dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed. Third, there is a provision for the participation of the Indian States. Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed. But subject to this there are exceptions. The first exception is the right of any British Indian Province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decided. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution so framed emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a sovereign body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say: "We are not in agreement with this constitution and therefore we are not prepared to accede to this constitution".

VITAL FACTOR FOR MUSLIMS

But the most vital point and the most important of all the points so far as we are concerned particularly is as to how a province or provinces will exercise their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. A suggestion, however, has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the suggestion is that if the province, the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by 60 votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get 50 and the minority happens to be 41 then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then of course the non-accessing provinces can among themselves by the same process form another union or a Dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a Dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty, the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the Dominion or Dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding. I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be

set up or formed and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method. Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections it would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by a system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one tenth of the number of the electoral-colleges. Therefore, I think you understand that all the members of the assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly 1400 members and they will be entitled to elect one tenth, which means in all 140 members by means of proportional representation. That is the constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

THE PRESENT

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India. They desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian peoples in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty's Government and the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people will be invited in the councils of their country. This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way. During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But this is the change in wording—"The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India." Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the councils of their country.

PREFERENCE FOR ALL-INDIA UNION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and let us put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implication of the status and the powers of the Dominion or the Dominions that may be set up, that the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. A sovereign body will start—and to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—"with a preference for an All-India Union." Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. When that body is formed, I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union, and that is why it is so composed. But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain hereafter. But remember that at the most Muslims even by separate electorates will not be more than 25 percent but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and therefore the probabilities are contemplated that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, the other point which is not there is, will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that

document as I do, clearly, it cannot be anything else because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not state so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own constitution we have the clause that our constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is in the constitution-making body. If I may make a comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution-making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union. Now when that is done, the provinces or provinces who would feel that it has been done, they are given the constitution: "so, now, you have got another chance before you are killed." (laughter.) And what is that chance? The chance is this; it is not in the document. The suggestion of Mr. Stafford Cripps—of course various suggestions have been made, we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes but at present he has made a suggestion—he says look here, if all are against it then a plebiscite. That is not the end of it. Plebiscite—so we shall have one more chance before we are dead. Whose plebiscite? Of course the plebiscite of the province. Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain? Self determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? (Hear, Hear.) The answer is: "of course of both together". That is another chance and if you get the plebiscite in your favour, then at least you will curtail the slaughter house before our Kurbans is made. (laughter.) This is the point of a most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

SLAUGHTER OF MUSLIM NATION

Then with regard to the present, gentleman, I can tell you nothing except this document because it entirely depends as to what will be the final picture. I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Mr. Stafford Cripps or any body else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Muslims feel deeply disappointed that the *unity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised*. (Hear, Hear.) Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of erasing the real issues and by overemphasising the territorial unity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong. (Hear, Hear.) Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised. (Hear, Hear.) It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is inter-national in this sub-continent and differences, cultural, social, political and economic are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused but must be handled by all as realists. The alleged power of the minority in the matter of creation suggested in the document is illusory as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu majority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping Muslims tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Muslims will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces. (Hear, Hear.) We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundred millions of Muslim India to come (Hear Hear.)

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete, for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, not is it before us so yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of those cases when the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles. It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India (Hear Hear.) We will therefore endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which has only relied recognition in the document should be conceived in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Muslims to keep out or exclude thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war (Hear Hear), after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material. The document shows that Pakistan is too

ted as a remote possibility and that a definite preference for a new Indian Union which is the main objective and suggestion and the rule of procedure and the program indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far are against us and we are called upon to play the game with a loaded dice." Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know since the 27th of March in the task of most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination, His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate and make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause.)

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Allahabad—5th. April 1943

The second sitting of the open session of the League began on the 5th. April in the League Pandal at "Jinnah Chaman" under the presidency of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Condolence

At the outset, a condolence resolution was moved from the chair placing on record "the Conference's deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular."

Mr. Jinnah, in moving the resolution, referred to the late Nawab of Mamdot as a loyal and sincere worker and a great champion of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah offered his sincere sympathy to Nawab Istikhhar Husain, the son of the late Nawab, who was present on the dais. The resolution was passed all standing.

Emergency Power for Mr. Jinnah

Mr. Isphahani, Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, moved a resolution authorising the President "till the next session, to take any step or action he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided it is consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League."

Mr. Isphahani, referring to the present international situation and the approach of the enemy within the striking distance of India, said that it was necessary to give such powers to Mr. Jinnah, because he might have to take during any emergency momentous decisions, when it might not be possible for him to consult the Working Committee or the Council. He said that the Muslims had confidence and implicit faith in Mr. Jinnah, and no one would feel reluctant to give him this authority, which would be used by him in the best interests of the Muslims and the country.

Maulana Jawad Mian of Lucknow seconded the resolution.

MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI'S AMENDMENT RULED OUT

Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted to move an amendment at this stage to the following effect: "As the object of this resolution, which is to appoint the Qaid-e-Azam dictator for one year, is to prevent the Muslim League from expressing any opinion about the Cripps Proposals, I give notice of my intention to move my resolution as an amendment to this resolution."

Mr. Jinnah ruled the amendment out of order. He said that Maulana Hasrat Mohani had moved a resolution in the Subjects Committee, but it had been rejected by an overwhelming majority after full discussion. According to the League constitution, a resolution which had been negatived in the Subjects Committee could not be moved in the open session, and it appeared that the Maulana wanted to evade this rule. Mr. Jinnah said that the first part of the Maulana's amendment was entirely incorrect and the object of the resolution was not to appoint him (Mr. Jinnah) a dictator. He said that a similar resolution was passed at Madras. The main object of the resolution, he pointed out, was to give certain specific powers to the President to be exercised in case of emergency. He said that neither the Working Committee nor the President of the League was a dictator. He added that many questions arose which required immediate attention. He explained that it had been specifically made clear in the resolution that the step or action taken by the President should be in furtherance of the objects of the Muslim League and should be consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League. Then, concluded Mr. Jinnah, the preamble of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's amendment was

incorrect and the object was to manoeuvre to evade the League constitution. The amendment was ruled out of order.

[It was learnt that the resolution of Maulana Haerat Mohani, which had been negatived by the Subjects Committee, and which he wanted to move as an amendment to Mr. Ispahani's resolution before the open session, suggested that the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.]

Maulana Haerat Mohani opposed Mr. Ispahani's resolution. As he rose to oppose it, there were continuous and insistent shouts from the crowd of "sit down" and "we don't want to hear you." Mr. Jinnah, intervening, said that everyone had the right to freedom of speech and the Maulana should be allowed to have his say.

Maulana Haerat Mohani said that he never disowned Mr. Jinnah as the Qaid-e-Azam and had always recognised him as a great leader, but it was possible that at this critical juncture, Mr. Jinnah, if he was given unfettered powers, might take a wrong decision, namely, accept the Cripps Proposals. Maulana Haerat Mohani said that according to the established creed of the Muslim League, the object of the Muslims of India was to establish completely independent zonal States, whose constituent units should also be autonomous and sovereign, and the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps. The proposals could only lead to the establishment of a single Dominion or two or more Dominions, possibly including a Pakistan Dominion, but the proposals would certainly not give completely independent and sovereign States as envisaged in the League creed. Mr. Jinnah, he reiterated, might take the wrong decision and accept the proposals.

Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman supported the resolution.

The main resolution as proposed by Mr. Ispahani when put to vote was carried by the House with the single dissentient vote of Maulana Haerat Mohani.

MUSLIMS & THE WAR EMERGENCY

Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman next moved the following resolution: "This session resolves that a Committee be appointed by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of the life, honour and property of Mussalmans in consultation with the Provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above mentioned objects".

The mover emphasised the need on the part of the Muslim population to eschew panic in the present situation. He said that it would not do to start running away. The need of the hour was for them to organise themselves and have volunteers and nurses and organise relief work, etc., under local branches of the League to meet all emergencies and eventualities.

Maulana Akram Khan of Bengal, a member of the Working Committee of the League, seconded the resolution and Sir Abdullah Haroon supported it. They also emphasised the points mentioned by the mover. Discussion on the resolution was not finished when the session adjourned to meet again on the next day.

Mr. Jinnah decorated a national guard volunteer from Qanauj, Mohammad Yaqub, with the gold medal, which had been awarded to him by the Reception Committee, for pluck and promptness in putting out a fire in a portion of the main pandal last evening at risk to his person.

RESOLUTIONS—3rd Day—ALLAHABAD—4th. APRIL 1943

The open session of the Muslim League, on resumption on the 4th. April 1943, continued discussion on Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman's resolution authorising the President, Mr. Jinnah, to appoint a Committee to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Mussalmans.

The resolution was further supported by Haji Sattar (for the Madras Province), Mr. G. M. Syed (for Sind), Mr. Chundrigar (for Bombay), all members of the Muslim League Working Committee, and Mr. Mohd. Ismail (for Bihar), Mr. Mustafa Shah Gilani (for the Punjab), Khan Bahadur Mohd. Momin, Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League (for Bengal), Syed Abdul Razvi Shah (for C. P.), Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, and Mr. Karimul Haq, M.L.A. They all stressed the need for organising the District and City Muslim Leagues throughout the country to meet any eventualities that might arise due to the approach of war to the very doors of India.

Begum Ayesa Begum (United provinces), supporting the resolution, stressed the part which women could play in case of emergency. She made special men-

tion of nursing, first aid and other relief work, which could be taken up by women.

Begum Mohammad Ali entered a strong plea for educating women so that they could effectively share the responsibilities of men in these critical times. She exhorted Muslim women to join the League and organise themselves.

Mr. Jinnah, explaining the resolution, referred to the "grave internal and external dangers at this juncture" and the needs to save life, honour and property of 100 million Mussalmans. He said that it did not mean that they did not also have the concern and care of other fellowmen belonging to different communities, castes and creeds. He emphasised that the Muslims should organise themselves in a systematic and planned manner without any loss of time.

On the Committee, Mr. Jinnah continued, should be the right sort of men, capable and selfless, who could command confidence and respect of the people. The function of the Committee will be to deal with the situations as they might arise in different provinces and keep in touch with the various Provincial District and Primary Leagues, and guide them to put into effect measures suggested by the Committee.

Mr. Jinnah made a special reference to emergencies like shortage of food-stuffs and other necessities of life and the rise in prices, and said that they must be dealt with. He said that there may be villages or towns in which Muslims were in a handful minority, and he had grave apprehensions about them in case of any disorder. He suggested that they should be in cases of emergency brought at any cost or sacrifice to places where there were a larger number of Muslims.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

EXPULSION OF MR. FAZLUL HUQ

A resolution moved by Maulana Jamal Mian, and unanimously adopted by the session placed on record "its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from membership of the Muslim League Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal".

The mover said that this resolution would show that Muslims throughout India were behind Mr. Jinnah in the action he took against Mr. Fazlul Huq.

ASSISTANCE TO EVACUEES

Another resolution adopted unanimously by the session expressed heart-felt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore, and who have had to lose their all and sail homewards in most tragic circumstances in over-crowded and under-provisioned ships or trail backwoods across forests and mountains foodless and without shelter for weeks on.

The resolution "condemned the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route, facilities, food and water" and demanded of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to evacuate other compatriots still in Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and to place at their disposal available means of transportation and every possible facility.

The resolution drew the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate arrangements made for giving relief and succour to Indian evacuees who are reaching Calcutta and Madras Coastal ports amongst other places.

The resolution further called upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to evacuees.

The resolution was moved by Sir *Nasimuddin* and supported by the hon. Mr. *Pasha*, Member of the Council of State.

STATUS OF BALUCHISTAN

The League, by a resolution moved by *Qazi Mohammad Iqbal* of Baluchistan. Member of the Working Committee, and unanimously adopted, demanded that "the Province of Baluchistan be forthwith raised to the same constitutional level as the other provinces."

ALARMING GRAIN SHORTAGE

A resolution put from the Chair drew "the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage, particularly of wheat, paddy and 'dal' and requested the Government to

take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the people of India."

An amendment in the Constitution adopted by the session increased the representation from Baluchistan on the Council of the Muslim League from five to ten.

RESTRICTIONS ON ALLAMA MAASHRIQ

The following resolution was put from the Chair and unanimously adopted by the session :—"This session of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Maashriqi and also to lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners."

Another resolution urged upon the Government of India "to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province, passed against *Nawabzada Abdul Rehan Khan Bugti* of Baluchistan, because the resolution said there had been no judicial enquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order, and in the absence of such a position, the step taken against him seemed to be arbitrary, unjust and one capable of terrorising and demoralising the general Muslim population of the province."

The Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference

PLENARY SESSION—SERAJGUNJ—15th. FEBRUARY 1942

President's Address

The plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference was held at Serajgunj (Bengal) on the 15th. February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. *Mohamed Ali Jinnah*, who in the course of his address said :—

So far as the British Government is concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of "nothing doing." The August proposal still stands. We have accepted the principles of this proposal, but as they have come to translate that proposal, they have destroyed its principles by whittling these down by making us an offer which no decent, self-respecting organisation can accept."

Criticising the Congress, he referred to the observation made by Mr. *Rajagopalachari* in the course of a recent speech that "there are two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims," and said : "this is the first time one of the foremost leaders of the Congress has had the frankness to declare that the Congress is a Hindu organisation, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms, and on any other terms."

Coming to the problems of Bengal, he made a review of the incidents that led to the expulsion of Mr. *A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq* from the League and to the formation of the new Ministry in the province. He pointed out : "With all this generous survey, I ask you what is your verdict ? Is this not a case of gross betrayal and treachery, not only to the Muslim League, but to Muslim India ?"

GOVERNOR'S ACTION

Criticising the action of the Governor of Bengal during the last ministerial crisis, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Governor, instead of following the ordinary course which was being followed even in the British Parliament, instead of calling the leader of the largest party, he encouraged a man to canvass, before being commissioned, to form a Ministry, which practice was, to his mind, highly "improper and derogatory to the honour of any leader who claimed to be so." He maintained that the Coalition Party being dissolved, the Governor should have called the leader of the largest party, which was the Muslim League Party, to form a Ministry.

In this connection, Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the recent announcement of the Government of Bengal regarding the appointment of Whips in the Legislature, and inquired of the Governor, whether in his own country in a Parliament of 615 members, there were 17 Whips. Had they ever heard anywhere in this world that a Legislature of 350 members required 17 men to whip them.

The number of Parliamentary Secretaries to be appointed by the Government would also not be less than 17, and thus the total number of officials and Ministers and others came to something like 45 or 50. Out of 110 members, which he believed was wrong and getting dirty now, at least 30 had been kept by providing jobs. This was the position of the Ministry of Bengal.

Explaining the position of the Muslim League and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly after the formation of the new Ministry, Mr. Jinnah said that the Opposition was entitled and had every right to go and appeal to the electorate that Mr. *Fazl-ul-Haq* and those who were with him were elected by them and that they were now doing the greatest possible harm to the interest of Bengal Muslims and Muslim India. But the position is this that every step is resorted to not to come forward openly and appeal to the people. Who prevents them from doing that? They do not do that because almost 90 per cent of Bengal Muslims are against them."

DEFENCE ACT MEASURES

He strongly criticised the action of the Government in taking measures against League members under the Defence of India Act, and said: "Let me say from this platform that if His Excellency the Governor of Bengal does not stop this without delay, in Bengal there will arise a situation for which there is no parallel in the history of Bengal during the British Raj. We are not going to be suppressed and oppressed or tyrannised by this wretched Ministry which does not represent the Muslims."

"I hope that the eyes of the Viceroy will also open with regard to this issue. If they want to be constitutional and if they want to have this issue to be tested constitutionally, let us have fresh elections, let us go to our people, and let us take their verdict, to which we are willing to bow down."

Speaking about the Congress, Mr. Jinnah said that it was found from the speeches of Congress leaders, at any rate in their language, in their talking, that there was less aggressiveness and arrogance. In his recent speech at Madras, Mr. *Rajagopalachari* frankly admitted that the President of the Muslim League had got a true following of the Muslims and that there were two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims.

"This," he said, "is the first time that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress had the frankness to admit that the Congress is a Hindu organisation. This is the truth, and I appeal to Mr. *Gandhi* to bow before the truth, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except the Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. If this is admitted, then I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms and on no other terms."

DIVISION OF INDIA

Discussing the question of partitioning India as demanded by the League, Mr. Jinnah made a reference to the "latest pronouncement of the great international statesman, *Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru*, who always thinks in terms of international problems, and for whom India does not exist," and said that in this pronouncement, *Pandit Nehru* expressed astonishment how the Muslim League could talk of partitioning India and of forming a separate Muslim bloc when some Islamic countries, who were separate Muslim blocs, had lost their freedom, etc.

"Well," said Mr. Jinnah, "I can say to *Pandit Nehru*, my dear friend, let us look after ourselves and see how we can stand by ourselves. May I know from him when, now that big and powerful nations could not stand alone, how the whole of India could stand by itself alone?" Mr. Jinnah maintained that the scheme of partitioning India, as envisaged in "Pakistan," was so simple that all educated men and even a large body of educated people, had understood what it meant.

A PRACTICAL ISSUE

Discussing the question of interim and future constitution of India, Mr. Jinnah said that it was a practical issue of immediate importance. It was being emphasised what was to be done immediately and, with regard to that, he only wanted them to understand how matters now stood.

"On the one hand," he went on, "the British Government are holding fast to the August Offer, which consists of two parts—one part is the declaration of His Majesty's Government's policy with regard to the future constitution of India and the other part is that in the interim period the British Government propose to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General and _____ the major political parties by allowing them to send their representatives in the Council."

The Congress had definitely and clearly taken up the position that they are not prepared to have anything to do with any kind of change, or change, or expansion of the Government in the Centre, or in any provinces, within the framework of the present constitution. Therefore, the Congress did not accept the basic principle underlying this proposal of His Majesty's Government of August 8.

Then there are other parties who are doing reconnaissance or patrol work of the Congress, such as, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and the Non-party Conference, who are one and the same and who are ready to tumble in. All of them have the same objective, that is, to corner the British Government.

"What they cannot achieve by friendly talks, they want to achieve by backdoor policy, and they call it the national Government. But to whom the national Government will be responsible? Not to the nation which does not exist of course, nor to the nations which do exist, but to the Crown, which means the Governor-General and the Viceroy because the Crown is merely a symbol.

"They think that if they can entrap the British Government by this method, their next cry will be: 'The Viceroy is a tyrant, the Viceroy is unconstitutional, he is overriding the majority decision of his Cabinet every time. Therefore, it must now be made responsible to the Legislature.' These all are not words, but a game through which I think, even a blind man can see. Why do not they, instead of putting the cart before the horse, put the horse before the cart, and say this is our complete scheme.

"Well, that is the position so far as the Hindu leadership is concerned. So far as the British Government are concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of 'nothing done'. The August proposal stands.

LEAGUE POSITION

"So far as we are concerned, our position is this that while we have accepted the principle of the August proposal, when they have come to translate it they had destroyed the principles by whittling them down, by making us an offer which no decent self-respecting organisation can accept. Therefore, our position is this that we are willing, provided we get a real share not only in the authority in the government of the Centre, but in all the provinces.

"Once the other side accepts that principle, namely, the Congress—and it is no use really saying that the Congress does not represent a solid body of Hindu opinion—there will be something to discuss. The Congress certainly to-day represents a solid body of Hindu opinion. The bodies other than the Congress have really no claim to speak on behalf of the Hindus, except for themselves. Let the Congress accept that principle, let them also say that they also want the real share, then we will sit down and consider."

In conclusion Mr. Jinnah said: "Let us stand firm, united, consolidated. Harness and prepare yourselves, the Muslims of Bengal, under this flag, and I assure you that we shall win, and let me declare as your President of the All-India Muslim League, with all the responsibility of what I am saying, that no amount of repression, no amount of persecution, will make us budge an inch from the right position which we believe we are in, and that Muslim India is to-day strong enough to resist; and that if you coerce us and if you force us, there will be a situation not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, for which there is no parallel. We are prepared, we are earnest, and we are not merely talking. Do not force the issue upon us. You will ruin yourselves if you do that."

Resolutions

The conference demanded the dissolution of the provincial Legislature and the issue of an order by the Governor of Bengal for a fresh election. It expressed its complete want of confidence in the present Ministry, formed by Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Huq in defiance of the policy and principle of the All-India Muslim League, and demanded the resignation of the representatives of the Muslim constituencies who had joined the Progressive Party and the Progressive Coalition Party from the Assembly and the Council, as they had lost the confidence of their voters and of the Muslim public, and challenged them to seek re-election on their new ticket.

The conference condemned the "repressive policy of the present Government which aims at the suppression of the Muslim League organisation and the legitimate civil rights of the people, particularly its ill-conceived campaign, against Muslim students and the gross misuse of the extraordinary powers assumed by Government on account of the war situation, by employing the Defence of India Rules for the furtherance of personal ends and party tactics."

It endorsed and reiterated its whole-hearted faith in the ideal of Pakistan, and expressed the firm determination of Muslim Bengal to make every sacrifice necessary for its early attainment.

By another resolution the conference requested the Governor of Bengal to "drive Dr. Spence-White from office as Minister of the Crown, as he,

while in office, offered himself for arrest by defying the orders of another provincial Government in British India namely, the Bihar Government, established by the Government of India Act and deriving its authority from His Majesty the King Emperor."

Resolutions, expressing satisfaction at "the country-wide allegiance of the Muslim of Bengal to the ideals, policy and programme of the Muslim League; demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all conditions under which Allama Mashriqi has been released; calling upon all Muslim organisations to form defence guards for the maintenance of order and discipline among the populace in the event of air raids and other possible armed attacks; and recording the heartfelt sympathy of the conference with the Muslims of Banagpur, who are alleged to have been subjected to oppressions at the hands of Hindu Mahasabaites, were also adopted at the conference."

The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

General Secretary's Report

The history of the Muslim Students' Federation can be traced back to the year 1937 when some Muslim students of Bengal seceded from the A. I. Students' Federation and organised themselves separately. The reason for the step was the same which had compelled Muslims in general to leave as a body the A. I. National Congress and resuscitate the Muslim League. And just as the Muslim League met with strong opposition from the Congress, Muslim students of Bengal met with immediate opposition to their efforts to form a separate organisation of their own. Various were the reasons advanced against the step and many were the obstacles put in their way. It was said that students should be above communal considerations and that interests of all students, Muslim and non-Muslim, were the same. Many Muslim students themselves were set to oppose the formation of the new organisation. But realising that the A. I. Students' Federation was a thoroughly Congress-minded organisation and that the Congress itself had become an anti-Muslim body, Muslim students in Bengal, and presently in other provinces also, persevered in their purpose of breaking away from hostile influences.

To Mr. *Mohd. Noman* of Aligarh goes the credit of laying the foundation of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. With commendable energy and singular devotion he took up the task of the organisation of the Muslim student community into one body. Presently *Qaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah* extended his blessing to the Federation and the *Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad* shouldered the heavy responsibility of action as the president of the organisation.

Since then the Federation has continued to grow in strength and popularity and now has branches in all the provinces. The most important and active branches affiliated with the parent body are in:—Bengal, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Delhi, Mysore and at Aligarh. The Federation undoubtedly is a force in the country to-day.

To Bengal again goes the credit of giving the lead in the matter of active participation in politics and to make sacrifices in the cause of Islam. The recent developments in the province and the part played by the Muslim Students' Federation has shown that the Muslim youth can give a good account of itself in the struggle in which the Muslim League is involved.

PUNJAB ORGANISATION

At the time when the A. I. M. S. F. was in its infancy Muslim students in the province realised their duty of forming their own Federation. Messrs. Hamid Nizami, Khurshid Alam took up the task. An extensive tour of the province was undertaken by them in the year 1937-38 and the message of unity and organisation preached. Next year some of the workers of the Federation, particularly *Khan Abdus Sattar Khan Nisari*, took up the propagation of the Khilafat Pakistan ideal and this gave an impetus to the youth movement and it began to attract attention of the people at large. *Mirza Abdul Hamid* then took charge of the Federation and till last year continued to strengthen it vigorously.

PAKISTAN CONFERENCE

The Pakistan Conference, organised by the Federation last year, under the presidentship of the *Qaid-e-Azam*, created history. It was as a result of the untiring work of *Ch. Nawarailah Khan*, General Secretary, and *Ch. Makh Sadiq*, Treasurer, that the Conference was such a success. *Mirza Abdul Hamid*, President, and his co-workers all worked day and night to make the Conference the success

that it was. It was the first such enterprise of its kind. Those who deserve mention were: *Z. K. Malik, Ashfaq Bokhari, Mansur-ul-Haq, Mohd Ashraf and Malik Sadiq.*

It would be unfair not to mention some of those outsiders who helped us generously by money and advice. The *Navab Sahib of Mamdot*, President, P. P. M. L., comes first without whose generosity the Conference could not be held indeed. The Federation is also indebted to the *Himayat-ul-Islam* for granting us the use of the *Islamia College* ground, and its President, *Shahid Sir Abdul Qadir*, for guidance in the matter and advice. We are also thankful to *Principal Khawaja Dil Mohammad* for the help and encouragement he gave us.

MUSLIM GIRLS' FEDERATION

The need of a girl's section of the P. M. S. F. was keenly felt, but without the help of *Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum Sahiba* and *Miss M. Qureshi*, it could have scarcely been possible to do so successfully. We are thankful to them and for their help in the arrangements for ladies in the Conference. We also thank the Press, specially the "*Eastern Times*" and the "*Orient Press*" for giving wide publicity to our endeavours.

Soon after the Conference it was decided that the Federation should have a non-student president. Accordingly *Mian Bashir Ahmed, Bar-at-law*, editor, the "*Humayun*" was elected president. The choice was widely approved on all sides. The Federation is at present working under the guidance of the *Mian Sahib*.

On election, the immediate task before the President was the implementing of the two main resolutions passed at the open session of the *Pakistan Conference*, viz., the drafting of the constitution of the Federation and carrying the message of the League to the masses through a rural propaganda sub-committee which was formed for the purpose.

The first task was completed by the President with the help of *Messrs Hamid Nizami, Mohd Khafi and Hamid Ali*. The constitution is a model of democratic idealism.

PRIMARY ORGANISATION

As there were no properly constituted primary branches of the Federation it was decided that general elections should be foregone and that *Mian Bashir Ahmad* should nominate a Working Committee and office-bearers and that when the work of organisation is completed, election should be held in the month of November. The organisation work was taken up in earnest and very soon we had properly constituted and active branches at *Lyalpur, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Campbellpur, Peshawar, Wazirabad, Gujranwala, Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal, Ferozpur, Sialkot, Malerkotla, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan* and elsewhere.

The *Muslim Girls' Federation* did not lag behind and established branches at various places. *Miss M. Qureshi* deserves special credit for her work in going from college to college for the establishment of the branches. Now the students of the *Jinnah College* for girls have consolidated the organisation and enrolled about 1,000 members.

The organisational work was completed within three months of the *Pakistan Conference* and before the summer vacations, even though our annual examinations intervened soon after the Conference. During this period *Raja Ahmed Khan* and *Malik Mohd. Sadik* also carried on work in the Government and *Islamia Colleges* in connection with the Adult Education Scheme.

RURAL PROPAGANDA

During the summer the Federation worked along with the League in Lahore and conducted a number of public meetings in condemnation of those who had joined the so-called National-Defence Council in defiance of the A. I. M. L. mandate. Happily the incident was soon closed so far as the Punjab was concerned. During the summer vacations the Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the Federation undertook an extensive tour of the mofussil in order to take the message of the League to the masses in rural areas. Districts thus visited were: *Sheikhpura, Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyalpur.*

The workers among whom *Messrs. Z. K. Malik, Nasrullah Khan, Md. Sadiq, Ilyas Qureshi* and *Zahur Alam* deserve special mention, delivered numerous speeches and explained the *Pakistan* ideal to the villagers. They also established branches of the League and the Federation at the various places. The *Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee* has issued a separate report on the subject.

As soon as the colleges reopened, preparations were set afoot to hold the general elections according to the new constitution. Primary branches were properly constituted by the Organising Secretary and a Council was set up. Owing to certain difficulties which then arose Mr. Mohd. Noman, Deputy President, A. I. M. S. F., had to visit Lahore to guide the elections. The Federation established 13 different departments, each with their conveners and office-bearers. These are: Education (Raja Ahmad Khan), Political Propaganda (Zahur Alam Shahood), Lectures and Debates (Gulzar Hussain), Constitution Committee (Iftikhar Ullah), Library (Raja Ahmad Khan), Volunteers (Raja Sher Ali), Propaganda (Ilyas Qureshi) Urdu (Hamid Ali Khan) and Funds (Mohd. Ashraf). These departments are functioning properly.

The Lyallpur branch of the Federation undertook, during the period under review, to hold two conferences, which proved eminently successful. The first was the Educational Conference held under the presidency of *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon* and the second was the Pakistan Conference under the presidency of *Mulik Barkat Ali, M.L.A.* The success of these conferences under difficult circumstances has brought laurels to the Lyallpur Muslim students. And now the Rawalpindi branch is taking upon itself the arduous task of holding the 2nd Annual Session of the Federation.

Second Session—Rawalpindi—7th. & 8th. March 1942

Presidential Address

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was held on the 7th. & 8th. March 1942 at Rawalpindi in a specially erected pandal in the Islamia High School grounds. The session proved highly successful and on both days the audience, which included many non-Muslims, was at least 25,000 souls. A special feature was the presence of a large number of Muslim girl students from all over the province.

In the course of his presidential address, *Chaudhri Khaliquezaman* reviewed the history of Hindu-Muslim relations in India during the last 25 years. The Congress, he said, was throughout chary of recognising the rights and demands of Muslims, which ultimately led the Muslim League to formulate its demand for separate homelands for Muslims in zones where they are in a preponderant majority. Referring to his own and the late *Maulana Mohd. Ali's* experiences in the Congress during the Khilafat agitation days, the speaker explained how the Muslim leaders were disillusioned and how they were at last compelled to adopt the ideology propounded by Allama Iqbal. The Chaudhri Sahib next referred to the Congress regime in the provinces which had further convinced them of the enmity of the Congress towards the Muslims. *Pandit Nehru*, he said, was anxious to form a federation of India with China but would not think of Muslim provinces forming a federation of their own. He also referred to the alleged fears of the Sikhs and the Hindus from Pakistan coming into operation.

Referring to the proposed statement by Mr. *Churchill* he said: "If any constitution, prejudicial to Muslim interests, is proposed by the British Government we shall resist it with our blood." He appealed to the Hindus to come to terms with the Muslims and form a united front.

Resolutions—WARNING TO BR. GOVERNMENT

Mr. *Hamid Nizami* next moved the main resolution which is as follows:—

Resolved (a) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation declare unanimously and in unequivocal terms that no constitution shall be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is based on the principle that the Muslims in India form by themselves a separate nation and the North-Western and North-Eastern Muslim Blocs are their homelands wherein they shall be entitled to the right of self determination unhampered. (b) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation strongly protest against the mischievous attempts and machinations of certain Hindus to frame a constitution without the consultation and to the detriment of the Muslims; warns the British Government that any attempt on their part to go back on the declaration of Aug. 8, 1940, shall be stoutly resisted by the Muslim nation all over India and (c) assures the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah*, that the Muslim nation under his able leadership shall, in a thoroughly organized and disciplined manner, strongly resist any such attempt of the British Government and shall readily make all sacrifices required of them in this connection.

The mover in an impassioned speech explained the present critical situation in the country, the expected declaration by the British Government regarding the

constitutional problem and the efforts of the Hindus to stampede it into acceding to the Hindu demands made by the *Sapra* Conference, and going back on the pledges repeatedly to the Muslim nation regarding their position.

Raja Iftakhar Ullah, who ably seconded the resolution, further explained the Muslim position and stated that if the British Government makes a bargain with the Congress at the expense of the Muslims, it will cost it dear. *Surajpau Rashid* of the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, further supported the resolution and assured the Qaid-e-Azam that Muslim women shall fight shoulder to shoulder with their men both in the Congress and in the Government if Mr. Churchill betrays Muslim India. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Thereafter Maulana Jamal Mian Farangi Mahalli addressed the session on Pakistan and gave reasons for the Muslim political creed. It was a very impressive speech and the audience was visibly moved. The session terminated after a poem by Mr. Nafis Khalili.

Resolutions—2nd Day—8th. March 1942

On the next day, the 8th. March, *Pirzala Ohulzar Hussain*, General Secretary read his annual report. The following resolutions were then moved and passed unanimously:—

1. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in their second annual session strongly affirms that "Pakistan" is their goal.

2. The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation reiterates their faith in the able leadership of Qaid-e-Azam Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah and fully endorse the programme and policy of the All-India Muslim League.

3. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation request the authorities of the Punjab University to create a chair for Islamic History in the University.

4. Resolved that this session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation demands of the Punjab University that Urdu should be taught up to the M. A. classes and it should be made the medium of instruction for teaching various subjects in schools up to the Matriculation standard.

Raja Iftakhar Ullah, *Shaikh Masbah-ud-Din Arif*, *Miss Farkhanda Akhtar*, *Malik Mohd. Sadiq*, *Nasim Rizwi*, *Pirzada Gulzar Hussain*, *Mr. Mohd. Sadiq* respectively spoke in support of the resolutions. A resolution demanding that the restrictions imposed on Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Mashriqi should be removed and the Khaksar leader should be allowed to return to the Punjab was also passed. By another resolution it was decided to continue the work done by the Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the Federation for the next year.

The All India Momin Conference

Working Comm. Resolutions—Delhi—6th. April 1942

AMERY'S FIGURES CHALLENGED

The Working Committee of the All India Momin Conference, which after its meeting at Cawnpore, on April 3, 4 and 5, under the chairmanship of Mr. *Sheikh Zahir-uddin*, President, resumed its session at Delhi on the 6th. April 1942 and passed a resolution expressing surprise and regret at the recent statements of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons with regard to the status of the All-India Momin Conference, as also the population of the Momin community and characterising them as unworthy of an authority of the rank and position of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

The Committee asserts "that the population of the Momin community is, under no circumstances less than 45 millions, and that it comprises not only weavers and agricultural labourers, as stated by Mr. Amery, but like other communities of India, also of lawyers, legislators, Government servants, businessmen, cultivators, artisans and factory workers."

The Committee considers it vitally necessary to point out that the figures given in the Census Report of 1931, on which Mr. Amery has based his statements, are incomplete, misleading and unreliable in as much as

Firstly, the writer of the Census Report of 1931 has made it abundantly clear that the castes shown in the said Census Report are representative only and not exhaustive and that a complete tabulation of the whole population has not been

given, the total numbers covered by the Census table being only 220 million out of India's 335 million people. Secondly, the census figures classify as Momins only those who are actually engaged in the weaving profession, to the exclusion of all other Momins, who, since after the decay of the handloom industry, have taken to various other occupations and whose number is enormously large. Thirdly, the figures of the vast numbers of the Momins residing in Assam, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar as also in Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore States have been totally left off and do not find place in the Census Report of 1931. Fourthly, the figures of the Momin population were adversely affected by the campaign which, according to the writer of the Census Report, was attempted against any record of caste in 1931, and lastly in the Census of 1931 large numbers of Momins have themselves recorded as Shuiks and under other denominations, to conceal their Momin identity, with a view to save themselves from the social humiliation attached to the Momins as a class, as also to escape the disability of getting into the Police, Military and other Government Services, with which the Momins suffer as a community upto this day.

The Committee, while vehemently repudiating the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and strongly condemning the unwarranted pretensions of the Muslim League to represent Muslim India, emphatically asserts that the All-India Momin Conference alone represents the 45 million Momins and their interests.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference

Thirteenth Session—Lahore—20th. March 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivering his presidential address at the thirteenth session of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* at Lahore on the 20th. March 1942, *Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani* discussed at some length the Islamic ideal of peace in the national and international spheres.

The Maulana said that the Jamiat stood for the practical realisation of this ideal, and it had always rightly guided the Muslim community in India in all religious, cultural, economic and political matters. He strongly refuted the allegation that the Jamiat was a satellite of the Indian National Congress.

BRITAIN TO BLAME FOR THE DEADLOCK

Dealing with the political problems of India, the Maulana recounted the various declarations of His Majesty's Government and criticised the British Government's attitude in declaring war on behalf of India without consulting the representatives of the Indian people. It was natural for India, he said, to demand a declaration of the war aims of the British Government. The declarations which were made in this connection indicated practically nothing about the fate of India in the post-war world. The result was that the various political parties in India decided their own policies, ending in a constitutional deadlock in eight out of the eleven provinces of British India.

Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani then referred to the Atlantic Charter and deplored Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons that, due to certain difficulties, India could not be allowed to enjoy that freedom and democracy which the Charter held out to the smaller nations of Europe. The Maulana expressed great concern at the dark shadows of war that were being cast over India both from the East and the West.

The Maulana hoped that at this critical hour at least the British Government would change their attitude. "The whole world should know and realise that we cannot forget our aim of freedom and self-government even to the end of our lives." He added, "We refuse to bow before an oppressive conception which is antagonistic to our ideas."

The Maulana, proceeding, said that a politically conscious group among the Muslims thought that the system of separate electorates was detrimental to the interests of that inter-communal harmony and goodwill which was so essential for a country like India. The Jamiat, he added, had, after long deliberations, adopted the principle of joint electorates with reservations for safeguarding Muslim rights. This question, he said, was still open, and the different political parties of the Indian

Muslims, should after mutual consultations, arrive at a desirable conclusion in this regard.

POSITION OF MUSLIMS IN A FREE INDIA

The Maulana then proceeded to discuss the position of the Muslim community in a free India. In this connection he divided the political thinkers of India into three groups, namely, those who were after establishing a strong Central Government of the majority community to whose sweet will all the interest of the Muslim community should be subordinate. This was a conception which, the Maulana added, would never be realised in actual practice.

The second group, according to the Maulana, was one which, impressed by the aims of the first group, tried, by breaking up the unity of India, to create a separate political sphere for itself and to attach itself to the British Crown directly. It was evident, the Maulana continued, that the supporters of the theory of separation knew that the form of government that could be introduced in these areas would not be based on the sovereignty of the Islamic law, but on modern democratic lines. If the view of this group were to prevail, the problem of safeguarding the rights of minorities would be transferred to the provinces, with greater complications than that exist at the centre. He pointed out that one of the complications that would arise was that, while in the provinces or zones with a Hindu majority, the Muslims would be insignificant minorities which could not have any effective say in the administration, the provinces or zones with a Muslim majority would have very strong Hindu minorities which could interfere effectively with the administration.

" ONLY PRACTICABLE SOLUTION "

The third group was the one in favour of a Federal constitution for India, in which all the component parts would be independent and autonomous and free from intervention from the Centre. According to this group, the Centre would be invested with the powers which the autonomous parts would willingly and unanimously part with. Each part of the Federation would provide the necessary safeguard for the cultural, political and religious rights of the minorities. The far-sighted among the leaders of India considered this last proposal the only practicable solution of the constitutional tangle of India, in the existing circumstances.

Maulana *Hussain Ahmad Ali Khan* proposed the inauguration of a separate department of Religious Affairs to look after the religious, cultural, economic and social problems of the Muslims of India whatever the ultimate form of Government may be. This department would be run on purely religious lines, and should possess the power to legislate with a view to bringing about social and economic reform among the followers of Islam in this country without the fear of interference from the Federal Government.

DIFFERENCES AMONG MUSLIMS DEPICTED

Concluding, the Maulana depicted the internal differences among the various Muslim political bodies and said that their differences had eliminated the possibility of co-operation in matters which were of common interest for all. The Jamiat, he said, was always in favour of full co-operation in all such matters, and had always been ready to extend the hand of friendship towards other bodies. A false sense of pride should not stand in the way of different political bodies among the Muslims co-operating with one another in matters of common interest and welfare. If such an attitude were not adopted, the Maulana was afraid, the interests of the Community would be fatally injured in the coming struggle.

DISURBANCE AT THE CONFERENCE

Several persons sustained injuries when missiles were flung towards the dais by a section of the audience. This occurred when the President of the Conference, Maulana *Hussain Ahmad Ali Khan*, referred to the Pakistan scheme in the course of his presidential address, and remarked that it would strengthen the hands of imperialism. A section of the audience took exception to these remarks, and raised full-throated cries of "Pakistan Zudabad". This was the signal for uproar and confusion, in which missiles were flung at the dais, resulting in injuries to about a dozen persons. An attempt was also made by certain persons to set fire to the canopy of the delegates, but Ahlra volunteers promptly arrived and controlled the situation.

A posse of police rushed to the scene, but the President warned that no policeman could enter the pandal. The President resumed his address, while the police threw a cordon round the pandal.

Resolutions—Lahore—22nd. March 1942

MAULANA AZAD'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS

Advice to the Muslims not to stand in the way of freedom by presenting different schemes and to stand on their own legs and work for the independence of their country was given by *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, Congress President, addressing the concluding session of the Conference on the 22nd. March 1942.

The Maulana said that India should take a lesson from the experience of various European countries. India was no longer a spectator; the time for her trial had arrived. The question of the future of Muslims in India was a vital question and it had been worrying him for the last thirty-eight years. During this period, there had been no change in his attitude towards this question. He had been trying to find out the root cause and had come to the conclusion that, unless they were free from British imperialism, no other question should be raised. Muslims should not ask for any safeguards but should try to attain the country's freedom first. He was confident that no earthly power could efface nine crores of Muslims in this country nor any constitution or safeguards could save them if they had no confidence in themselves and did not attempt to stand on their own legs.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted several resolutions.

While reserving the right to express its opinion on the proposed constitutional reforms, the Conference in a resolution, called upon all Muslims and Muslim organisations in India to sit together and formulate a common formula, agreeable to all schools of thought, to be presented to *Sir Stafford Cripps*.

Maulana Nuruddin Bihari, moving the resolution, warned the political leaders not to accept a scheme which might be detrimental to the interests of the country.

By another resolution, the Conference viewed with great concern the detention of political workers in India without trial and urged the Government either to place them on trial in a court of law or release them forthwith. Failing this, the Conference requested the Government to grant maintenance allowance to the families of the detainees.

The other resolutions *inter alia* urged the abolition of distinction of caste or creed, high and low, amongst the Muslims, demanded the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan, advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and urged the removal of restrictions placed on the Kazaks.

The All India Ahrar Conference

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—21st. & 22nd. Feb. 1942

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TABOOED

No annual session of the Ahrar Conference was held in 1942 and none since the war began; for the all India Ahrar Working Committee passed a resolution on the 11th Sept 1939 at Amritsar refusing to help the Government in their war effort. In pursuance of that resolution speeches were made in different places and arrest courted which resulted in a large number of people going to jail in 1939, 1940 and 1941. In 1942, on the 21st. and 22nd. of February, the All India Ahrar Committee while adhering to the decision of the 11th of Sept. 1939, tabooed civil disobedience and so all speeches against recruitment etc. were prohibited. The resolution in fact prohibited all form of civil disobedience on any account whatsoever. This decision was taken in view of the tense situation in the country arising out of the nearness of war there. The resolution runs as follows:—

(1) This meeting of the all India Ahrar Committee informs all provincial committees and their respective branches that no subordinate committee is permitted under any circumstances to embark on, or join in, any civil disobedience movement or other aggressive action. If any situation arises anywhere, the central office should be apprised of its details and no step should be taken without the previous written sanction of the centre.

(2) In view of the present situation in the country, the central office is instructed to issue a circular letter to all subordinate branches inviting their attention to— the following

(a) Enrolment of members, (b) organising of volunteer corps, (c) contradicting false rumours, (d) prevention of panic among the general public, (e) cooperation

with all non-official organisations in the country for social service according to local conditions and irrespective of political differences.

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—15th. March 1943

CONNECTION WITH ASAD MUSLIM SEVERE

On March 15, 1943, a meeting of the All India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore in which the decision was taken dissociating the party from the Asad Muslim Conference. The reasons are embodied in the resolution which runs:

"In view of the fact that so far no circumstances have arisen to urge for a reconsideration of the policy adopted by the Ahrar organisation about the war in September 1939,

"And in view of the fact that the Asad Muslim Conference in April 1940 by its resolution No. 12 adopted the same policy about the war as had been adopted by the Ahrar organisation in 1939,

"And in view of the fact that several parties joining the Asad Muslim Conference or their great and responsible leaders have acted against the war policy decided by the conference in April, 1940, and when doing so they did not consider it advisable even to hold mutual consultations, and have thus acted very irresponsibly,

"And in view of the fact that the Board appointed by the Conference to formulate Muslim demands within two months has not done anything in the matter even after nearly two years of its constitution, and now it has been proclaimed that the present is no time to formulate such demands,

"This working committee considers it necessary to sever its connection with the Asad Muslim Conference, to inform the president of the Conference of the above decision and to direct its representatives on the Conference Board not to participate in its meetings in future.

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—17th. & 18th. August 1943

DISSOCIATION FROM CONGRESS DECISION

On the 17th. & 18th. August another meeting of the All India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore after the arrest of the Congress leaders and the disturbances ensuing therefrom. The following is the text of the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

The Working Committee of the All India Ahrar-i-Islam has taken into consideration the situation that has arisen out of the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay and the resultant action of the Government of India. For the guidance of the workers and sympathisers of the Ahrar organisation and the general Muslim public, and as an advice for the Indian public, the working committee has arrived on the following conclusions:—

(1) In respect of the present world war, this working committee stands by the policy enunciated by it at the beginning of the war on the 11th of September, 1939, at Amritsar, in pursuance of which a large number of Ahrar workers and volunteers had to undergo imprisonment, and some of them are even now bravely bearing the rigours of incarceration. Even after the lapse of three years this working committee does not find any change in the circumstances which would justify any amendment or revision of that policy.

(2) The All India Ahrar Committee in its meeting of February 21, 1942, decided to prohibit all civil disobedience in view of the internal and external situation faced by the country. At that time corn and other necessities of life were scant and dear and there was a danger of foreign attack and internal disorders.

In view of the situation arising out of the Congress decision of Bombay and the corresponding Government action resulting in riots and disturbances in the country, this Working Committee is more firmly of the opinion that the previous decision should be adhered to, and the Ahrar organisation should not undertake the responsibility of any aggressive movement as the present circumstances render it not only difficult but even impossible to keep the situation peaceful.

Therefore this working committee does not find it advisable to recommend to the All India Ahrar Committee to rescind its decision of February last.

(3) A reign of violence has been established in the country by the actions of the Government and a section of the Indian people. This Working Committee finds itself unable to support the violence of either party, and whereas it wishes to impress on its countrymen the fact that desperate injury to lives and property is not approved of even by Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, it wishes to impress on the Government also the fact that desperate shooting to control the situation and firing not only on armed crowds but even on people sitting in their

buildings and creating peace through terrorisation cannot be useful either for Government or for world peace, and therefore it should not allow its police and military to do things as they like. Temporary provocation should not cause Government to be panicky and desperate urging it to take action inconsistent with its delicate responsibilities, which action might look vindictive.

(4) Not only the freedom of India and other countries, but also a reign of justice and an equal and equitable struggle for the prosperity of all humanity is needed to ensure world peace; and the victory of any party in the present world war cannot guarantee its future peace or freedom as is evident from the aftermath of the last world war. So the policy of subjugating, or keeping under subjection, other nations cannot ensure for the benefit of any country for any long period of time.

(5) All Muslims generally, and the Ahrar workers and sympathisers especially, should bear it in mind that the present disturbed conditions have emphasised the need for peace and accord in the country, and so we should try to eliminate all factors provoking communal passions. And now when the Government and a section of the people are at logger-heads with each other, none should side with either party or become the tool of any other group in the country working for communal conflict.

Under the circumstances, instead of going to jails we should concentrate all our energies on service of the people, establishment of internal peace and safeguarding against impending dangers.

Similarly it is the duty of the Government and the people in conflict with it to prevent the creation of an atmosphere for communal disturbance, and not to search a weak prey for their anger and rage.

(6) Majlis-i-Ahrar has always stood for independence of India and other Islamic and non-Islamic countries, but under the present critical circumstances it considers all civil disobedience in the zeal to help the allies or in the hope of welcoming the Axis powers not only unnecessary but also inadvisable.

The All India Azad Muslim Board

Resolutions—Delhi—1st. & 2nd. March 1942

NATIONAL POLICY FOR MUSLIMS

A meeting of the All India Azad Muslim Board was held at Delhi on the 1st. March 1942 and the following resolutions were passed unanimously after a full-day discussion:—

"Since the last session of the Board, the cataclysm of war has advanced with giant strides and the whole world lies engulfed in a deluge of blood. India is no longer a distant spectator of the war, but finds itself within the zone of imminent danger. Questions which only two years ago appeared to be vital and claimed all attention have faded into insignificance. New problems of world-wide import have arisen and great and small nations and countries are uniting their forces and resources to save their freedom. Courageous efforts have to be made for new international alignments to develop and co-ordinate determined endeavours to meet and overcome the grim consequences of the war. To avert the fate of those who have succumbed to aggression, it is imperative that no effort should be spared to knit all the people of India into a united endeavour. The country's will should be galvanised and its immense potential effectively developed for the task of defending the country and thereby establishing its freedom in a world free of aggression. The Board is convinced that there is general unanimity in India that the country must forthwith cease to be a Dependency if this end is to be achieved and that it should have the freedom enjoyed by the other free countries of the world, including England and the Dominions. Representing nine constituent Muslim organisations and speaking for the bulk of the Indian Muslims, this Board fully supports this demand.

"Further, it feels constrained to conclude that the specious plea of the Secretary of State for India, and the British Government that the Muslim League is the authoritative spokesman of the Indian Muslims, and that its attitude and demands constitute an insuperable obstacle in the way of India's freedom is an insupportable subterfuge to mask the disinclination of the British Government to part with power. This serious gravity of the situation occasioned by the menace of an early invasion most imperatively demands that the British Government

should immediately recognise India's freedom and transfer real power to enable the representatives of the people to assume complete responsibility for the defence of the country as a whole in full and mutual collaboration with the other free countries.

SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM COUNTRIES

"The Board has noted with keen regret that the conflagrations of war has enveloped nearly all the Muslim countries of the world and their independence has been held to ransom. From the eastern source of the Red Sea in the near Middle East no less than in Malaya, China, Russia, and certain parts of Europe, Mussalmans along with their other people are exposed to the horrors and severe ordinance of war.

"The Board conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the Muslims and other inhabitants of these countries who are suffering from the savagery of aggression. It earnestly hopes that the freedom of all the countries and nations which have fallen victim to old or new aggressors will be fully restored.

"It further desires to place on record its fullest sympathy with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran in their present plight and hopes that all of them will emerge strong and free in a world free from aggression and exploitation."

Resolution—Second Day—2nd. March 1942

CABLE TO MR. CHURCHILL AND CRIPPS

The meeting concluded on the next day, the 2nd. March, after three days' sitting.

The Conference passed two resolutions at to-day's session, one urging unconditional release of all detainees and the other, appealing to all Muslims that under the present changing circumstances, they should, for their national existence, unite and act unitedly in order to safeguard their national interests.

It was understood that a copy of the resolutions passed by the Board was forwarded to the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill, the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, and Sir Stafford Cripps.

The Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference

Calcutta—21st. June 1942

NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD'S OBSERVATIONS

"Having regard to the long fostered relations between the two sister communities of India, centuries ago, there is no reason why at this fateful hour, or at any other time, strenuous effort should not be made to bridge the gulf of difference that unhappily divides them still," observed the *Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad* presiding over the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 21st June 1942.

The *Nawab Bahadur* said that a true citizen born on the soil of India was he who was actuated by sentiment of patriotism to see complete understanding arrived at between these great communities living side by side in their resolve to stand firm in order to be benefited by the increasing glimmer of the dawn of India's salvation.

Confident in the fulfilment of their aims and aspirations, the *Nawab Bahadur* concluded by appealing to Indians to seek to dispel the gloom of disunion and distrust for the sake of their common good by becoming for ever united through trials and privations, through prosperity and adversity in the enduring service of their dear and beloved Motherland.

MR. FAZLUL HUQ'S OPENING SPEECH

Opening the proceedings of the conference, the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said that from the beginning of his political life he realised that there could be no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity. At the same time he felt that for the freedom of India, the advancement of the Muslim community was essential. He felt that such unity and amity were even more necessary for the Muslims themselves. The true Islamic spirit was based upon friendship and cooperation with neighbours, whatever their religion, race or colour. He admitted that he had always been a strenuous fighter for the rights of Moslems, but he knew that these were based on justice and even if some of his Hindu friends had at times misunderstood him, they now realised that he had always worked in the

best interests of the communities and the country. Today Bengal, among the Indian provinces, faced dangers of an order which people in other areas did not, perhaps, realise. In this danger, it was imperative that all Bengalees should unite in facing the common danger and the common enemy. A house divided against itself shall fall, and it was for Mr. Hing a consolation, even in the midst of the dangers and distress of today, that former political opponents had come together to share the service of the Motherland. Even dangers lost their terror when shared with friends and he was confident that the new unity established in Bengal would have far greater consequences.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Wishing the movement complete success the Congress president, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* in a message to the conference said:—

It is needless to say that in the present critical and grave times our province stands in need of no movement more than this. He added, 'It is unity and unity alone that is needed most at this juncture of common danger and let us agree that we have differences about future, but let us also agree that we can respond to the demands of the present. We have had enough of quarrels but it must not hinder us from creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence and goodwill at a time when the invader is knocking at our doors.'

LORD BISHOP'S MESSAGE

Welcoming the move, the *Lord Bishop of Calcutta* in a message said that the Punjab had set an example which, he sincerely hoped, Bengal would endorse by her own action.

RESOLUTIONS

The conference adopted a resolution emphasizing that the need for unity and solidarity of the people of Bengal had never been so pressing and immediate as to-day and it was only on the basis of such unity that they could hope to overcome the perils which threatened to engulf them.

It urged the people of the province to unite in the common task of safeguarding internal security and order, storage and distributing of foodstuffs and other essentials, and the provision of medical and other relief, irrespective of differences in caste, community, creed or political affiliation, and to carry on an intensive propaganda to stress the overwhelming identity of interests of the people in this crisis and also constitute peace brigades for despatch to places where there is any apprehension of communal trouble.

By another resolution the conference decided to set up a non-party and non-political organisation, and for this purpose a council of the Hindu-Muslim unity association was formed with about 100 members with direction to frame the constitution and to work out a plan and programme of action for the proposed organisation.

A third resolution stressed the need for creation of a permanent trust fund for publicity through speeches and pamphlets, creation of a literature of communal harmony and dissemination among the masses of greater knowledge of the common achievement of the two communities in the fields of cultural and spiritual activities.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Lucknow—28th. February 1943

NEW COMMITTEE ELECTED

The Old Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha met at Lucknow on the 28th. February 1943 in the after-noon at the residence of Sir J. P. Srivastava under the presidency of Mr. F. D. Savarbar and passed the last year's accounts and transacted such other formal business not taken up during the Bhagalpur session of the Maha Sabha. The dispute about the Ajuer Hindu Maha Sabha elections also came up for consideration and the matter was referred to Mr. F. Deshpande for arbitration.

The Committee met in the evening in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall and elected the following office-bearers unanimously.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee (Working President). Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Dr. V. Naidu, Mr. B. Kharparde and Mr. Gunganaad Singh (Vice-Presidents). Raja Maheshwar Dugal Seth of Kotra (General Secretary). Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri and Mr. V. Kirtwar (Secretaries).

The following constituted the Working Committee:

Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra (Delhi), Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna (N. W. F. P.), Lal Hariram Seth (Agra), Sir P. Srivastava (Dullu), Capt. Kesho Chandra (Punjab), Mr. Ramkrishna Pande (Mahakowhal), Dr. Ulgambar (Bombay), Mr. L. V. Bhopitkar (Maharashtra) Mr. Patwardhan (Karunika), Mr. M. N. Mitra (Bengal), Mr. Chandkaran Sarda (Rajputana), Mr. Kairam Ramana Aasam, Rai Bahadur Venkatarum Aiyar (Madras), Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Sastri (Tamil Nad) M. Raveeshwar Mera (Bihar), Mr. Verma Meghra (Hind), Mr. Khannam (Gujarat), Mr. Subba Rao (Andhra), Mr. P. C. Joglekar (Berar) and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vedatankar (nominated by the President).

Resolutions - Lucknow—1st. March 1943

IMMEDIATE GRANT OF FULL FREEDOM

The newly elected Working Committee met on the next morning, the 1st. March 1943, as also the All-India Committee

The following resolutions were passed by the All-India Committee after prolonged discussions:—

"The Hindu Mahasabha had called upon the British Government to put into practice the war aims professed by England and the Allies that they had joined this titanic struggle for establishing the principles of freedom and democracy. The Hindu Mahasabha regrets that Britain has failed to convince the people of Hindustan of the sincerity of her intentions and takes this final opportunity of warning the British Government that the tragic reverses in the Far East can be prevented in Hindustan by England granting fullest political freedom to India and securing the wholehearted sympathy and co-operation of the Hindus.

"Of all the tragic events in the present war, the fall of Singapore affects most vitally the question of Indian defence. The only effective measure to counteract the defeatist shock and rouse the Indian people with proper spirit in this crisis is a bold and an unambiguous proclamation on the part of the British Government that India is granted full independence and co-partnership equal with Great Britain in the Indo-British Commonwealth and such a declaration must be immediately made by the British Government.

"The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha urges the British Government to realise that the sooner the British make India feel that fighting in alliance with Britain is fighting for India's independence, the better for both England and India.

"This All-India Committee demands the abolition of the India Office and of the India Council, the complete nationalisation of the Government of India on democratic lines, the concentration of political sovereignty in India and the transfer of the entire administration of India to Indian hands, including Defence, Finance, Foreign Affairs and relations with the Indian States."

This resolution was proposed by Mr. N. C. Chatterji, seconded by Raja Maheshwar Dugal Seth of Kotra and was carried unanimously.

CIVIL DEFENCE

"In view of the deplorable unpreparedness of India in matters of defence, the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindu Sabhas throughout India and particularly in Provinces and Districts which are exposed to the dangers of air raids or invasion by foreign powers to organise civil defence parties and to take all possible steps to raise and equip a National Militia for preventing the ravages caused by possible air attacks, anti-Hindu bootlegging and internal commotion. The Hindu Mahasabha defence organisations should act in co-operation with the authorities and with the defence parties started by other political organisations. The Provincial Governments should bring about proper co-ordination between the civil and A. R. P. services and enlist public sympathy and co-operation and grant fullest recognition to the Mahasabha defence organisations and afford them facilities to organise and equip the Mahasabha volunteer forces. The Committee calls upon the Government to repeal the Arms Act and to provide the members of the defence organisations with arms so that they can form a real National Militia, able to withstand and cope with all possible internal emergencies."

This was moved by Mr. N. C. Chatterji and was passed unanimously.

REFEAL OF ARMS ACT

"In view of the fact that the Government has so far failed to organise adequate defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Government to : (1) repeal the Arms Act so that every Indian should be able, without any difficulty, to secure rifles and to learn their use to shoot down invaders as a second line of defence and guerilla warfare in support of the defence to be put up by the Government ; (2) encourage and provide funds for the organisation of a National Militia so as to enable every able-bodied Indian to do his part in the defence of his country ; (3) establish immediately factories for the manufacture of aeroplanes, motor cars and warships and to give help to the industrialisation of the country to bring about self-sufficiency in the matter of weapons for the defence of the country ; and (4) provide serviceable and non-serviceable rifles with ammunition free of charge to schools and colleges as a preliminary for training of educated youths."

This was proposed by Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra, seconded by Pandit Ravenshaw Misra and Major P. Burdhan and was passed.

ANTI-NATIONAL SPEECHES

"From the speeches made and the statements issued by the prominent Congress leaders the Hindu Mahasabha apprehends that the Congress may accept some anti-democratic and anti-national agreement to placate the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only body to speak on behalf of the Hindus warns the Government that, if any such agreement is arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Mahasabha, it will be stoutly resisted by every possible means."

Proposed by Prof. Deshpande and seconded by Pandit Velalankar and Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna, this was adopted unanimously.

STUDENT-CONTACT-MOVEMENT

"Resolved that the Hindu Mahasabha should launch a strong Hindu-Student-Contact-Movement and should establish, aid, or actively support the Hindu Students' movement. The Mahasabha should form a Committee which should see that the rights of Hindu students are not violated in any part of India."

Moved by A. K. Bajpai (U. P.), seconded by Nikam, and supported by Vaidyarej W. K. Dani (Akola).

MIGRATION OF KAZAKS

"The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great concern the migration of several thousands of the Kazaks who are reported to have entered Kashmir with property looted from the adjoining territory. The Committee condemns the Government of India for maintaining them in India, and urges upon them that they should assist the Kashmir Government in repatriating Kazaks back to their own territory."

Proposed by V. G. Deshpande, and supported by Mr. Indra Prakash.

PAKISTAN SCHEME IN ASSAM

"This meeting of the All-India Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that a deep-laid design to reduce the majority strength of the

Hindus in Assam and convert it into a Muslim majority province is being carried on systematically and effectively by colonising the province with Muslim emigrants from outside and that the organised aggression of these Muslim emigrants have been endangering the life and property of the Hindus in Assam. This meeting views with great apprehension the recent inauguration of the land development scheme by the late Badulla ministry, which is really intended to abolish the "Line system" and to bring about the speedy realisation of the Muslim dream of "Pakistan" in the province of Assam. This meeting, therefore, warns the Assam Government that any attempt to modify or alter the "Line system" to the detriment of the interest of the Hindus in Assam will be resisted by the Hindu Mahasabha at all costs and calls upon the Assam Government to desist from pursuing such a suicidal policy at a time when complete cohesion among all sections of people is in their interest of fighting against the imminent foreign aggression."

Proposed by Mr. A. Lahiry and supported by Mr. P. Dewa, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Kali Ram Burman.

The Tamilnad Hindu Mahasabha Conference

Third Session—Coimbatore—20th. June 1942

Presidential Address

Presiding over the third session of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference which met at Coimbatore on the 20th June 1942, Dr. B. S. Menon said:

"We are meeting under most tragic and humiliating circumstances. It is tragic because there is a fundamental change in the attitude of the British Government towards India and its future. We had not completely comprehended in all its implications the real inner meaning of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, when he used to say that the further devolution of power from the British to Indian hands must be subject to two stipulations—one was due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on the British by their historic connection with India and the other was that the constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in India's national life. By natural instinct, as it were, the Indian political opinion suspected, from the frequent repetitions of these two stipulations, progressive deterioration in the British sentiment towards India.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

"Later on as matters developed, the Indian political opinion frankly declared that it read into these stipulations, the desire of the British to take back with one hand what they profess to give with the other and their cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India. But the cat was not out of the bag until, being cornered by the not very complimentary expression of American opinions, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India with what are known as the War Cabinet's proposals. But the fundamental soul of the proposals which was carefully prepared as a bait to the Congress to swallow was the freedom to the provinces not to accede to the Indian Union if they so desired. In its quite naked form, it meant the partition of India into several smaller sovereign States, that is the Balkanisation of India, so that these several sovereign States may be kept constantly quarrelling among themselves, thus providing a ready excuse to the Britishers to keep the Indian army and therefore the finances in their hands for ever. Having thus sown the seed of dissensions and civil war, Mr. Amery, turning round, takes comfort and openly says that 'the British system which we have developed in a homogeneous country is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India.'

"The meaning of it all in plain words is that the Cripps' mission to India has assured the Muslims that the British Government as such is prepared to concede Pakistan to them if they want it and having done this, it has further strengthened the mentality of antagonism in the Muslims towards the Hindus, because it is the Hindus who are alone opposing Pakistan."

BALKANISATION OF INDIA

Referring to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's proposals for Hindu-Muslim unity, Dr. Momin said:

"Our friend, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is and has been carrying on an intensive and fanatical propaganda for influencing the Hindus to concede Pakistan to the Muslims and thus agree to the partition of India. After Pakistan will follow, as might follow the day, Bangladesh, Hursatan, Christianstan, and so many other 'stans' like them. Is it not Balkanisation of India? Is it not degrading and degrading India from the high pedestal of a powerful and respected nation to the insignificant position of a mere conglomeration of principalities, feared and respected by none and threatened and dominated by every powerful nation? Who can say that it is not humiliating to the Hindus? Where practically all the Mussalmans, whether in the Congress or in the Muslim League, or whether nationalists or communalists, are speaking with one determined voice in favour of Pakistan and partition of India into various sovereign States, is it not derogatory to the dignity and prestige of the Hindus that one occupying the eminent position in the community like Mr. Rajagopalachari should come out openly to support Pakistan and to preach against what is practically held unanimously by the entire Hindu community in India as an harbinger of wreck and ruin? In fact, even his supporters admit that 'Mr. Rajagopalachari enjoys hardly any support in the rest of India except among Muslims.' Practically all his colleagues in the Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others, are strongly opposed to him though not equally determined to risk the displeasure of the Moslems by starting a counter-propaganda. The irony of the situation, however, is that Mr. Rajagopalachari is maintaining that his only fault is that he is emphasising what has been consistently and continuously preached by Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress and outside in respect of Hindu-Muslim unity.

SEPARATE NATION THEORY

"Here we as outsiders, must clearly see and analyse, as outsiders, as third persons, what has been actually said by Mahatma Gandhi and what are its clear implications. Mahatma Gandhi says, 'If the vast majority of the Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise and if they want to partition on that basis, they must have the partition unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari has been ignoring the most relevant and significant part of the last sentence, that is, 'Unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari and a few Hindus of his way of thinking may not have the heart to fight for the integrity and solidarity of India, but from the experience he has been gaining in this propaganda tour of his, he must admit that the Hindus are determined to fight to the last drop of their blood to maintain the traditional, religious and cultural solidarity of India and Indian Empire, that is, *Sarvabhoymatva* and *Ekaashtriyatva* of our Vedic prayers of the entire country, lying between the river Sindhu in the north and the sea in the south.

"Now I would like to deal with the whirlwind propaganda of Mr. Rajagopalachari in favour of the Pakistan of the Muslim League. Mr. Rajagopalachari believes that Japan will invade India and conquer it and that the British Government will not be able to put up an efficient and successful defence. Thus, he argues, if Japan succeeds and conquers India, the British Government will go and with it all hopes and plans of non-violence and non-co-operation, Central and Provincial Legislatures and their Ministerships, National Government and Defence Minister and everything that they were negotiating for with Sir Stafford Cripps. In fact, he believes, that, if Japan succeeds, India will be made a slave much more than we are at present. He, therefore, wants to fight Japan and defend India; but he has not got confidence in him and in the Hindu community to which he belongs. He, therefore, wants to combine with the Mussalmans. Mussalmans will not unite with him unless their demand of Pakistan is accepted. Therefore, Mr. Rajagopalachari readily accepts their demand of Pakistan and is terribly annoyed with the Congress for having rejected his proposals and, in its place, accepted Babu Jagat Narain's proposals for rejecting Pakistan.

THE INVASION FEAR

"Now let us analyse his position and see how far he is right and where he is erring. The very first point that strikes me as peculiarly significant is wh)

Mr. Rajagopalachari, the Hindu, alone should be so terribly unnerved at the prospective Japanese invasion. Why should Mr. Jinnah, the Mussalman, not be unnerved? On the other hand, he is perfectly calm, quiet and is maintaining his balance. If the danger is real, it should equally be a danger both to the Mussalman and to the Hindu. Because if, with the defeat and disappearance of the British the Independence will disappear, so also will be the case with Pakistan. Then why should Mr. Jinnah, who is so keen on Pakistan, remain so indifferent?

"Mr. Rajagopalachari believes that, if the Madras Government had been in his hand, he would have raised a well organised militia throughout the Province. Saying is easy than actually doing it. Who would allow him to raise a militia? Is there a National militia in Hind, or in the Punjab or in Bengal where the respective provincial governments are in the hands of the peoples of the respective Provinces? And, what is more, all the three Prime Ministers in these Provinces are Moslems and they also want Pakistan. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that, if Mr. Rajagopalachari would be made the Prime Minister of Madras, he would raise a national militia all throughout the Province, even supposing that the Muslim friends of the Muslim League to whom he wants to concede Pakistan will be all co-operating with him. Where will he get the rifles and cartridges? Will the Viceroy allow him, even if there will be a National Government in the Centre in collusion with the Muslim League? The National Government will not be of the kind on which the Congress is insisting; because Sir Stafford Cripps and the British War Cabinet have set their face against it with fanatic determination.

INDIA'S DEFENCE PROBLEM

"Mr. Rajagopalachari wants to defend India against the Japanese invasion. Sir Stafford Cripps says that 'this defence is a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government,' and that 'the defence will not be in Indian hands even if all the parties want it'. If the defence is not entrusted to the National Government, even of that kind which Congress is insisting upon, then what part of the defence will be left to it and to Mr. Rajagopalachari? What the Government wants from us is our money and labour. It does not want us to control and guide our Defence System.

"If such is the limited scope of Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals regarding what he designates as the National Government, a high sounding but meaningless name, then where is the chance for Mr. Rajagopalachari to create a National militia and to defend India from Japanese invasion? This is all moonshine."

Proceeding, Dr. Moonje referred at length to the system of guerilla warfare and said that the Britishers were quite confident of themselves overwhelming and smothering the invasion of India by the short statured Japanese by matching the big-bodied Pathans and the tall Punjabi Mussalmans against them. They needed no military help from the civilian population as did the Russians and the Chinese. They only needed moral and military resources, that was, money, raw materials and labour which they expected the civil population of India should supply them profusely. If you could pray for the British victory whole day and night as Mahatma Gandhi advised, it would be an additional merit. Now the Mussalman knows it all and therefore is calm, quiet and composed and has not become panicky.

APPEAL TO HINDUS

Dr. Moonje appealed to the Hindus not to become panicky. Even if they conceded Pakistan as Mr. Rajagopalachari advised them, they would not have Hindu-Muslim Unity. The only message, therefore, that he could give them was "Rally round the Hindu Mahasabha and do as it tells you to do. The Hindu Mahasabha is your only saviour. Pay respect and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi, but listen only to the advice of the Hindu Mahasabha."

I would respectfully tell Mr. Rajagopalachari", Dr. Moonje said, "that, in his desire to bring about Hindu-Muslim Unity, however noble and worthy it may be, the way he has adopted to bring it about needlessly cause utmost ruin possible to our Motherland and the Hindus. I would impress upon him the clear and definite expression of opinion of no less a person than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who, in his article in the Twentieth Century under the caption, 'Mr. Amery and the Bombay Conference', says, 'For the British generally to agree to the demand for disunion of India will be, I maintain, an act of black treachery to India.' Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru does not conceal the fact that, though he is born

a Hindu and a Brahmin, his whole culture is Persian, that is, Islamic; still he says that the dissection of India will be an act of black treachery if a Britisher were to agree to it. What have the Hindus to say? Have they not any religion and culture of their own and could not they be equally determined to save them from being smothered by Pakistan, in spite of the fact that a Hindu, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is vehemently and fanatically supporting it?"

The Akhand Hindusthan Conference

Annual Session—Delhi—1st. February 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The dangers of the hour must awaken the wisdom of all communities and interests, and ought to make us believe that we should not allow future ambition to frustrate the programme of present safety", declared Mr. K. M. Munshi, presiding over the Akhand Hindusthan Conference held at Delhi on the 1st February 1942.

Mr. Munshi continued: "What then is the way? At present, any hope of permanent settlement of the claims of the Muslim is wishful thinking. I am afraid, even the conditions which would enable the Nationalists and disruptionists to come together with mutual confidence do not exist. Any effort to solve the political deadlock in the Congress provinces will also, I am afraid, meet with failure. Unless the Congress participates in a National Government, pledged to war first, I do not see any possibility of responsible governments in the Congress Provinces." Criticising the Pakistan demand, Mr. Munshi observed: "The defence of the integrity of the country against external aggression and internal disruption must rule out any possibility of there being more than one Central Government in the country. But, in order to allay the fears of the Muslims, the Central Government can be left with only those powers necessary and incidental to Defence, External Affairs and upholding of the constitution, and no power except of an advisory character to interfere with such activities of the Provincial Governments as do not bear upon those Central activities. The religious and cultural freedom of every subject, whether Hindu or Muslim, can be secured by giving statutory recognition to fundamental rights relating to freedom in religious and cultural matters." But, proceeded Mr. Munshi, another proposal was being whispered about as a possible alternative to disruption, and that was to give 50 per cent representation to the Muslim and 50 per cent to the Hindus and others at the centre. "This fifty-fifty scheme is the more sinister aspect of Pakistan" Mr. Munshi asserted.

Mr. Munshi reviewed the changes in India since the last session of the conference, and pointed out that since the formation of the new Coalition Ministry in Bengal, none of the provinces in India was governed by a "party whose object was the disruption of India."

Visualising post-war conditions, Mr. Munshi said that after the war, Defence was bound to be internationalised in the hands of an effective World Federation. This would mean that the Indian Army, in external matters, like other allied armies, would be under a Regional War Council, helping to maintain international law and order.

Mr. Munshi adverted to "certain forms of non-co-operation in the provinces where responsible government is still functioning", and said this created not only an anomaly, but produced an undesirable effect on Hindu-Muslim relations. The Congress members in the Sind Assembly supported a War Ministry. In the Punjab, the Congress Party studiously absented itself from the Assembly. In Bengal, it attended the Assembly on specific issues. Except in Sind, the Congress parties did not help or hinder Governments. He urged that either the Congress parties in these provinces should be left to make their own coalitions and take charge of the Governments or be asked to get out and make room for those who could do so. Either of these two courses would have a very sobering influence. Mr. Munshi, proceeding, observed:

"Let us drop our timid, fugitive outlook on life. We are not slaves, nor are we the down-trodden of the earth. Let us fix our gaze steadfastly on our past,

which was great and the future which is glorious, and above all, live in the present as men. No one can intimidate or enslave a race of 490 million men pledged to strenuous defiance of all adverse conditions.

"The war opens to us a vista of immense possibilities. The war must end. A new international structure must arise on its ashes, which will end the era of greed and lust for exploitation of men by men. The moral order, for which India stood and stands, is an over-arching reality of life, which defies onslaughts. We have not raised the tower of our ambition on the foundation of other people's enslavement and why should we fear?"

Concluding, Mr. Munshi said: "Hindustan was not born to die. It did not live so long in order to be disrupted or destroyed. It would not have lived so far, had it not had a message to deliver. Let us, therefore, hold fast to its integrity, and to the culture which is its splendid heritage. Let us resist all that seeks its destruction."

Resolutions

The Conference adopted the following resolution:

"This Akhand Bharat Conference believes in one indivisible united India, and strongly condemns the Pakistan scheme which aims at the vivisection of India and declares unequivocally that such like anti-national and communal schemes will not be accepted under any circumstances. This Conference strongly appeals to the various communities that they should raise their united voice against the Pakistan scheme.

"This Conference is of opinion that in the future National Government of India, the religious freedom of all communities should be equally safeguarded and just treatment accorded to all, irrespective of race or religion."

The Conference was addressed among others by Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Mahasha Krishna, Lala Pashwantha Gupta, Sardar Raghbir Singh and Prof. Indra, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The speakers declared that they could not tolerate division of India, and would sacrifice everything for safeguarding a united India, and, if Swaraj was to be won, that would be won for Indians and for India and no division like States, British India, or for Harijans, Hindus or Muslims could be accepted.

The Sikh Polity

The Sikh All Parties Committee

CRIPPS' PROPOSALS REJECTED

The Sikh All-Parties Committee in a representation to Sir Stafford Cripps on the 3rd. April 1942 declared that the proposals are unacceptable to them because: "instead of maintaining and strengthening the integrity of India, specific provision has been made of separation of provinces and constitution of Pakistan and (2) the cause of Sikh community has been lamentably betrayed.

FOUGHT FOR ENGLAND

Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battlefield of the empire, and this is our reward, that our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position has been finally liquidated.

Why should a province that fails to secure a majority of its legislature, in which a religious community enjoys statutory majority, be allowed to hold a plebiscite and be given the benefit of a bare majority? In fairness this right should have been conceded to communities who are in permanent minority in the legislature.

Further why should not the population of any area opposed to separation be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?

We are sure you know that Punjab proper extended upto the banks of Jhelum excluding Jhang and Multan districts, and trans-Jhelum area was added by conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British for administrative convenience. It would be altogether unjust to allow extraneous trans-Jhelum

population which only accidentally came into the province to dominate the future of the Punjab proper.

PUNJAB POPULATION

We give below the figures which abundantly prove our contention :—

From boundary of Delhi to banks of Ravi river the population is divided as follows :—

Muslims	...	...	45,05,000
Sikhs and other non-Muslims	...	...	78,46,000

From Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Multan and Jhang districts :—

Muslims	...	...	82,88,000
Sikhs and other non-Muslims	...	...	23,48,000

To this may be added the population of Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26 lakhs. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of Muslim population still further.

We do not wish to labour the point any more. We have lost all hope of receiving any consideration. We shall resist however by all possible means separation of the Punjab from All-India Union. We shall never permit our motherland to be at the mercy of those who disown it."

Central Akali Dal's Statement

CRIPPS' PROPOSALS ANTI-NATIONAL

Sardar Kharak Singh, president of the Central Akali Dal, in a statement issued from Lahore on the 1st. April 1942, said that the proposals of the War Cabinet not only concurred to all intents and purposes the separatists' demand for partition of India but actually encourage the idea of separatism by holding out a hope to every religious community that wherever they are even in a bare majority, Muslims can form a separate communal sovereign State. At present this idea of separatism has only a frail hold on some sections of the Muslim community but once this principle is agreed to be conceded, it is bound to spread throughout India and then, not to speak of one Pakistan, as many Pakistans may be established as there are provinces or states in which any religious community is in majority. The acceptance of these proposals will, therefore, mean the complete frustration of the national movement in India.

This scheme, adds *Sardar Kharak Singh*, is an anti-national that it could never be acceptable to the nationalist minded Sikhs but it becomes all the more obnoxious and totally unacceptable as it does not provide for an effective safeguard of the rights of the Sikhs.

Communal Pact in the Punjab

Premier Explains Terms

The terms of the Pact which has been arrived at between *Sardar Baldev Singh*, leader of the United Punjab Party and *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan*, were announced by the Premier at a press conference held at Lahore on the 16th. June 1942.

The terms, which are embodied in a letter addressed by *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan* to *Sardar Baldev Singh*, relate to facilities for Jhatka, teaching of Gurmukhi, legislation regarding religious matters, service under the Punjab Government and Sikh representation at the Centre. The terms are so framed as to apply equally to all communities in the Punjab.

DETAILS OF THE PACT

In connection with the question of Jhatka, *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan* proposes, with the approval of the Cabinet, to issue instruction that in Government institutions where separate kitchens exist or can be provided for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, and where facilities exist for obtaining meat, every community should be free to cook and use meat slaughtered according to their own rites, subject only to such restriction as may be necessary to avoid injury to the feelings of the other communities.



As regards the teaching of Gurmukhi as second language in schools, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan says that it will not be possible to give effect to this suggestion forthwith, but he agrees that there should be no objection in adopting and giving effect to it as soon as may be possible. Any formula in this connection will, of course, apply to communities alike.

As for legislation relating to religious matters, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan has agreed to set up a convention that in matters, which exclusively concern a particular community, that community alone should have the right to decide if the matter, when it comes before the House, should be proceeded with or not. It can be left to the members of that community to take a decision at all stages of such legislation.

As regards recruitment to the Services, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan states that the Government has already fixed the proportion for various communities, including the Sikhs, who have been allotted ten per cent share. It is the duty of every Minister to see that no departure from this formula is countenanced.

As for Sikh representation at the Centre, the Premier has assured Sardar Baldev Singh that if and when an expansion or change in the present Executive Council is contemplated, the Sikh claim will, as hitherto, have his full sympathy and support. He shall also be glad to support the Sikh claim for due share in the Central Services.

PREMIER'S UNDERTAKING

Releasing the terms of the Pact for publication, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan made statement welcoming and cordially reciprocating the gesture of goodwill made by Sardar Baldev Singh and endorsing his appeal for mutual understanding between the various communities. On behalf of his colleagues and himself, he gave a solemn assurance that the Government would not only welcome co-operation from all classes and parties in this behalf, but was determined to give a lead by not countenancing any controversial measure, either in the Legislature or outside, for the duration of the war.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan recalled that, at the very outset of the war, he suggested the formation of All-Party Governments in all Provinces and offered to form one in Punjab. Unfortunately, the proposal did not commend itself to the major Indian political parties. "So far as I am concerned," said Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, "I still welcome the co-operation of all groups in the Assembly, and, at any rate, we can still do a great deal by co-operating at least, in matters of common concern and interest, for instance, civil defence, internal security, creating a sense of confidence and security among the masses and checking and contradicting false and exaggerated report and rumours."

PLEA FOR AN ALL-PUNJAB FRONT

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan appealed to all his Punjab fellow-citizens to follow the laudable lead given by Sardar Baldev Singh and said: "It is the duty of all patriotic citizens to help the Government by lending their unflinching support to all measures devised for securing and maintaining public peace and for the protection of life, property and honour of the people. It is the Government, which is primarily responsible for the safety and security of the person and property of the citizens and it has made adequate arrangements for the purpose. Voluntary help from those who have hitherto kept aloof, for one reason or other, will, however, add to the efficiency and efficacy of these measures, and is earnestly solicited. I beg of all parties, classes and communities to shed their suspicion and sink their differences. This is no time for political or communal controversies and rivalries. Let us unite and establish an All-Punjab front in the service of our country and our Province, and demonstrate to the world what a united Punjab can do to save humanity and its cherished ideals of freedom, justice and equality, from the evil forces of Fascist lust and aggression."

Misquoting his reference to controversial measures, the Premier said that it was primarily meant to apply to economic legislation. Any amendments, however, which might be necessary to the efficacy of the Act already passed or to stop any loophole found as a result of judicial decision or otherwise would not be hampered. He emphasized that the intention was that no further controversial legislation would be sponsored by the Government.

GOVT. NOT CONCERNED WITH POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES

In reply to another question, the Premier made it clear that the Govern-

ment as such was not concerned with political controversies, and was not identified either with Pakistan or anti-Pakistan. So far as fair and *bonafide* political propaganda was concerned, everybody had the freedom to carry it on with due regard to law and order. If a conference in favour of Pakistan or against Pakistan were convened and addressed without any risk or danger to the peace of the Province, there could be no objection to it, but if there was risk of breaking of heads, it must be averted.

Amplifying his reference to Jhatka, the Premier said that this was merely a restricted application of the resolution unanimously passed in 1937 by the United Conference on which all communities were represented. This did not, however, give anybody the right to slaughter an animal in a Government institution.

Among those present at the Conference were Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Chhotu Ram, Revenue Minister, and Malik Khisar Hyat Khan Tiwana, Minister for Public Works.

Sikh Leader's Statement

Sardar Baldev Singh, in a statement to the press, says that in view of the assurance given by the Premier and in view of the vital necessity of preserving the internal peace of the Province and facing the imminent danger of external aggression, he feels it his duty to appeal to all communities, and particularly the Sikhs, to co-operate with the Punjab Government at this critical juncture in establishing communal harmony, so that the peace of the Province may be secured and a united front be created for winning the war. As an earnest of the keen desire to create a united front, he offers his own and his colleagues' whole-hearted support and co-operation to the Premier and his Government in all that he may undertake in achieving this object.

The All India Nationalist League

Working Committee—Delhi—26th, February 1942

Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League met at Windsor Place, Delhi, on the 26th February 1942 under the Presidentship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, M. L. A. (Central). At the outset, Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Behari Misra, in view of recent developments, withdrew his resolution circulated in the last meeting held in October 1941, pertaining to the formation of a committee for framing the Indian Constitution.

The Working Committee discussed Mr. Jinnah's latest statement on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's farewell message to the Indian people and his criticism of the non-Party Conference resolution. After a prolonged discussion, the following resolutions were adopted.

The invitation from the Maharashtra through Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar to hold the second annual session of the All-India Nationalist League at Poona, was accepted and the Working Committee fixed July 31, August 1, and 2, 1942, as the dates for holding the second annual session of the League at Poona on the occasion of Lokmanya Tilak's Anniversary as the League is meant to represent the Tilak School of thought in advocating the principle of "Responsive Co-operation" in Indian politics.

Those present included Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, Mr. L. B. Bhopalkar, R. B. Mehr Chand Khanna, Rao Raja Dr. Shyam Behari Misra, Kunwar Gangenand Sinha, R. B. Kunwar Guru Narain, Mr. Chand Karan Sarda, Mr. R. D. Jain and Mr. Ganapat Rai. The Committee concluded its session late in the evening.

MUSLIM LEAGUE CRITICISED

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League regrets that at the recent meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi, assertions were made and decisions taken which must be characterised as untrue in fact and unsound in principle. They can only lead to the postponement of the day of India's freedom and therefore of Muslim freedom.

The Committee rejects the insinuation made in the Muslim League resolution that the demand for the formation of a National Government for India during the war, is inspired by anything but the highest motive of patriotism in the interest of the people of India including Muslims. The Committee cannot accept the claim of the Muslim League that it represents the Muslims of India as a whole.

This is clear from the fact that in four provinces of India out of eleven, viz., Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Orissa, the Muslim League's 'theory of two nations' in India is repudiated by the existence and functioning of Coalition Governments which consist of Hindus, Muslims and other communities; that in the N. W. Frontier Province where the Muslims form the largest majority the Muslim League has failed and is incapable of forming a government pledged to the doctrine of Pakistan; and that in the remaining provinces, there exists a strong volume of Muslim opinion organised to resist that reactionary doctrine.

In the opinion of this Committee, therefore, the formation of a National Government represents the highest common agreement of Indian opinion on the best method of solving the political deadlock in the country, and strongly urges upon the British Government to give effect to it forthwith.

The Committee welcomes the Farewell Message given to this country by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and thanks him for exhorting the British Government to expedite the transfer of real political power. The Committee further considers Mr. Jinnah's criticism of the Marshal's message as detrimental to the best interest of India and a deplorable lapse from good taste.

CHIANG'S VISIT TO INDIA

(a) The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League records its appreciation of the visit of Generalissimo and Madam Chiang Kai-shek to this country as heralding a new link between India and China which are already connected by ties of culture and civilisation from ancient times and assures the people of China of India's whole-hearted support in all possible manner in their heroic resistance to the Imperialist greed of Japanese aggression, and wishes that China will emerge triumphant from the struggle.

(b) The League cannot help deploring the omission of the Government of India in not bringing about an interview between the distinguished visitors and Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Working Committee—Delhi—6th. April 1942

Cripps' proposals Unacceptable

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, held at Delhi on the 6th. April 1942, after a discussion lasting eight hours on the Cripps' proposals, adopted a memorandum to be presented to Sir Stafford Cripps.

The Committee welcome the unequivocal declaration made regarding the future status of India. It embodies all the essentials of a free and independent country with the option of remaining a member and an equal partner with the other members of the British commonwealth of nations.

The committee, however, strongly object to the description of the future Indian State as a new Indian Union. India is not a union but single territorial unit with a uniform historical and cultural background. In framing the future constitution of India that fact of national unity should be the only basis, that unity is a reality to start with and not as aspiration to be achieved hereafter if possible.

Dealing with the right of provinces to join the Indian Union the Committee say that the various provinces are assumed to be natural territorial units entitled to the right of self-determination but India as a whole is denied such right in advance and as a matter of fact the British War Cabinet is trying to impose on this country its own views on the question of Indian unity. Indian disunity is the starting point in this proviso when quite contrary is the fact. India as whole is not allowed to self-determine but it is left to the administrative provinces to decide whether they are part or parcel of India or not, and they are openly encouraged to believe that they have only to say no and they will be free to remain outside the Indian Union.

This is a travesty of Indian self-determination and has given rise to profound misgiving in the minds of the Indian nationalists regarding the bona fides of the British War Cabinet in making such an offer to this country.

The wanted principle of self-determination is, therefore, a perfect mis-

believe and the scheme stands out as an ill-concealed attempt to pander to communal and religious intolerance at the expense of the unity of India.

The C.M. Committee declare that the new proposals are the same for all practical purposes as the declaration of August, 1940. Their camouflaging under the mask of self-determination is so transparent that no nationalist will be taken in. They give a wholly false impression of being based on the principle of self-determination and virtually concede the fantastic doctrine of 'Pakistan', which under no circumstances will this country be prepared to tolerate.

The Committee emphasise the one glaring omission, i. e., the failure to provide for the people of the Indian States in the scheme of self-government and assert that it has the dubious merit of turning administrative divisions in India into independent provinces on the one hand and of planning down on the other, 120 million States people for all time into a position not far removed from slavery. The All-India Nationalist League regrets that the scheme as it stands today, is unacceptable.

As for a Defence control the committee suggest that the principle of an Indian bring in charge of the Defence portfolio must be accepted without reservation and as a matter of principle it realises that the allied front in this war is one and united and once our national sentiment is respected by vesting the Defence portfolio in an Indian, the country would be prepared during the currency of the war to agree that the actual control may remain in the hands of his Majesty's Government, if simultaneously a representative of the Indian Government is to sit on the Imperial War Cabinet as a full member.

Madras Backward Classes' Conference

Fourth Session—Madras—31st. January 1943

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The fourth session of the Madras Backward Classes' Conference was held at Madras on the 31st. January 1943 at the Victoria Public Hall with Sir A. P. Patro in the chair. A large gathering was present on the occasion.

Sir A. P. Patro said that the foremost duty of every Indian to-day was to co-operate fully with the Allied powers in the fight against Nazism and to help in defending India against aggressors. Japan was bound to go down in the end with her Axis partners. He urged the people not to believe false rumours spread by foolish people. Everything possible was being done to defend India, and he would affirm that the defence arrangements here were sound.

As for the Indian political tangle, Sir A.P. Patro said there was "no irreconcilable difference between India and Britain after the declaration of August 1940." The present was not the occasion to bargain with Britain, engaged as she was in a life and death struggle. India wanted proof of goodwill and Great Britain had already assured the people of the goal of India. The defence of India ought to be India's first concern now. After the war, India might become freer and attain full Swaraj. Swaraj was not a thing to be conferred by another country; it must be worked out and established by the people themselves. The present times required unity and mutual co-operation to defeat the enemy and establish freedom for all suffering nations. Continuing, Sir A. P. Patro said that the backward classes should not quarrel with other communities. But they should work for a classless society. Caste, communal and racial spirit were great obstacles to the growth of nationalism in India and wisdom lay in combating these. The backward communities had a valuable contribution to make in the war by virtue of their military traditions and their technical skill. They should have, he said, due share in the recruitment to the various branches in the army, as well as in the fruits of victory.

Sir A. P. Patro then emphasised the need for removing illiteracy through widespread diffusion of elementary education and adult education, and in this connection urged that the members of backward classes should be given all possible educational facilities by way of fee concessions, scholarships, meals for poor children, etc. The need for effective rural reconstruction work, including promotion of handicrafts and small industries, was very urgent. Attention should be

paid to the amelioration of the lot of the scheduled classes. It was a pity that nothing effective had yet been done for them. He wondered if the Hindu Maha Sabha included within the scope of its work this section of the Hindus. In his view, there was no need for "the mockery of a Hindu Maha Sabha", seeing that "the great Indian National Congress represented Indian feelings and sentiments" and was "a national organisation as far as it goes, and the only accredited organisation for India." The Muslim League spoke for the Muslims.

Power must and would come, the speaker proceeded, when the people were united. If all of them came together on a basis of social justice and equality, Britain could no longer withhold Swaraj from Indians. India might have a national government or a coalition government; but that would be surreal, so long as the bulk of the population comprising the Backward Class were neglected. The members of these communities should organise themselves, learn to rely on themselves, keep away from all political parties, and take a leaf from the Congress in the matter of organisation. The task before them was great. The power of the dominant classes and of the British Bureaucracy and racial pride must disappear; a new synthesis must be effected. Quoting *Gandhiji*, Sir A. P. Patro said that the message of "Back to Village" must be spread and implemented with all the force and vigour possible.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference then adopted a number of resolutions. An expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and support to His Majesty's Government was conveyed through the first resolution. The next resolution was one of condolence touching the death of Rao Bahadur M. S. Nagappa, sculptor.

On the motion of Mr. S. Deivasikhamani, the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Government to give consideration to the demands put forward from time to time by the Conference.

Mr. V. M. Ghatikachalam moved a resolution that the communal G. O. should be modified in view of the change in the conditions since it was first adopted. The resolution was adopted.

Other resolutions passed by the Conference related to restoration and extension of fee concessions and other facilities for the educational advancement of the members of the backward classes; granting separate representation in the services to members of the communities.

The last resolution requested the Government to at once devise measures for the relief of weavers through supplies at reasonable prices of yarn, through improved market facilities and through other measures for providing them employment.

Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, addressing the gathering, said that the members of the Backward Classes should, as a first step to their social advance, shed caste and other distinctions in their own ranks and learn to stand united. They should promote inter-dining and inter-marriage with one another and get rid of all superstitious and out-of-date beliefs which retarded progress.

Mr. Rangiah Naidu said that much of their social, educational and economic backwardness was traceable to the country's political subjection. He appealed to them to unite in working for India's liberation.

In bringing the proceedings to a close, Sir A. P. Patro said that to reform themselves would be the surest means of reforming the whole society. "Do justice to those below you before you claim justice from those above"—this, he said, should be their guiding principle. With a vote of thanks the Conference terminated.

The A. I. Depressed Classes' Conference

Eighth Session—Maurit—1st. February 1943

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"We stand for the country's independence, but at the same time we stand for our own freedom; we stand to end our social, religious and economic exploitation, and stand for equality in Hindu society", observed Mr. Jagan Nath, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, and Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee,

attack and the main body of India as well as the area which would meet prejudice the carrying of coal from the mines to the munition factories of India."

VIOLENCE IN BIHAR

Mr. Coxe (Labour) interjected: "If the charge was so vital why have you simply locked them up in a concentration camp?"

Mr. Amery: "The charges are that this attack was specifically planned and in accordance with general directives given by the Congress and in accordance with the directives of a particular provincial committee. Something like 800 railway stations were attacked and at least 24 cases of derailment were reported. The disturbances were particularly violent in Bihar, a vitally strategic area. In that province something like 65 police stations were attacked and 40 destroyed. At another place in the Central Provinces, a magistrate and police officer were done to death after refusing the offer of their lives if they resigned from Government and joined the Congress party."

"INSPIRED BY CONGRESS LEADERS"

At another place, two officers were burnt alive in kerosene, while another officer suffered a similar fate elsewhere. "It is perfectly clear that we were confronted with a movement that was something a good deal more than ordinary student and hooligan rioting. We were confronted with something very serious and if the organisation of that movement had been allowed to develop for several weeks while a smokescreen of discussion as to whether the British would leave India was going on, the result might have been disastrous. This action alone would have provoked a situation which would have paralysed the Indian war effort. It would have made it impossible to defend India or relieve China by the reconquest of Burma and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this movement was in its main outline deliberately organised and intended by those who unfortunately succeed in establishing control over the Congress movement. All the evidence that is coming to us makes it clear that this whole campaign of disorder and revolt is the outcome of the application by local leaders of the general guidance which the Congress leaders inspired."

WHIPPING

There are one or two questions raised by Mr. Sorensen. He raised the question of whipping. The cane is a light rattan cane half an inch in diameter and employed in this country for crimes of brutal violence and I gave him a full answer yesterday or the day before. He also raised the question of prison riots at Dacca and Bhagalpur. In each case there was a prison mutiny, no doubt stimulated by the atmosphere outside. Dacca was entirely within the authority of the Bengal Ministry, while the prison at Bhagalpur was entirely confined to habitual convicts not concerned with the position except in so far as the generally disturbed state might have caused these effects. Broadly speaking, we can say with the Prime Minister that we have emerged from a situation of grave danger and one on which we can look with a reasonable mark of confidence. At the same time the disturbances are by no means wholly over and we should be well not to suggest that we are out of the wood yet.

I should like to turn to the political issues that underlie this problem. We are in this matter confronted by fundamental divergences of policy and outlook. The whole policy of the Congress might have grown up naturally over years. The policy of the inner body which dominates the Congress is based on the assumption that the Congress is entitled to step into the shoes of the British Government and take over the control of the whole of India.

This is the fundamental assumption on which all their policy is based. The policy of His Majesty's Government as set forth first of all in August 1940 and again far more frankly and clearly by Sir Stafford Cripps on his mission to India is that they intend with the minimum delay after the war to extend to India the same freedom as enjoyed by the great dominions or for that matter enjoyed by ourselves, the same freedom to control her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world on the basis of a constitution arrived at by agreement and co-operation between the different elements within India. On no other basis is constitutional settlement possible.

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It is not possible in any other federation whether the United States, the British Dominions or other countries, for a composite structure to exist which embraces many divergencies—and no where are fundamental divergences greater than in India—unless the constitution efforts in substantial measure a wide agreement based on discussion and compromise between elements that have got to live together within a single political framework. That condition inevitably led to another. It was an inevitable consequence of the conclusion that India's future could only be settled by Indians by agreement among themselves. But you cannot do anything to-day which would prejudice that issue which would throw the control of the future into the hands of dozen or so irresponsible people. On purely military considerations, there is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government. For there is the fact that the defence of India, Ceylon, the Middle East and Burma are all inseparably connected and every Department in the Government of India depends upon that. But quite apart from that consideration there is the constitutional consideration, that you cannot, in complete absence of agreement, hand over unqualified and unlimited power to any particular group of individuals. (Cheers.)

The Government were prepared to deal through Sir *Stafford Cripps* who as was said by Mr. Palmer, interpreted the policy of His Majesty's Government, with the utmost patience and ability but also in the very widest and most generous spirit. All this was subject to that one consideration, that the measure of power we give now to the Government of Indian political leaders must be subject in the last resource to ultimate control by this Parliament. We know how very real is the power enjoyed by the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive. Sir *Pirao Khan Noon*, in a speech the other day, drew attention to the fact that, for the eleven months when he had been a member of the Viceroy's Council, he did not know of one case where the Viceroy had not given way to the wishes of the Executive Council. The demand which the Congress put forward at the last moment meant that the Viceroy's ultimate power should be abolished and that the whole power given to a self-constituted group of individuals. Such a course would at once have precipitated chaos and confusion in India and would not have been accepted by His Majesty's Government and would not have been accepted by India as a whole.

CRIPPS MISSION

In this connection, I should like to take the opportunity of dealing with rumour which has had widespread currency in this country and I believe even more in the United States that Sir *Stafford Cripps*, in the course of his mission, could have gone beyond the definite instructions of the Cabinet in this matter—because they were not only instructions, they were an inherent part of our policy—and having so, he was suddenly called back and prevented from making a settlement by most immediate instructions from the War Cabinet or the Prime Minister. I venture to give a categorical denial to each and every form of rumour which was put forward. Sir *Stafford Cripps* safely carried out his mission, interpreting in the most generous sense the instructions he was given and in no respect departing from the essentials of that policy.

Mr. *Davies* (Labour) interjecting: "Can we at long last get the inner history to which Mr. *Amery* is referring? What was then responsible for the unexpected and totally unlooked for collapse in these instructions about July 8 (?) and can we get the true tale?"

Sir *Stafford Cripps*: "Perhaps I may answer. The change which occurred took place on the intervention of Mr. *Gandhi*. The Congress Working Committee

had passed a resolution accepting the proposals. Mr. Gandhi intervened and subsequently the resolution was reversed."

Mr. Davies: "Was that resolution passed by the Congress on April 2 which was not divulged until April 10?"

Sir Stafford Cripps: "The Honourable Member was not there. I was. He is asking me what happened. I am not suggesting that the first resolution was published or bound the Congress or anything else. It constantly happens in the course of negotiations you get a resolution and after further consideration, it is reversed and there is a narrow majority one way or the other."

Mr. Davies: "The leader of the Congress, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru, stated in public on April 10 when that resolution was made public, the position about the resolution, but nothing has been known until now that Mr. Gandhi intervened and in some way or other that altered the resolution. Extraordinary!"

MR. AMERY'S VERSION OF THE BREAKDOWN

Mr. Amery: "Sir Stafford Cripps has thrown light from his direct knowledge on the history of this matter. I think it will be clear, whatever the inner history, that from the fact that the Congress put up a demand which was fundamentally inconsistent with the whole principle of the efforts made by His Majesty's Government, namely a demand without qualification or limitation that the whole Government of India should be put into their hands, that is really the reason why the mission broke down. Having broken down, there was not only grave disappointment among the members of the Congress Working Committee but among all thoughtful people in India and it lies with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Party for the line they have taken. In these circumstances, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress majority that then went with him determined upon the policy of mass disobedience. In circumstances of difficulty, the people naturally revert to the technique with which they have been most familiar and in Mr. Gandhi's case, it was the technique of mass disobedience, only to be used on this occasion by Mr. Gandhi's influence for a deliberate trial of strength. I have heard it said that all constructive proposals with regard to this Indian problem in recent years have come from here and action on the part of Mr. Gandhi in this particular connection has been wrecking and deliberately coercive. They were encouraged by the mildness of the Government of India in the face of much provocation and thought that, within a week or so of the campaign, the Government of India would give way. It did not! That was the real decision and that was the response to Sir Stafford Cripps!"

Mr. Amery then quoted extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings in the *Harijan* regarding the coming into existence of a provisional Government.

"At one moment he says that the British rule must come to an end at once, that the army must be disbanded, and India left to anarchy and that the first step probably would be to start negotiations with Japan against whom India felt no ill-will at all. When it was suggested that was not good propaganda in this country or in the United States, Mr. Gandhi cheerfully turned it round and said that the object was not anarchy but an ordered stable provisional Government and the maximum of assistance to the Allied cause. Well really, I think, we can be quite clear on this issue—that those resolutions mean nothing in themselves and that any conversations that Mr. Gandhi might have wanted to indulge in if the resolutions were annulled by the All-India Working Committee were merely meant to gain time for the perfection of the organisation to sabotage the independence and freedom of India.

"I think I can very well sum up that situation by quoting the words of a member, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, to whom I referred just now, when he said: "This lawlessness will soon subside and the Congress policy of force fail. Thank God and the police and the army for that. Thereafter we have only a second alternative left to us for winning our freedom—compromise and unity." That is the only alternative by which India can have freedom and will win her freedom. As to the immediate future, we have to deal with the position as it stands. I entirely agree with those who say that a problem like the political problem in India cannot be settled merely by staying out and enforcing law and order.

"But there are also moments—not the least in the middle of a struggle for existence and not the least when there is no beginning of a sign of the really powerful organisations coming together—at a moment like that, there can be no alternative for the time to enforcing ordinary law and order and good government. Negotiation is always desirable. At the same time, there can be no bigger mistake—and

everyone recognises that in international affairs—than negotiations when there is not the slightest chance of success or negotiations with those who are not in a position to deliver the goods. As I said in answer to a question earlier to-day, His Majesty's Government welcome every effort made by statesmen of goodwill in India to bring the different elements together. But goodwill on the part of statesmen who cannot control their organisations, though desirable in itself, is not sufficient. You have got to bring the men together or rather they have got to come together and show at any rate sufficient willingness to come together to enable something to be done. My Right Honourable Lord Privy Seal went out in the faith and hope that there was a possibility of the men coming together. I am sorry to say that, while he travelled many thousands of miles to meet them, the different parties in India were not prepared to cross a street to meet each other or discuss among themselves or with him a further settlement of the Indian constitution."

Mr. Skirrow: "That is not a true statement of the position."

Mr. Amery: Therefore we have got to wait so far at any rate as Congress leaders are concerned for a change of front. Meanwhile, we naturally welcome every proposal which, within the broad general framework of our considered policy, is possible. As I pointed out it was not a bargaining policy which he took with him. It is a considered policy which is the only policy—and I am talking of broad outline and not of detail—under which the final solution and a permanent solution of the Indian problem can be achieved. Within the broad framework we are only too glad to welcome any practical proposals that are brought forward with any reasonable hope of agreement among the main parties in India itself.

Meanwhile the Government of India to-day is in the hands of an executive consisting of members, who are not only men of high ability and just as good Indian nationalists as the leaders of the great organised parties but who also by experience are as receptive as any body of men you could get together in India to-day. It is to them, with the courage they have shown in this difficult situation that we and the Indians must look in the main for immediate control of India's problems and for her conduct of war. Meanwhile, there is nothing in the world to prevent men of goodwill in India coming together and hastening on the future, provided some agreement could be found on the nature of the future constitution and on the methods by which it was going to be arrived at. All that is and has been throughout perfectly open and whatever is done in that line will certainly meet with the wholehearted approval of His Majesty's Government.

"SITUATION IN INDIA IMMENSELY COMPLICATED"

I want to close on a note of optimism. The situation in India is immensely complicated and difficult. It has elements in it which, in some respects, are more difficult than those in Europe, Ireland or Palestine. On the other hand, there are elements of unity. There is not only unity of administration, of law, of trade, that Britain had created during the last 100 years—a system of unity of which we have every reason to be proud. It and the long peace which India has enjoyed and the interlocking of interests throughout India from end to end still bind the Indians not only the Congress Party, but Moslems and Princes, who must not only by virtue of treaty obligation but by their geographical position, play an immensely important part in the future. In this country, we want India to be free. We want India to take her place as a freely associating member of the wonderful partnership of nations which we call the British Commonwealth—a partnership which, I believe, is destined to play an even greater part in future years than in the past. It is the policy to which we are committed in this House, to which the Prime Minister committed himself in the opening and vital sentence of his statement yesterday, a policy which all patriotic Indians equally believe in. With that substratum of unity, I think it is not beyond reason to hope that under some constitutional form or other, at some time or other, and I hope at a not too distant time, Indians may be able to agree on the constitution under which they can not only attain political freedom but develop to the full the wonderful natural resources of India and the greatest gifts of her people. (Cheers.)

House of Commons—London—8th. October 1942

Amery Repeats old charges

Mr. Amery, moving for the second reading of the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Bill, in the House of Commons on the 8th. October 1942, said—

"The first main clause of the Bill to which I invite second reading raises the whole issue of our policy in India. At the same time, the Bill contains certain

other clauses added to it for the sake of convenience which can more conveniently be discussed in committees later. But the House may wish me just to indicate what the purpose of those other clauses is.

"The second section deals with emergency courts which Provincial Governments have been empowered to set up in the event of invasion or imminent invasion in order to deal with looting, sabotage or other fifth column activity. The sentences of these emergency courts will be subject to review by a judge of the High Court. In the case of death sentences, petitions on grounds of mercy will, as hitherto, continue to go to the Viceroy and what the clause does is to suspend the right exercised in cases in the ordinary courts and which will still continue to be exercised to petition the Privy Council for leave for special appeal against a sentence.

"These petitions are in practice never granted and it is very undesirable for simply postponing a decision. That kind of postponement is obviously most undesirable in the case of an emergency situation and the clause deals with that point. Clause three covers the omission arising from the fact that the Central Legislature under the Act of 1935 has not yet come into operation."

"In that Act, both the Central and Provincial Legislatures were empowered to declare that holding of office under the Crown did not necessarily invalidate a member's seat. That is in effect in the case of Provincial legislatures, and in the case of the Central Legislature it has not come into effect and the provisions of the older statute still apply, debarring the holding of such offices of profit.

"Under war conditions, it is found that this directly embarrasses the war effort by making it impossible for, say, reserve officers to take up their commissions or army recruiting officers to function and the clause disposes of that. Section four is a purely defining clause giving more careful definition to provisions which protect peasants in provinces like Punjab or aboriginal tribes in provinces like the Central Provinces from alienating their land to moneylenders and to prevent these provisions being in fact nullified by fictitious transactions.

"Clause five arises from the fact that there is at the moment the Burma Government functioning on the soil of India engaged in the reorganisation of the Burma Army and there are also certain number of cases pending before the Burma Court which it is desirable to have settled. The clause provides for these duties of the Burma Government to be exercised on the Indian soil and for these special cases already before courts to be concluded before Indian courts.

PLEDGE OF FREEDOM

"I now turn to the main clause of the Bill which raises directly the whole issue of the present political deadlock in India. The origin, its provisions and necessity for its continuance are indeed only intelligible in the light of the fundamental difference between the Congress Party on the one hand and the rest of India and His Majesty's Government on the other, as to the method by which India's freedom is to be attained. It is, I repeat a difference—divergence as to the methods to be pursued and not as to the aim in view. Indian nationalism's desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands, free of external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all. To that aim, we, in this country, have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and before the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, the aim is one which elicits our spontaneous and wholehearted sympathy. It does so for the sufficient reason that its fulfilment represents the natural and rightful crown and consummation of our past achievement in India. We should be the last people in the world to belittle or apologise for that achievement (cheers). I say with confidence that never in human history has external influence contributed to the welfare and happiness of so vast a volume of humanity.

"NOT QUITTING INDIA UNDER ANYONE'S ORDERS"

"We have never regarded our contribution to India as a claim to permanent domination. On the contrary, our highest claims in our eyes and in those of history will be to have given India a sound foundation on which she can build by herself and for herself a stable and prosperous future. The policy to which we are committed is not one of reluctant retreat but of willing advance, not one of enforced abdication but free and proper partnership in freedom. We are not quitting India under anyone's orders (cheers). It is we, who wish India to go forward with our goodwill to build her future under her own leadership."

Mr. Silverman, interjecting: Is that the Prime Minister's view?

Mr. Amery, continuing, said: "To go forward not to fly apart, to build, not to

break up. It is to that end that our policy has been consistently directed. Our conviction is that India can only be truly free, truly secure against external aggression and truly prosperous, if she is at peace within her own borders and she can only enjoy that peace under a constitution which gives due regard to the profound differences of religion and culture, in history and tradition and local history and sentiments which make up the complex life of that vast country—I would rather say vast continent.

MUSLIMS, PRINCES AND DEPRESSED CLASSES

"You cannot dispose of the great Moslem community of 95 millions—(Cheers), with its passionate sense of duty, its distinctiveness as a spiritually alien world and with its memories of past domination as a mere numerical minority. You cannot dispose of the Princes of India, rulers of nearly half of India and over nearly a quarter of her population bound to the Crown by mutual loyalty based on treaties faithfully observed on both sides, as negligible excrescences of British India.

"You cannot ignore 30 millions of Depressed Classes outside the pale of the Hindu caste, not to speak of other lesser but still important elements. No simple arithmetical formula of unitary constitutions can ever reconcile the natural claims of these various elements to be free to express each its own character and defend its own particular ways and interests. Only a constitution based on balance and compromise can harmonise these claims. Such a constitution this House attempted to devise for India in the Act of 1935. We have since come to the conclusion that no constitution imposed from without, can meet the case. It is for those who have to live under the constitution to find a compromise and concession which will enable it to work. It is for those who frame the constitution to secure goodwill, without which it can never succeed. It is on that principle that His Majesty's Government based the broad declaration of policy which Sir Stafford took to India to discuss with Indian political leaders. The declaration offered India complete and unqualified freedom, the very freedom enjoyed by the Dominions or for that matter by ourselves—the same control over her destinies within the partnership of the British Commonwealth or without the partnership, if she preferred to forgo this partnership, at the earliest possible moment after the war, under a constitution arrived at through agreement and subject to a treaty relating to our honourable obligations.

LIMITATIONS ON INTERIM GOVT. DUE TO WAR

"What more could have been offered? That offer stands. What more can we offer to-day? What better plan has any-one suggested? In the meantime, we have invited the Indian political leaders to share responsibility during the war to the fullest extent compatible with the existing constitution. That is to say, subject to the ultimate responsibility through the Viceroy to Parliament here. These were and are two inseparable and inseparable parts of the same policy. The limitation on any interim Government to the framework of the existing constitution was in any case a necessity so long as the final responsibility for waging war rested with His Majesty's Government. For it is upon the whole machinery of the Government and not merely upon the Commander-in-Chief's Department that India's war effort depends. But there is more to it than that. Unqualified abdication of all that responsibility before an agreed constitution has been arrived at, would have meant the abandonment, to a wholly irresponsible body, of power to decide whether there would have been an agreed constitution. It would have meant for the minorities a sacrifice of guarantees for their future rights to have an effective say in deciding the form of government under which they were to live and work.

CONGRESS "WRECKED" CRIPPS NEGOTIATIONS

"For their representatives to enter the interim Government on such a footing was, as Mr. Jinnah shrewdly remarked, to invite the fly to walk into the spider's parlour. But it is not Sir E. Cripps' rejection of the demand for unqualified and unlimited power that wrecked a settlement, for if he had accepted the demand, its acceptance would equally have wrecked a settlement, for it would have immediately been repudiated by Moslem India. It was the demand and not his rejection of it that wrecked the negotiations. To understand why the Congress Party executive under Mr. Gandhi's influence—

Mr. Norton (I. L. P.): May I interrupt? The Minister said not only 'wreck negotiations' but that they 'meant to wreck them'. Will the Minister tell me how he asserts it?"

GANDHI—A REVOLUTIONARY

Mr. Amery, continuing, said: "I was just preparing to give my reasons to form that conclusion. To understand why the Congress Party, under Mr. Gandhi's influence, was determined to wreck any settlement, however generous to India, I must ask the House to go back for the moment to the whole course of the Congress policy in recent years. Originally a constitutional party, with the programme of evolution towards complete self-government, the Congress has in the last generation and, especially since it came under Mr. Gandhi's autocratic influence, become a party of revolution. That Mr. Gandhi has always couched that revolution as non-violent does not alter its essential character. His consistent aim and that of his followers has been, not progressive transformation of British rule in India to Indian rule, but its direct suppression at some given moment by the Congress as a result of some upheaval, to which the existing Government of India and the Parliament here, should surrender. To that end the organisation of the Congress has been steadily strengthened and evermore rigidly centralised. There is no more interesting or more dangerous modern political symptom than that of a revolutionary leader, who by his direct personal appeal to masses, is not only able to control an immensely powerful political organisation, but can make impossible all resistance to his arbitrary wishes on the part of his associates. The appeal may be to the German passion for brute force, or it may be to the Hindu mysticism and reverence for an ascetic, but the same type of dictatorship emerges.

In the case of India, it has been steadily used to build up power for an eventual trial of strength, while rejecting all compromise, either with the British Government or other elements in India. When the Congress High Command allowed the Congress Ministers to take office in the Provinces where its organisation secured majorities, it did so avowedly to wreck the constitution at its chosen moment and meanwhile to increase its hold on the whole machinery of the provincial administration."

CONGRESS RULE IN PROVINCES

Mr. S. O. Davies (Lab.), interrupting, said: "On that very important point, did India itself or this Government at any time criticise the administration and the Congress Ministers in the Provinces at the time they were there in existence? Is it not a fact that by representatives of this Government they were complimented over and over again. I can quote for that. Is it not a fact also that it was not until the Congress Ministers had been compelled to give up their work that criticism started by this Government?"

Mr. Amery said: "I am not concerned to criticise the Congress Government's administration, but the policy the Congress High Command, which at the end of 1939, ordered out its Ministers and sought the good work they were doing and compelled the Provincial Governments to take over that direct control under Section 93, of the India Act for whose continuance provision is made in the present Act. It did so under the mistaken impression that the Government would be seriously embarrassed. What it overlooked was the general antagonism which it created by its autocratic methods, above all among the Moslem community. For the Moslems, the Congress rule, and even more perhaps the manner of its termination was a revelation of what they might expect from Congress rule in the Centre. It made Mr. Jinnah for the first time the undoubted leader of the Moslem masses. At the 1947 elections, the Moslem League was only one of a number of Moslem parties. Since January, 1936, the League or the coalition supported by it, have won 46 out of 56 by-elections in the Moslem constituencies, while the Congress has only won three.

"But so far from realising the strength of resistance which it had created for itself, the Congress Executive only became more firmly set in its claims that it was entitled to regard itself as the one and only legitimate mouth-piece of Indian nationalism and the natural heir to the existing Government of India.

WHY CONGRESS REJECTED CRIPPS PROPOSALS

"The proposals brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps placed the Working Committee in a real quandary. Some of its members realised the difficulty in rejecting so general an offer. But the majority swayed by Mr. Gandhi must have seen in the acceptance, not only the abandonment of non-violence in the face of what they thought might well be a coming Axis victory, but even worse, the abandonment of the whole Congress claim to settle the destiny of India. So they decided on rejection and put up the demand for immediate and unqualified power, which they knew could not be granted. What I want to make

clear to the House is that the movement to counteract the effect of the rejection upon public opinion in India and abroad and to rally the Congress on to the emotional plane as the champions of India against British tyranny and repression, that this rebellion, to use Mr. Gandhi's own words, that criminal plan to paralyse ordinary life in India and sabotage India's capacity for defence, was deliberately resolved upon in order to defeat the generous policy put forward by His Majesty's Government. The various series of resolutions, whether based on the assumption of negotiations with Japan or professing to advocate maximum help to the Allied cause, were a mere smokescreen to cover a pre-determined policy."

Mr. *Haden Gurst* (Labour), intervening said: "This is a very vital question."

The Speaker: "It would be more convenient if the Minister could make his statement."

Mr. *Haden Gurst* repeated "this is a vital question" and asked, "On what evidence the minister was making the charges. On what did he base his statement on the Congress policy and did he propose to publish documents in support of that statement, because they were certainly unknown to the House."

Mr. *Amery*: "I was only expressing conclusions I have arrived at after such study as I have been able to give to the situation, both now and in recent years and the impression I have arrived at. I will justify to such extent as the limits of the present debate allow. I venture to suggest that the House will allow me to continue. I am endeavouring to present my reasoned conclusions and I hope to be able to be allowed to develop them."

Mr. *Silverman* (Labour): "This is a very important part of his speech. Did the *Lord Privy Seal*, when he came back from India, share the view Mr. Amery is now expressing, that in putting forward this demand the Indian National Congress intended to wreck the negotiations, and if he did share that view, what did he mean by saying that the negotiations had been extremely useful and had cleared the air and paved the way for further understanding?"

As other members showed a disposition to ask questions too at this point, Sir *Stanley Reel* (Conservative) rose and said: "There are many of us who are anxious to hear the Secretary of State." But the remainder of his statement was drowned in interruption.

ARREST OF LEADERS JUSTIFIED

Mr. *Amery* continued: "In answer to that question Sir *Stafford Cripps* expressed his view very clearly by his intervention during the last debate. What I want to say is that it is idle to suggest that anything could possibly result from negotiations with Mr. Gandhi after the passing of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution except more complete organisation of plans for dislocating communications and making the rebellion effective. The Government of India, unless it wished to shirk the first duty of any Government, had no option except to take action. Prompt and firm action might well have saved India and, indeed, the Allied cause from grave disaster. (Cheers). I need not repeat to-day the account I gave in the last debate of the actual course of the outbreak which followed. Enough to say that the firmness of Government, loyally supported by the civil services, police and, whenever it became necessary, the Army, has broken the back of the movement, which even if it was prevented from perfecting its preparations, was still very formidable—a movement which for a while seriously interrupted communications in what is strategically the most vital area in India and caused widespread destruction of property and deplorable loss of life. It would be rash to say that we are yet out of the wood. Sporadic disturbances are still reported daily. The forces of law and order will, for months to come, have to be unceasingly vigilant and will need all the support that the Government of India and this House can give them. (Cheers.)

"But those forces have at any rate won the first, and we can only hope, a decisive round. For all this tragic business the responsibility, and the whole responsibility, must rest with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders. The precise extent to which on any one occasion or at any particular place other elements ranging from mere hooliganism to more sinister revolutionary and fifth column activities may have co-operated may perhaps never be determined. Nor will it ever be easy to trace all the channels by which the general directive for revolutionary action and in particular systematic and obviously planned dislocations of communications were distributed, whether in actual printed instructions such as those of the Andhra Provincial Committee, which I quoted in the last debate, or in shorter letters or conveyed verbally by subordinate Congress leaders or by students who played so large a part in this business, I do not know. In any case

you cannot preach the overthrow of Government, you cannot avow you are in open rebellion, declare your willingness to risk the anarchy that may follow an appeal to the masses to resist slavery and then disclaim responsibility for the consequences.

"It is significant that the Congress is essentially a Hindu organisation, though by no means only a Hindu organisation. And more particularly in view of Mr. Gandhi's influence over uneducated Hindu masses, the Muslim population in the towns and villages, as well as Muslim students at the universities, have kept resolutely aloof from the disturbance and have given help and support to the authorities. On this issue, they received a straightforward lead from Mr. Jinnah who has left no doubt as to his opinion of the Congress attack, professedly aimed against British rule, as being in fact a direct attack on the rest of India and upon Muslim India in particular.

"Large elements of the Hindu population have also made clear repudiation of the outbreak and in many cases co-operated loyally with the authorities.

NO "APPEASEMENT" OF CONGRESS

"So much for the past. The House will naturally wish to know what is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in relation to the present position and immediate future. As far as the Congress is concerned its leaders by their own actions have put themselves out of court. There can be no question of the Government of India entering upon negotiations or allowing others to do so, so long as there is any danger of the recrudescence of the trouble for which they have been responsible or until they have had made it clear to the authorities that they have abandoned the whole policy of securing control of India by illegal and revolutionary methods and are prepared to come to an agreed settlement with the rest of their fellow-countrymen. There is no hope of improving the situation or easing the present deadlock by attempting an appeasement of the Congress in its present mood and outlook. To do so would only create even greater difficulties with the Muslims and the other parties. Above all, it would be regarded as a direct betrayal by the Army, police and the civil services who have played so steadfast a part in these troubles and upon whom the whole safety of India and fate of the Allied cause so largely depends (cheers).

NO COMPLETE TRANSFER OF POWER

"The question is whether any immediate interim solution can be found apart from Congress. The door remains open, and it has been repeatedly made clear, for the favourable consideration of any proposals agreed to by the leaders of the other main parties within the framework of our declaration, in other words, subject to the retention of the ultimate responsibility of the Viceroy and Parliament pending the framing of an agreed constitution.

"That, as I have already explained, is inevitable not only because of our responsibility for seeing the war to a successful conclusion but also because it is the only guarantee to those concerned that the constitutional future will not be prejudged to their detriment.

PROSPECTS OF AGREEMENT

"What prospect is there to such an agreement be prejudged to their detriment. There is—and we should welcome the fact—much wider recognition of the need for an agreement. I fear it would be premature to suggest that so far that recognition has involved any great readiness to compromise in order to secure it. The Muslim League is prepared to enter a National Government provided always that the rights of the Muslims to an entirely separate national existence, is guaranteed beforehand. The Mahasabha—the leading Hindu party outside the Congress—are equally prepared, but only on the basis of a United India in which the Hindus will dominate in virtue of their numerical preponderance. In those conditions, agreement on the desirability of a National Government brings us no nearer to a solution. One obvious method of getting nearer an agreement is a serious discussion of the actual problem of finding a constitution under which the interests of the different elements can be reconciled. That line of progress need not wait for the setting up of any formal constitutional convention. It has been opened ever since we announced it two years ago, that India should be free to frame her own constitution. It is open to-day. Is it too much to hope that, failing an agreement upon any immediate solution, Indian statesmen and students of affairs might still come together with mutual goodwill to deal with that problem? For, it is only in the light of the future constitutional settlement that any real progress can be made towards the solution of the present deadlock.

which, it cannot be said too often, is a deadlock not between the Indians and the British Government but indeed a deadlock only Indians can solve. The goodwill and the good offices of the Viceroy are always available and has been continuously available. In situations like these, as in international relations outside intervention can only help when there is readiness to respond.

WAR EFFORT VERSUS PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

"Meanwhile, let us consider where we stand. The Government of India is to-day in the hands of an executive of whose fifteen members apart from the Viceroy, eleven are Indians. Indian members do not include representatives of the two opposed major political organisations. But in every other respect they are as representative of India's diverse elements and as able a body of administrators as can be found in India (cheers). They are men who put India first, who are there to serve their country and help to win the war. It is the collective opinion of these Indian members, together with their tried and experienced European colleagues that decides the normal course of the Government of India and the ultimate responsibility of His Majesty's Government here. The Council has dealt firmly and effectively with the recent revolutionary outbreak. In closest co-operation with the Commander-in-Chief, its War Resources Committee, it is concerned with mobilising Indian resources behind the Allied war effort. What is there so amiss until the political deadlock within India shows some signs of clearing, in continuing to rely upon the instrument of Government which has already proved and is proving itself?

"Behind that Government and in loyal support of it stands India's whole present war effort. I would bid the House and the outside world to reflect what that war effort means to-day and may mean to-morrow to the whole Allied cause, the fortune of war in the Middle East and to the China. That Army, every man of which is a volunteer, is growing at the rate of some 70,000 recruits a month. It is backed by the splendid help which the Indian Princes have given in the shape of their own State forces as well as by over 1,00,000 recruits from State subjects who have joined the Indian Army. In that Army there are no communal or party divisions. Let us be very careful lest by attempting to appease the unappeasable opponents of any agreed constitutional progress, provoke a grave communal conflict, that we break that Army in pieces. Let those whose interests are no less than ours in the success of India's war effort beware of the illusion that the Allied cause can be helped by substituting for India's trained and equipped forces, a somewhat hypothetical enthusiasm of unorganised untrained and unequipped millions or the far more probable alternative of chaos and paralysis in the place of ordered effort.

"SOCIAL SERVICES" IN THE PROVINCES

"From the Central Government, let me turn to the Government of India's great provinces, where Governments also making their great contribution to the war effort but primarily concerned with the wide field of social services. Five of these provinces with a population of some 110 million, Ministerial Government responsible to elected legislatures, has continued unbroken. In the remaining six, of those with effective Congress majorities, Ministerial Government was deliberately suspended by the Congress High Command three years ago.

"As a result Section 93 of the Government of India providing for resumption of direct control by the Governor in the event of a breakdown of parliamentary government, has been enforced ever since. The Bill now before the House provides for its further continuance, subject to annual confirmation by Parliament, for a period not exceeding twelve months after the end of the war period. This does not, of course, prevent a resumption of Ministerial Government at any time if a Ministry can be found which is in a position to secure sufficient parliamentary support and is ready to support the war effort. Such a resumption has in fact taken place in Orissa and more recently, after a short interval of suspension, in Assam. That door is always open.

ADVISED REGIMES PRAISED

"There is one point in connection with the continuance of direct government on which I wish to reassure the House. One of the main objects of the extension of provincial autonomy under 1935 Act was to secure popular support for a more rapid progress in the development of social services. That expectation was undoubtedly fulfilled. In all provinces there was great activity, both legislative and administrative, and this has continued increasingly in spite of war conditions

in those provinces which have remained continuously under ministerial control. But the House will be glad to know there has been no standing still, no more 'care and maintenance' policy in the provinces where Congress Government have been succeeded by direct control. A few broad figures will illustrate my point. Expenditure on education, medical services and public health, agriculture and industry in budget estimates for 1912-1913 has risen above those for 1936-1937 by seventeen per cent in Madras, forty-six per cent in Bombay, forty-one per cent in the United Provinces, twenty-two per cent in Bihar, twelve per cent in Central Provinces and twenty-one per cent in the North-Western Frontier Province.

"In almost all these cases, the greater part of this increase has been during the period of direct Government. In Madras, forty-two acts covering such matters, as industrial conciliation, inspection of factories, and control of money-lending were passed in 1940 and 1941, while there has been a great increase of expenditure on educational, agricultural and veterinary services and research on electrical development. In Bombay, nearly 92 million has been allotted in the last three years to the special development fund, mainly for rural purpose, while special attention has been devoted to demonstration farms, village water-supply and government schemes for dealing with epidemics.

"LET US HOLD ON TO OUR COURSE"

"That is a picture of India I have to give the House. It is a picture dark and confused in parts but over most of the canvas slaying itself not unhelpfully. The problem of India is full of difficulties. They are there to be overcome and they will be overcome. We have only to hold on to the course we have set ourselves with steadfast patience and persistence, with goodwill towards India's national aspirations, with faith in our Indian fellow citizens and above all with faith in ourselves. We have carried out the great work in India in former years. Why should we hold ourselves incapable or unworthy of bringing that work to its true conclusion? What need is there in India or anywhere in the wide-world to be ashamed of our past or fear our future?"

THE DEBATE

The debate which followed Mr. Amery's statement, was opened by the Conservative Flight Lieutenant *Henry Raikes*. "If civil disobedience were called off, I am certain Government would welcome the co-operation of any Congressmen who were out to stand against aggression, but, I fear, those men would be a minority of the Congress Party. Apart from the Muslim League, there are many Indians in all classes of society who are standing up against sabotage of the present Congress movement—Indians who are dying day after day for the India they believed in and for the India we mean them to have."

I. L. P. AMENDMENT

Mr. *James Maxton*, one of the three members who constitute the Independent Labour Party, moved an amendment that the House decline to give second reading to the Bill 'which deals only with provincial and secondary aspects of the Indian problem without attempting to solve the main difficulties of the Central Government which are the cause of the deadlock in the provinces.'

Mr. Maxton said he had made a mistake in the the previous debate when he accused Mr. Amery of opposing the Indian Act of 1935. Mr. Amery had consistently supported that Act and resisted the small noisy rebel party." "I understand Government's essential policy stands, but Mr. Amery, in his statement, seemed to me to make Government's intentions more distinct, clear and precise than ever before. The Indians were promised complete independence even to breaking with Dominion association, if they so desired. It would have been a good thing to have inserted Mr. Amery's statement in this Bill. Up to the present there is no statutory authority to say that India is going to have complete independence. We have only the word of the various Ministers. Conservative members seem to want to give India a settled constitution but our own constitution had grown up in a most haphazard manner. We could not get the Indian people to fight if they did not want to, any more than we could get the Malays or the Burmese to fight. All we could do is to say to the people of India: 'Here is your freedom.'

"APPOINT MR. GANDHI AS VICEROY"

Independent Labourite Mr. *Campbell Stephen*, seconding Mr. Maxton's amendment, described the Indian situation as gloomy. He was apprehensive because Government appeared to be treating the Muslims as against the overwhelming majority

of the people in India. The Government should call a conference of all parties forthwith and let the Congress leaders out of jail at once. Government should appoint Mr. Gandhi as Viceroy, Mr. Stephen declared.

"INDEPENDENCE WOULD MEAN ISOLATION"

The former War Minister, Mr. Oliver Stanley, said all parties in India demanded independence but only on their own terms and those terms were mutually inconsistent. Was it not a fact that Mr. Gandhi would not even speak to Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Jinnah would not be in the same room as Mr. Gandhi, while neither would meet the leader of the Depressed Classes, Doctor Ambedkar. "Indian leaders did not refuse the Cripps Offer because we did not give them enough, but because we were not prepared to give them something at the expense of someone else. If the British cleared out of India, the communal differences would become at least temporarily more acute. We cannot condemn the millions in India to an interminable civil war."

Mr. Stanley said if the British cleared out of India, and Japan conquered that country whom would America and Russia blame? Not Mr. Gandhi or Pandit Nehru but the British Government. Independence for India now could only mean isolation for India now. If the British walked out the Japanese would walk in. "Sir Stafford Cripps went out to India not to bargain but to give," Mr. Stanley said amid cheers.

Mr. Stanley said Sir Stafford Cripps had put all the cards on the table and we could not pull out of the bag some great concession without reducing that great mission to a humbug. However, spiritual the intentions of the Congress leaders might have been, the results had been disastrously mundane. Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operations had always led to violence. No Government could give way to murder. That was not the sort of stuff whereby a new life could be built. Britain has made a tremendous advance. Have leaders of Indian opinion made a similar advance? "Dark as the night is, I refuse to surrender hope. I believe India will produce men more realistic and long-sighted than their present leaders, not tied to past disputes. I believe this will come sooner than we expect. Meanwhile, our offer stands and we must go forward with our primary task of defending India."

AN INDIAN WAR COUNCIL SUGGESTED

Mr. Graham White (Liberal) said the developments had left the Government no choice but to preserve order on which the defence of India rested. It was impossible to establish a Government which could only split India into sections. Nine-tenths of the existing trouble arose because Indians doubted British sincerity. Indian leaders should surely concede to the British the same standard of honour they claimed for themselves. He did not believe Mr. Gandhi was a Quisling or in touch with the Japanese. But Mr. Gandhi knew all his previous civil disobedience campaigns had been accompanied by terrible atrocities. He knew that when he launched his latest campaign, Moslems inactivity would not do, however difficult negotiations might be; for then the situation would get worse. Already somewhat acid criticism had been voiced in America. He asked if it was possible to establish a war Council consisting solely of Indians which might also regroup provincial territorial units on religious, racial and linguistic basis. The Viceroy had borne a crushing burden and they were all grateful for the great service he had rendered, but without disrespect, he felt it was time a new mind should be brought to bear on the Indian problem.

"CONSERVATIVES LOSING THE EMPIRE"

Mr. William Core (Labour) considered that Mr. Amery had done nothing to sweeten the existing atmosphere. What the people wanted to know was what the Government were going to do about the existing deadlock. The Conservative Party under Mr. Churchill were losing the British Empire. The Moslem leader, Mr. Jinnah had done nothing to co-operate in the war or secure recruits. It was not true, he maintained, that the Congress would knuckle down to the Japanese. The Government must release Congress leaders, recognise an Indian National Government and pass authority over to them including control over the army. With the grant of independence, the character of the Congress would change.

Sir Ralph Glyn (Con.) complained that nothing had been said thus far regarding the magnificent service of the Indian army in the Middle East, the expansion of the Indian navy twentyfold and the fact that they were helping to protect British food supplies across the Atlantic. India did not consist solely of

Congress politicians. Millions of Indians trusted the British Raj. He reminded the Opposition that Britain could not dishonour her treaties with the Indian Princes. General Wavell had a tremendous task in India and should be given full support. The order to detain Mr. Gandhi was given by Indians—that showed courage. The House of Commons should be equally courageous.

PASSIVITY SHOULD END

The former War Cabinet Minister, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, said the Labour movement supported the Government policy, but felt it was time that a further constructive attempt should be made. It was true we could not put forward fresh terms or tolerate civil disobedience, but Mr. Churchill's recent speech had been received with consternation in America and India. The attitude of passivity could not continue. "It would be a blot on our signature of the Atlantic Charter if we left unturned any stone which might help this grave, tragic, deepening difficult situation. No future British Government will ever attempt to escape from the pledges given. I do not believe that there will be any attempt to wriggle out of the undertakings sincerely given. But we must convince Indians of that. There are people in India ready for a conference and those who are not ready. We must keep the friendship of those who are."

Mr. MacLaren (Labour) appealed to the Government to invite leaders of Indian thought to come to another conference in London.

MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Mr. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for Dominions, replying in the debate, said: "I gladly respond to the note struck by Mr. Greenwood. I want to get a settlement of the Indian question but one must face this problem in a spirit of realism and understanding. It is very easy to get knowledge of only one facet of the Indian problem and then to make a speech characterised with great emotion, great fervour and great sincerity and yet ignore the fact that India—the Kohinoor diamond—has a great many facets. I have taken part in inquiries into the Indian situation from 1927 onwards and I do not claim in the least to know India. I realise how little I know and how great are the difficulties. In those enquiries I have had great affection for India and the friendship of many Indians, some of whom are under detention to-day."

"We do not approach this matter as some abstract problem but a problem of how we are to get in this world the best conditions of freedom and life for the people with whom we have worked over a great series of years and the people who to-day in this war are doing a wonderful service to the Allied cause. I doubt if it is realised in this country how much India has done—the good fight that has been put up by Indians in the Army, in the Navy and in the workshops—and I suggest that some people in their enthusiasm for what they think in the Indian attitude have done less than justice to the Indian people. It is a false assumption to think that all the people of India are sitting down thinking of political problems. There are vast numbers in India devoting themselves to the service of the war."

"PROGRESS" SINCE CRIPPS' VISIT

"I am sorry that Mr. Campbell Stephens repeated the slander against the people of Burma. It is not true that the people of Burma all yielded to the Japanese. The responsible Government of Burma stuck this thing out right through. The great majority of the people stuck it out at the risk of their lives and it is wrong for anyone to make a statement like that against a brave people and very charming people and people who I am quite sure will regain their country and their full freedom."

"I think that Mr. Campbell Stephens should show a little more restraint and sense of proportion than talking about conditions in India being like conditions in Norway. He knows that is nonsense. But it may be read by people who will not know that it is nonsense. The fact is that in a large number of provinces to-day, Indian Governments are functioning, that at any moment Indian politicians choose they can have complete control in Provincial Governments and thus deal with 95 per cent of all subjects in which the ordinary man is interested. They have already to-day 11 members out of 15 in the Viceroy's Council and that is no fixed proportion. That is carried on because you have to have people of experience carrying on in war. There is no question of colour in this matter. You want the best man for the position and those who say nothing

has been done since Sir *Stafford Cripps'* visit, forget that immediately afterwards there was a big enlargement of the Viceroy's Council.

"PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES"

"I do not quite understand the suggestion by Mr. *Graham White* of the formation of some kind of War Council, but a War Council which was to go in for re-dividing the provinces. That does not seem the function of a War Council. You have an advisory council on which Indians serve. Any easier way of throwing the apple of discord among the Indian people than that of diving up boundaries would be hard to find."

Mr. *Graham White* interjected: "I must have expressed myself ill. With regard to division of Provinces, that was a matter which I forecast as something which might be related to the future constitution of India and for which purpose a body of the kind I was endeavouring to suggest to the House might be considered the best to undertake the task."

Mr. *Attlee*: "I was trying to take up constructive suggestions and I must say that was the most destructive suggestion I have heard."

Mr. *Attlee*, continuing said, "Quite apart from the ordinary difficulty of dealing with boundaries, Mr. *Graham White* knows that the difficulties in this question is the difference of opinion among Indians as to what should constitute India. You have Indians who demand that part of India should be taken away from India and made into Pakistan. Then you get those who wish to see India kept together. In that suggestion are seen the difficulties that face us in this question. While almost everyone in the debate had asked that something be done, there had been very few practical suggestions. The essential difficulty of the question—and it is no good to conceal it by the use of ambiguous words—is that it is no good talking about the people of India and thinking thereby you would settle the problem of Indian unity.

"They might just as well say let Europe be governed by the people of Europe or hand the Balkans to the Balkan people. Or even hand Palestine to the peoples of Palestine. Members of the House have probably more political experience than any other House and they know perfectly well that it is one of the difficult problems of the world when you have two separate communities inhabiting one particular tract of territory. Mr. *Maxton* has told us a lot of historical precedents going right back to King John but he has neglected some that lay quite close to his hands. He had intense scorn of the idea that it is possible to settle difficulties by anything like a constitution but I happen to be Dominion Secretary and I have been looking at the history of the Dominion of Canada where there was difficulty between two communities which might have led to civil war and this was precisely how it was settled by a constitution.

PRAISE FOR MUSLIMS

"There was some remark made the other day about democracy. Democracy did not mean dominance of the whole people by one section. It meant you got substantial agreement among all people. And the demand of India to-day was not just to be governed by Indians. They wanted the democratic government of India. Presumably, we could, if we wished, settle the India question by handing it over to some Indians or one Indian. Indians admire the British constitution. They want a democratic constitution like ours. But our constitution depends not on the form of democracy but because we are used to practising democracy. The fundamental difficulty we have come up against in all this Indian question is that you cannot get communities to trust each other. It is no good barking the question. It is no good making unpleasant remarks about the leaders of the Muslims. It is no good trying to belittle the great Muslim community. And when the people ask what the Muslim people have done, I say that the Muslim people have provided a very large part of the fighting forces. When trouble was raised, the Muslim people did not raise trouble in India.

MINORITIES AND DEMOCRACY

"I have never said that the Congress Party is not a great party with great leaders. I am sure Mr. *Maxton* would be the last to suggest that it is only the big parties that counted."

Mr. *Maxton*, interrupting, "Only when they are effective and that is very seldom."

Mr. *Attlee*: I don't know whether that is a declaration of confidence or a self-denying ordinance, but I can assure him there are a number of extremely effective

minorities who must be considered. There are the Sikhs, Parars, Princes and the population of the Indian States. There are the Muslims and Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Class. It is no use suggesting that these people do not count. It is equally wrong to suggest that there are not great social disparities in India. It has been noted in India there is every range of civilisation from a Rolls Royce to a bullock cart and that does not make it easy to frame a constitution for the Indian people. And therefore it is not a thing which can be settled by the nice catch phrase, 'Give India to the Indian people.' I quite agree that running through all political life in India there is the desire for self-government. It is a perfectly right desire and a desire we ought to sympathise with. The trouble is that they do not all desire to be governed by the same people and that is so strong that some refuse to be governed anyway."

The Labourite Mr. S. O. Davies, "It is true everywhere."

Mr. Attlee : "No, it is not. Mr. Davies is a good democrat. However much he dislikes the Government, he continues to be a good citizen and he does his duty. If he finds himself in the minority, he continues to work the constitution because he is a good democrat. There are many countries where the minorities refuse to have anything to do with the Government. Sometimes they go into rebellion. Sometimes they are exterminated. One of the things we are fighting this war for is the right of minorities to live."

Mr. Manton : "Majorities."

Mr. Attlee : Mr. Manton and I both agree. We must live and let live, although we do not agree. This is the point we have got to try to settle. It was suggested that Government did something rather dreadful in proposing a solution. They have been asking over and over again that Indian leaders should come together and agree. It is not a thing that has happened just this year or last year, this obstacle of trouble between communities. It has been going on ever since the beginning of Indian self-government. At every turn I have met it. I met it on the Commission, at the Round Table Conference and on the Joint Select Committee. It has always been an obstacle that stood in the way. An Indian said, 'We cannot settle this. It is unfair to try and make us settle this. You must produce a solution.'

FAIR OFFER

"We produced a method whereby we hoped this might be resolved. Do not let us forget when we hear violent speeches made that almost anybody whether British, Indian or those of any country who looked at these proposals, would say they were fair proposals, just proposals and sound proposals. Indeed the method in which we proposed was the one which I remember being suggested to me by one of the leaders of the Congress Party only a few years ago as the best way of dealing with the matter. That has been thrown back on us. We all deeply regret that. But we did try to make the very fullest and latest offer we could. There were things we could not do. What we endeavoured to do in setting up this convention was to get a settlement of the communal problem. What we are now asked to do is to anticipate that settlement. That is fact is to beg the whole question which can only be settled by Indians themselves. That is the difficulty. You may add this man or that man or woman or anything else you like to the Central Government of India, as long as it still remains under the present constitution. But if you are going to depart from that and turn the Viceroy into a constitutional monarch and give all power to an irresponsible body, you are at once begging the whole question as to who shall govern. I think it is recognised you cannot go far in that direction. So we have said that our offer remains open. Remember it was not rigid."

PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND ORDER

"The particular method suggested was in default of Indians agreeing to their own method. Our offer was not only thrown back on us, but thereupon the Congress Party departed altogether from methods of democracy and tried the method of coercion. It is anti-democratic to act by coercion, whether that method be done by non-violence or violence, but experience has shown over and over again—and not only knows that better than Gandhi—that in Indian conditions, Civil Disobedience leads to violence. It has happened before. Terrible things have happened. Gandhi himself expressed his repentance. I think it is a most regrettable thing that at the end of his life he should have again taken action that has resulted in the death of people."

"Government had to meet that situation and they had to meet it, not in the

piping times of peace, but with the enemy at the gates. In the interests of prevention of further disturbances and the loss of life, Government were bound to act and I think the majority of the people in this country and in this House think they were right in so acting. They were right to act in the interests of Indian statesmen themselves. If you talk to Indians, whatever the views they take, and even to extremists they will all say that the one essential thing in India is to have a Government prepared to govern. Indians also have their historic memories and they remember the years of anarchy in India and we have only to look a little further east to see the years of anarchy in China. I am sure that members will agree that in conditions of anarchy and violence it is the poorest people who suffer most. Above all, therefore, we must have law and order. It is a most distasteful task. It is a task we have had to undertake and which responsible Indian statesmen have had to undertake."

Mr. Maxton: "Was not violence subsequent to the imprisonments?"

Mr. Attlee: "Violence was planned and orders were issued for Civil Disobedience. Anyone who knows history, knows that whenever a Civil Disobedience is started, it always leads to violence."

Mr. Silverman (Labour) said that may be true but that is not the question which Mr. Maxton asked and which Mr. Attlee has not answered. The question Mr. Maxton asked was whether actual acts of violence were not subsequent to imprisonments."

Mr. Attlee: "I answered him that orders have been issued for Civil Disobedience; that Civil Disobedience had always led to violence and that, therefore, it is the right of Government to act at once in order to stop violence. I was saying that this is no less in the interests of the Indian Government itself. There could not be worse thing, particularly for Hindus—the majority that has always depended on numbers and brain power rather than fighting forces—to have a precedent set of a Government which yielded to violence by the minority."

"Again, I tell Mr. Maxton with his own historical memories, which he knows perfectly well, to remember instances in which Governments set up by revolver and bomb have found it difficult even to get rid of revolver and bomb and in a great sub-continent like India, with a race very close to the soil, it is a very dangerous thing to let rioting start, and whatever the colour of the Government may be, the Government is bound to take action—and still more when it is not only a matter of civil security at home but when there is the enemy at the gate. One must look at this, as I know wiser heads in India, including members of the Congress Party, have looked at it in its larger aspects."

RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE ALLIES

"I have talked with them and I know perfectly well that they realise if the Fascist States conquered the world there would be precious little chance for Indian self-government. We have our responsibility to the Indian people to prevent them falling under Japan. We have responsibility to our Allies—our Allies who have put up such a wonderful fight in China. It is through India we shall be able to help China. To allow India to fall out would be to betray the people who have been fighting in China and not only them but the people of Russia as well."

"It would be a good stroke of business for the Axis Powers if Japan and Germany could join hands. India is the bulwark to the south of Russia and therefore we have that responsibility in the interests of all Allied nations and to the people of India to stand firm. The only people who can defend India at the present moment are the people of the Allied nations and the people of India themselves. You cannot break up an organisation in the middle and throw it over to somebody else."

A BREEZE

"Therefore, there are these issues and I am asked what can you do now. I say that if you suggest that you can enter into negotiations with people who are running a campaign of this sort you are betraying the future of Indian democracy. We stand firmly by the whole of our offer. I am sorry that it has been questioned and I know one inspiration came from a little pamphlet."

At this point there was a commotion among members under the press gallery and Mr. Coss began pushing his way along the bench of members. Mr. Coss said, "It is an offensive remark that I had it from a little pamphlet."

Mr. Attlee: "I will certainly withdraw the remark. I had certainly seen a pamphlet."

Mr. Coss: "I will certainly withdraw my remark."

DOOR NOT CLOSED

Mr. Attlee : "This is the first time it has been suggested that the offer made by this Government was not a genuine offer. It is unfortunate that anybody should suggest this offer is not perfectly genuine and sincere. It was accepted as being so at the time by the people of this country, by the people of the United States, the Dominions and India and it stands to-day. Mr. Amery has said the door is still open. We are willing to talk with anybody. But the suggestion sometimes is made that you can run round with new offers. I think everybody realizes that if you have got to the utmost as we did and make the very fullest proposals we can make, no one can suggest that you should run round with offers.

"I suggest, therefore, that it cannot be said that Government has stood pat. There is no closing of the door. We are prepared to go in at any time into the fullest question of this Indian problem on the principles of our suggested proposals, which, everybody I believe agrees, were generous, wise and just proposals. I hope that Indian statesmen will think again, will look not just for some immediate question of service, but will look at the long trend of Indian history and see what great role India has played in the battle for democracy. I have always hoped that India, drawing her experience from here, will set a lead in Asia for democracy. Democratic forms are useless without the democratic spirit. Unless you can get tolerance in life and a let-live principle amongst all communities you can not get the successful working of democracy. Looking at the world devastated by hate, intolerance and dominance, I had hoped that one section of the Indian people and leaders should have seen that is the way of death and not the way of life. I ask them to think again in order that they may join in our effort to defeat tyranny and thereby hasten the time when the Indian peoples may themselves decide on their own free Government for the future."

House of Lords—London—20th. October 1942

Devonshire Reiterates Cripps offer

The Under-Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Devonshire, opened the debate on the situation in India in the House of Lords on the 20th. October, 1942. He began by giving an outline of the India Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. He then went on to make a statement on the "unhappy" condition of affairs in India which made the introduction of the Bill necessary.

The Duke of Devonshire proceeded : We last debated this subject some six months ago shortly after the return of Sir Stafford Cripps. The position then was that our move, the last of our sustained and continuous efforts, to endow India with full Self-Government had broken down and struck upon the sandbanks of the Congress Party's unwillingness to come to any compromise with the Indian parties or with the Government.

The obstacle to an agreement being reached was the absolute nature of the Congress Party's claims that the Indian government should be the sole mouthpiece of Indian nationalism and itself the only representative of Indian opinion. That is very far from being the case. The Congress Party is the largest political Party in India but there are other vast elements in India which it is quite impossible to ignore.

To have handed over to the Congress the Government of India without having balanced and harmonised the claims of these various elements, in aggregate greatly outnumbering the Congress Party, and still more vastly exceeding that Party in their contribution to India's war effort, would have and could have led to nothing but chaos.

But even that solution seems to be ruled out by the mutually incompatible demands of the Mahasabha, the second largest Hindu Party after the Congress and of the Muslim League. Hence the deadlock for which the British Government is most unreasonably being blamed. Since the breakdown which the Congress Party deliberately brought about, the Government of India had been confronted with a formidable conspiracy designed to paralyse the Government of India.

Mr. Gandhi has chosen to call this a non-violent campaign but phrases do not alter the facts and the campaign could in fact scarcely have had a less non-violent character. Fifty Government servants, the vast majority of them Indians, have lost their lives and some 650 have been wounded. I should like to pay a tribute to the steadfast courage and resolution with which the vast majority of the Indian police and civil servants have faced this time of trial.

I don't want to indicate that the Government of India is out of the wood

yet. The position in some parts of India is still serious and it is a sinister and significant fact that disorders, which have been principally directed against communications such as railways, buses and telegraphs, have been most serious in those parts of India where any interruption of communications would have been most paralyzing in the event of a Japanese invasion.

NO DIRECT EVIDENCE OF ENEMY INFLUENCE

There is no direct evidence, none whatever, that any enemy influences have been at work in India. But there is evidence, strong evidence, that the Congress Party has so directed its campaign as to do maximum damage to India's war effort and render India vulnerable in the most dangerous quarter. The position is still serious and sporadic outrages still occur daily. But there are clear indications that the vast majority of the people of India are heartily tired of the Congress Party's campaign and very many of Congress Party's own supporters are themselves weary of it. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the Government of India's troubles were not diminished by political agitation and exhortation from outside India. The Government here and the Government of India have for some months been subjected to persistent barracking to make some spectacular move. I want your honours to think the effect not only on India, but Russia, the United States the Dominions and here on the never ending rain or hail of speeches and articles demanding that we shall do something never specified, but do it forthwith. The effect on the Congress Party is undoubtedly very bad.

There is evidence that the so-called non violent campaign, which has in fact proved to be a campaign of violence, punctuated by occasional incidents of abominable atrocity, is on the wane. But while we are being pressed from the left, right and centre to make some further spectacular move, it is hardly reasonable to hope that this campaign will be called off.

The infinitesimally small minority of the Indian people carrying on this campaign are showing signs of weariness but it is hardly reasonable to hope that they will finally lose heart, while they continue to receive as much encouragement as they are receiving from here. So long as articles appear and speeches are made, whether by prelates or politicians, putting the blame for the present deadlock in India upon the Government and urging that the next move lies with them, so long will the organisers of disorder believe that they have only a few more telegraph wires to cut, railway signals to interrupt, only a few more bus or tram depots to attack to enforce a large-scale retreat upon Government and impose their will upon the peoples of India.

I should deplore and fight any restrictions on free expression of opinion, whether by Pressmen, politicians or prelates.

The *Archbishop of York* (interrupting), "The noble Lord looks at me on each occasion. May I ask him to be plainer and say what he means by prelates? The only time I have spoken has been in support of Government on this matter".

SCOPE OF INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

The *Duke of Devonshire* continued: I intended to cast no reflection, whatever, on the prelates. I was only looking to see that the prelates were there. I think it is reasonable to ask that the Press and the prelates should exercise due responsibility for what they say. I have been nettled by expressions of opinion in what is for want of better description, I may describe, as the first Press expressions of such opinions as that we cannot undertake offensive operations against the Japanese in Burma with "a hostile India" behind us. Whoever expressed that opinion was grossly wrong. India is not hostile to our cause. India has made, and is making a really magnificent and constantly growing contribution to the Empire's war effort. Indian soldiers in this war have fought as well as any soldiers in the world's history (loud cheers) and they have fought out of loyalty to the King Emperor—that is their governing motive.

The *Times*, a few days ago, published a leading article in which it was stated that as a matter of fact, India's war effort could be multiplied ten times if the political difficulties could be removed. The article indicated that the difficulties were the difficulties which it lay within the power of Government to remove. "This statement of fact" is demonstrably ludicrously false. It cannot seriously be maintained that the Government of India could raise, train and equip seven hundred thousand recruits monthly and maintain in the field an army of ten millions and supply 200 per cent personnel to the Mercantile Marine.

The limiting factor in the expansion of India's war effort is not the lack of willing recruits or workers, but equipment and officers and technicians to train and lead. These are limitations imposed, not by technical considerations but our want of pre-war preparations. How can it seriously be maintained that a political settlement, however satisfactory, can readily be? India's war effort is capable of expansion, it is also capable of diminution. Concessions such as we are asked to make, it would be a great deal easier to halve or quarter India's war effort by some means than to increase it. What is it that is proposed we should do next? The Lord Privy Seal went to India with the full and comprehensive offer of Self-Government for India. He made a great and sustained effort to get the offer accepted. He over-ran his original time-table by a long time, but it was not accepted, not because it was not sufficiently comprehensive.

NEXT STEP MUST COME FROM INDIA

We offered India all that we had to offer but we were not prepared to offer what was not ours. Now it is suggested that we should do something more and that, in some way, some further advance should be initiated from here. I believe the next move must come from India. When that fact is realised, the next move may come but until it is realised, the deadlock will continue. Self-Government may be offered or seized; you may endow a country with self-governing institutions; but you must certainly cannot impose them. In the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India said a few days ago that our policy in India was not one of reluctant retreat but willing advance; not one of enforced abdication, but freely proffered partnership in freedom. That is a fact.

Self-Government for India was the ultimate goal of British statesmanship long before there was any conscious demand for it from India; long before there was such a thing as the Congress party. "I most emphatically affirm that for us to provide over this transition from the fifth European century in some parts to also stages up to the twentieth and be the guide of people in that condition is, if conducted with humanity and sympathy, with wisdom and political courage, not only a human duty and great national honour, but what was called the other day, one of the most glorious tasks ever confided to my country." These words were spoken by a Lord in this House of Lords in 1885. In the years which have intervened, greater progress has been made than in the same number of years, at any time, in any country. It is true that India has not yet achieved full self-government, but she has made great strides towards it and the fact she has not yet attained it, is not due to our failure to proffer the prize but to the failure of some, not all, Indian hands to grasp it when proffered. In surveying a picture of such vastness and complexity as presented by the sub-continent of India, it is surely a mistake to take a short view. Six months is a long time in the eyes of a politician whose horizon is the next general election. Six months or a year is not such a very long time in the eyes of a historian. The period of delay which has been imposed upon Indian progress by the reluctance of the Congress party, will probably be longer than six months.

Let no friend of progress lose heart. We should not be deterred from our high purpose by the delay of six months.

THE DEBATE

Lord Addison, Leader of the Labour Party, said the Bill was necessary, but the Duke of Devonshire had not been helpful. Government must find an alternative offer. Congress conception of democracy was domination of the majority by one section, but while Mr. Gandhi shirked the responsibility, there was a very large number of responsible Indian leaders seeking a way out of the difficulties and Government must provide something more helpful than the speech of the Duke of Devonshire just delivered.

The Marquis of Crewe said many people wanted the Government to adopt an attitude which they described as conciliation when they approved of it and appeasement when they disliked it. He thought it would be wrong and futile to attempt appeasement of the Congress. The extreme Congress leaders were not so much anti-British as anti-European and it was not impossible that they would be more than willing to bargain with Japan even at the cost of an inferior position in Asia if it would mean complete severance with all European ties.

CALL FOR A GESTURE FROM GOVERNMENT

The Marquis of Salisbury urged the Government for a further gesture. Nobody desired to India, but we could forewear for ever the policy of appeasement

He opposed American or any foreign arbitration, but Washington should have official representatives in India. We had nothing to be ashamed of. He had great confidence that if the American knew what we had done for India, they would realise how greatly British Government's present efforts ought to be supported.

The Archbishop of York said that Government could not have possibly given way to the Congress demands. It would have been a betrayal of the Muslims and other minorities. Until they reached an agreement, it was impossible for Government to go forward.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS URGED

The Earl of Huntingdon (Labour) said that India was the key to Allied victory and the touchstone on which Britain's real motives were being tested. American opinion was profoundly disturbed. They could not understand British fighting a war of freedom while violently repressing the Indian national movement. The Chinese were also disturbed and we could not ignore the feeling among our Allies. It had been asserted that a vast constitutional change could not take place in war-time, yet Mr. Churchill, in a time of acute crisis, proposed amalgamation of France with Britain. Congress leaders should be free unconditionally and asked to form a provisional Government. If they failed to form a National Government the responsibility would be theirs and the sympathy of the democratic people would be on our side.

Viccount Samuel (Liberal) said it was Government's duty to suppress outrage, arson and murder, but they did not solve the political problem. The parrot-like cry that the principal Indian Parties must agree first before any step forward, was futile. At the same time the proposal that the British Government should pledge effective independence of India at a given date after the war would be dangerous because, when the time came both sides in India might be arming against each other and Government would be compelled to repudiate such a pledge. The phrase "Dominion Status" was meaningless and should be dropped in favour of such a term as "National Status". He suggested that the key to solution rested in the constitutional position of the Viceroy who had the dual role of acting in place of the Sovereign and as his own Prime Minister. When a new Viceroy is appointed this should be changed. Acting solely for the Sovereign, the new Viceroy's first task should be to select some statesman as Prime Minister to instruct him to form the Government as was done here and in the Dominions.

Lord Samuel continued, able statesmen among Indian leaders would, despite Party and political difficulties, furnish ample material for such a Government. It was urgently necessary that steps should be taken during the war to solve the present impasse. Lord Samuel recalled the success of granting immediate self-government to the Transvaal following the South African war and asked if the same course might not be pursued now in India.

SUGGESTION FOR AN INDIAN VICEROY

Lord Strabolgi (Labour) recommended the appointment of a distinguished Indian as the next Viceroy and an invitation to the principal Allies to mediate.

Lord Winster emphasised the effect of the Indian problem on the United States. In America, he said, British stock was now very low. The Government had not to convince the American Government of our good intentions, but the American man-in-the-street. The Americans were not impressed by the assertion that we were willing to grant everything India wanted the moment the Indian parties agreed among themselves.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S REPLY TO DEBATE

After various other speeches, Lord Chancellor Lord Simon, replying for the Government said: "It is absolutely impossible in the limited number of minutes at my disposal to do more than make one or two statements. It is quite impossible really to give what is called a reply on India in the short space of time. There has been an interesting debate. I should like first of all to make perfectly clear in my statement as to what is the aim of the Government in this matter.

"I entirely agree with what has been said by Lord Winster that, if we could make statements on this subject, we would be more likely to get a reasonable hearing from our friends in America. I claim to say on behalf of the Government that the aim of the Government's policy is that Indians should themselves mould the destiny of India, free from external dictation and control. I do not know any other method by which you can get a great development of constitutional Government.

EXAMPLE OF THE DOMINIONS

"I am rather inclined to agree with Lord Samuel when he deprecated the use of the word Dominion in this matter. If anybody read throughout the Simon Report, they will not find anything about Dominion Status from the beginning to the end. I quite realise that the conception is misunderstood. Consider what did happen in regard to the undoubted Dominions. The Constitution of Canada was created as the result of a number of leading Canadian citizens—not by any means all of the same political party—meeting together and thrashing out resolutions upon which the constitution was made. The Constitution of Australia was brought about by Australians meeting together from different provinces and different political attachments again thrashing it out and ultimately producing the Constitution of Australia. The Constitution of South Africa which I quite agree, did receive a most important urge from the boldness of the Campbell-Bannerman Government was still the work of South Africans in South Africa."

"I really do not know any other method whereby in the proper sense democratic government can be created. It cannot be imposed here, that is not democratic government at all. It is not government given by one body to another body. It is a thing which emerges out of the toll, devotion, patriotism and idealism of the people who are going to live under it."

FREEDOM MUST COME FROM WITHIN

"I do not say that with any desire to cold shoulder Indian aspirations, but it is fundamentally a great mistake in reference to Indian development, to suppose that the matter rests in British hands. It does not. It essentially rests in Indian hands. Observe this historical development in reference to India itself. Tremendous proposals were advanced by the late Mr. Edwin Montagu in the time of the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford."

"I am not at all sure that everybody who followed what is now recognised as Liberalism in this country was at that time convinced that it was the right line. The next series of great efforts which were made in India including the great efforts made by Lord Stanhope (Lord Stanagate was formerly Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former Secretary of State for India). Efforts in that period ultimately resulted in the Government of India Act of 1935 which was again an effort to devise and impose a Constitution."

"I hope it will be acknowledged as a small merit that the Simon Commission as it has come to be known, as soon as it was formed, began to examine how to secure that there should be a Government which consisted of Indian politicians and Indian patriots who would be ready to co-operate with us. Although we did not get all the help we might have wished from India, we did get statesmanlike men who greatly assisted. The great fact about the Cripps proposal is that it recognises the fact that a great patriotic development in a great country must come from within."

"It may be assisted and helped as surely it ought to be, but it is a fundamental error—I do not care whether you are American, Englishman or anybody else—to suppose that somewhere concealed there is a thing called Indian self-government which can be presented to the Indian Continent. It cannot. Self-government and democracy are things which are within you. They are not thing which can be given by somebody else. If anybody will look at the proposals taken by Sir S. Cripps, less than seven months ago, they will realise that this really was their essential virtue—that we were saying: "We want you and the American Government and the people to know that we are prepared to accept and implement and indeed accept without question the form of democratic development which you are able to devise in India and in unity among the Indian parties."

"That does not mean you need parrot-like identity, for every healthy country has very considerable differences of opinion. At the same time, the reason why there must be some reconciliation in India is plain to anyone who will study the subject sufficiently and look it squarely and fairly in the face. The difference of outlook of the Congress and the Muslim League—and it is no good limiting it to that for there are other parties, there are forty or fifty million untouchables and other people in India—is something which has no sort of parallel in this country or in any country in Europe at all."

QUESTION OF FORMING PROVISIONAL GOVT.

"Lord Huntington made a suggestion which amounted to this—let the Congress leaders out of prison and then invite the Congress leaders to form a Provisional

National Government. If India contained no one but members of the Congress Party or people prepared to acquiesce in the leadership of Congress that would indeed be an effective line to take. But only the other day, Mr. Jinnah, who after all speaks for an extremely powerful and important body of opinion, said: "We do not want under the stress of war emergency to be stammered into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

Lord Hastington intervened: "What I wanted to propose was that the Congress leaders should be asked to form a Provisional Government, but that it should be expressly laid down that minority rights or demands should not be in any way affected by the formation of a Government and that they could be completely discussed in the Assembly afterwards."

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

Lord Simon continued: "The last thing I want to do is to be unduly critical. I am pointing out the difficulty. You may take it that the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah would be by no means content with an assurance that minority rights would be respected. They do not believe a Congress Government would protect their rights. That is one of the reasons why the Muslim League has grown in strength in recent years. Muslims have had experience in province after province of a Congress Ministry and are not too pleased with their experience."

"I feel convinced you will never get the Muslims of India to come into a system now for a Provisional Government formed of members of the Congress Party who would promise that the minorities would have all their rights respected. The point I am making is that however attractive that proposal might be, if you were dealing with a country inhabited by Congressmen or the supporters of Congress, that is not the content of India at all. The essence of the difficulty is that communal tension is so great that I am afraid it is not practical to form a Provisional Government by nominating Congressmen. I do not agree with the description of the present Indian Council as not representing anyone of importance. I might mention Mr. Ambe kar who happens to represent forty or fifty million untouchables. The truth is that the Congress Party and the Muslim Party would wish to contribute and as I warned the House on the previous occasion, if you get to the point where you are going to build up a Government of India by the process of selecting leaders from different parties, you will find that as soon as it is purely Indian, the Muslim leaders will claim half representation because they will not consider that they are rateable."

"The difficulties arising from communal tension are something that can hardly be exaggerated. It is notable in the history of India that this strain between communities does not show itself to some degree in the great Indian States as in British India. I am sure the explanation is that at present the position in most Indian States does not make either community feel that it is close to Government in control while in British India as you have never to full responsibility, you will find leaders there who want to move in that way, this rivalry grows keener and nothing will stop it but spreading in every possible way to the Indian people as a whole to try to find a way of reconciling their differences."

"I think that the main leaders of Indian political opinion do increasingly recognise this need for unity. The efforts made quite recently by some Indian parties to try to get a conference started with other leaders is an indication of that and we ought to do everything in our power to encourage that. But it is a monstrous falsehood to say that the British Government has tried to exploit these differences."

"But it is a rock on which this whole thing may split and we should acknowledge openly that more and more of the principal political elements in India recognise that they must get together. It may be said, 'Why don't you give India freedom?' But you do not give people freedom. They get their freedom because it is in themselves to develop and I know that some Indians are particularly well-fitted to working out the details of a constitution, if they would devote themselves to it."

"CABINET WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY"

"Lord Samuel made another suggestion. I think it is much more difficult than he represented. The Government of India Act is a portentous document. The Viceroy under the Act has all sorts of responsibilities, duties and powers. You may say the time has come to get rid of that. But you cannot do that with-

out an elaborate statutory rearrangement. At the present time, if we did attempt to do that, I think we should find there were large bodies of opinion in India that would be extremely anxious. After all, what are you going to put into its place at this stage? Lord Strabolgi has made a suggestion but if there were a cabinet in India without any Viceroy at the head of them, to whom is that Cabinet to be responsible? There could be nothing worse than to get a number of people, put them in office and say 'you are responsible to nobody.' In the Provinces, there are Provincial Governments and the Ministers are responsible to their legislatures and are liable to be turned out by them.

"Nothing of the sort exists at the Centre. The Government of India Act contains no provision of the kind and the present Government is essentially a Government of the Viceroy with his Advisers and the Viceroy is answerable to the Secretary of State and the Government here."

Lord Strabolgi, intervening, said: "The Lord Chancellor is now arguing that a Cabinet must depend on a regular Parliament. There are a number of Cabinets in the world which do not. It is not necessary for a Cabinet to depend on a Parliament."

Lord Simon replied: "What I am saying is that a Council or Cabinet would be responsible to nobody. There would be no legislature to which it would be responsible. It would be completely an irresponsible Cabinet. That is the reason time is being taken. You cannot make these great constitutional changes during war. The best future for India is a future arrived at in India by Indians, negotiating and agreeing among themselves. These fissures in Indian life are so deep that until a method is found of bridging them, it is quite impossible to suppose you can create out of goodwill an elaborate administration and government which does not carry the support and good-will of India. I wish the situation had really improved. Nobody wishes it more sincerely than I do. I admit with great regret that I don't think the situation has improved. There have been two things at least which have been the reverse of hopeful. It is quite plainly revealed that the Congress Party has been engaged, though it said that it is supporting a policy of non-violence, in some of the most shocking violence and has committed some of the most frightful crimes.

"It is a very serious thing that there should be these developments in wartime in India of so horrible a kind and I am glad to think that there has not been a single speech in this House that does not recognise that there is only one way to deal with the situation of the moment and that is to master it, even though it involves force.

CONFLICTING OBJECTION TO CRIPPS PLAN

"The other thing which is most distressing to me is that it is not merely that parties have not agreed about the Cripps Plan. They have objected for completely opposite reasons. It would not matter if the people took a series of objections along the same lines but that is not so. The Congress Party objected to the Cripps Plan because they say it contemplates the division of India. They will not have anything to do with the conception of Pakistan. I believe that to be a very sincere conviction. I think the conception of India as a whole is one they treasure. I should like them to admit that that is the conception created for them by the British Government. On the other hand, the Muslim League say they will not agree to the Cripps Plan because they do not feel sufficiently sure that Pakistan will come. Therefore you have two of the most important parties in India objecting to the plan, unhappily for opposite reasons. If you try to alter the plan to please one of them you make it worse for the other. I confess frankly that I think this is a most unhappy development. If I thought that the adopting of one or other of these suggestions was really going to strike at the root of this trouble nobody would be more willing to consider it.

"But the thing that has to be dealt with is much more fundamental than that. It is only when the people of India find a way of working together that they would create a situation which would be able to produce a constitution in future. We are bound to take the line that during the war it is impossible to make any fundamental constitutional change. Immediately the war is over, we wish to have the fullest contribution from Indians themselves. All we stipulate is that they really should come together. It is not we who are going to bring them together. They are much more likely to come together by themselves. One thing the Government suspects now is that he is being manoeuvred into something by the British Government. We do not want that. Devise the best scheme you can and if that

scheme satisfies the necessary condition that it is fair to the minorities, we will take it and make it the future constitution of India. I believe that if the matter is put in that way, argument is really irresistible. Our American friends are critical—it is unfortunate—but they naturally have not full opportunity of understanding the complexity. But this offer which is being made by the British Government is a real offer in the direction of liberty. It is ridiculously untrue to speak of the British Government as if it were now holding India under.

NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE OFFER

"It is entirely wrong in my judgment, because there has been this unhappy breakdown about the Cripps proposal, to assume that there are lots of more proposals in the locker and that you have only to go on dealing them out one after the other, as though you were dealing a pack of cards. Ours is not the method of the Oriental bazaar. Ours is the method called putting your cards on the table. We have devoted ourselves with single-minded energy to put forward the most complete scheme we possibly could in order to help India attain her ambition. Six months ago, it was being landed all over the world and our friends in America were prepared to say that nothing fairer could possibly be produced. If it were true then, it is true now.

"While I would not stand on any small matter and say 'It is your turn to do something next', I do think it essential that these great Indian parties, through their leaders, should make an effort which some of them are making to come together and produce a scheme or help produce a scheme which may be an improvement on the one we have made. In the meantime our own proposal is not cancelled. In its general lines it is there to be worked out and, it may be, improved."

The debate then terminated. The Bill was read a second time and the House adjourned.

Amery's Caxton Hall Speech

On the Future of India

Caxton Hall—London—29th September 1942

The following is the text of the address delivered by Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, at the Caxton Hall in London on September 29:—

Mr. Amery said: "The subject on which I am to address you is India's future. I do not, therefore, propose to do more than touch in the briefest outline upon India's past or upon her much debated present. As regards the past, there is really only one point that I wish to emphasise. The British Indian Empire is not something that has recently been imposed on India from without as a result of the conquest of India by this country. On the contrary it is a system of Government over 200 years old in parts of India and nowhere less than a century old, which has spread over India from within.

"I need not go into the amazing story of how in the sheer anarchy of the eighteenth century in India at times under the menace of French aggression the local agents of a British trading concern found themselves compelled progressively to take over an ever-widening field of authority. In the end, when that authority had covered the whole of the vast Indian sub-continent and in fact became an empire, Parliament here found itself obliged to assume ultimate responsibility for its security and good government and exercise a limited, regulating and controlling influence.

"Nevertheless, what is called British rule in India is essentially an institution native to the soil of India. It has been created by British leadership, profoundly influenced by British conceptions or standards, above all by the conception of the reign of law which is the foundation of our liberties. But at every stage in building up the vast structure, Indians have played their part, and in the last generation an ever-increasing part, both in civil administration and the fighting forces.

"At this moment eleven out of fifteen members of the Governor-General's Executive are Indians. Ministries which control administration in five great provinces

with a population of some 110 millions are Indians responsible to elected Indian Legislatures. The same was the case, and would be the case to-day in the other six provinces but for the decision of Mr. Gandhi and the so-called High Command of the Congress Party, which forced the Congress Ministries of those provinces to go on strike in order to embarrass the Central Government.

"PRINCES AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT"

"Fully half the senior administration services and an overwhelming majority of subordinate services are Indian. The Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army, a more recent development, is proceeding steadily and has already justified it in action. Nor should we ever lose out of sight the fact that the Government of a quarter of the population and nearly half the area of India has throughout remained entirely in the hands of Indian rulers, who are protected by treaties, loyalty observed on both sides, are an essential part of the fabric of the Indian Empire of to-day, and an indispensable element in the entirely self-governing India of to-morrow.

"Out of past, which I have thus briefly sketched, has grown the India of the present in all its manifold aspects. I will touch upon two of these. One is the India which is playing so great a part in the present war. It is the India of a great fighting tradition, which raised more than a million volunteers to join the army, in which British and Indian elements have co-operated in splendid mutual loyalty and affection, an army that has covered itself with glory in many a hard fought field in this war.

"It is the India of important industries which is contributing a steadily increasing share of munitions equipment of its own and other empire armies. It is the India of immense agricultural and mineral resources which its highly developed transport and irrigation systems has made available for the common cause. It is the India which has played and is destined increasingly to play a major part in the war whether in the field or as arsenal and base of operations.

WE WISH TO SEE INDIA FREE"

"Side by side this India that is waging war, there is an India which concerned with the political issue and India's future Government, both in its internal structure and in its relation to this country and to the British Commonwealth as a whole. On the latter issue, there is no divergence of aim, among Indian themselves. We in this country are at one in wishing to see India administering her own affairs, free to control her own destiny, remaining of her own free choice a member of that free partnership of nations which is known as the British Commonwealth. That this should come about is in our eyes the crowning consummation of our past work in India.

"Indians of all communities and classes and Princes, no less than party leaders in British India, are equally anxious that India should govern herself free from all external control. The difficulty lies in finding a system of Government under which the various complex and profoundly divergent elements of India's national life can both govern themselves in such a fashion that no one element should be in a position to oppress another and yet retain substantially that unity of administration and law which has been built up in the past. For without that India can neither be prosperous and at peace within her own borders nor secure against aggression from without. The problem is one of immense difficulty. But it can and I believe will be solved. In the main, it must be solved by Indians for themselves, who have agreed to compromises and concessions upon which it must inevitably be based, who will be eager to make the working of that constitution a success, that is why the American constitution works, our British constitution works and that is why the Dominion constitutions work. No imposed constitution, least of all one imposed by one element of party in India upon the rest of India can live.

CONGRESS PLAN "MASS SABOTAGE"

"Yet that is in essence the aim of Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who control the Congress Party machine. To enforce that aim they decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage, intended by its paralyzing effect upon the internal administration and upon the defence of India, to bring the Government to its knees. To yield to that demand would spell a disaster, not only to India's immediate war effort but to all hope of any agreed foundation for India's future freedom and unity. The defeat of the present attempt at control of India in the interests of party dictatorship is an essential condition of any real constitu-

sional solution. That a solution will be found. I have no doubt and it is upon that assumption that I shall now invite you to consider problems that will face the Indian Government enjoying unfettered control of India's destiny at home in relation to the outside world.

"The first problem will be that of India's defence. Whatever arguments the United Nations may agree upon after the war in order to prevent an early revival of aggressive ambitions on the part of our defeated enemies, none of us now cherish the illusion that world peace can be preserved on the cheap by merely setting up some scheme of inter-national machinery. The spirit of aggression and organised power behind it may revive in many forms and the desire of peace-loving nations to maintain common peace will be of little avail without the backing of effective armed preparation. The preparation moreover must be on a scale of character to meet the conditions of future warfare. It will be essentially mechanical, whether in the air, on land or at sea. It must consequently be based on highly developed mechanical industries with all the mechanical skill which they create. It will be an immensely costly demand as its foundation is great economic resources and large revenues. The present war has shown the helplessness of small poor countries in the face of the bombers, tanks or fleets of Great Powers and the folly of thinking that they can rely on well-meaning neutrality. It is only as members of some definitely associated league or group that they can assure their safety in future.

"How will India stand in that respect? Her latent resources, material and human are such that given the domestic peace and wise leadership nothing should prevent her from attaining a position in which she could create and afford without undue sacrifice all the defensive equipment of a Great Power. She is far from being in that position today. To construct, man and pay for vast fleets of warships, aeroplanes and tanks required for the single-handed defence of her territory and her trade will for a very considerable period, be beyond her capacity. For the period at least, it she is to develop in peace and safety she will have to look to some stable alliance or association with others whose interests coincide with hers. In the interval, she will be concerned to build up her industries and create skilled organisers and technicians essential to lead and man her industries and fighting services. Even a more important fundamental will be the task of raising the standard of living and education of her vast agricultural population in order to create that surplus output of ability above the needs of mere existence, which is the true measure of a nation's strength. Here, too, India has within her borders most, though not all, of the resources on which, in course of time, she could build up her economic strength in isolation.

"But the process would be painfully slow as compared with that which she might achieve by wise development of her external trade and by judicious encouragement of foreign capital investment. What her policy should be in that respect must depend largely upon the general course of economic policy in the world outside. There are those who I know believe that after the war we shall somehow succeed in reviving the economic individualist internationalism of the last century, in which trade investment were supposed to be matters of purely private concern and entirely divorced from questions, whether of domestic social policy or of defence. I cannot see that coming about. The whole trend of the world towards a more organised and planned scheme of life in the interests not only of defence but even more of social welfare and stability is bound to involve a greater measure of national direction of trade. This does not mean that there will not be an ever-increasing volume of international trade investment. But whether actually carried on by individuals for private profit or by state agencies, it will be largely governed by national considerations.

"International economic co-operation will, in fact, be essentially co-operation between nations as such for their mutual benefit, rather than co-operation between individuals, governed exclusively by considerations of private gain. It will be co-operation in which the general policy and not the least the defence policy will necessarily play its part. It is difficult to imagine nations in future remaining serenely indifferent to their citizens supplying probably, almost certain, enemies with materials essential for war up to the very outbreak of hostilities, as we did with Germany or Americans with Japan.

"If I am right, then there will almost inevitably be a tendency for nations, which look to mutual co-operation in defence, also to look to economic co-operation for their common welfare in peace and for their common strength in the hour of danger. A tendency to group will grow and those who stand out by isolation

and neutrality may well find themselves at a disadvantage in peace as well as in time of war. For some considerable time, at any rate, it seems to me that Indian statesmanship, guided solely by the practical consideration of India's interest, will naturally wish to secure or retain for India the defensive and economic advantages of some suitable external association.

"Where can they best find it? To answer the question, we must consider not only the geographical conditions affecting India's defence and trade but also such more intimate factors as racial and cultural traditions and historical associations. Geographically, the Indian sub-continent is the southern projection of the vast continental block of which the western projection is called Europe. But it is also—and this is even more important for India—the central feature of a great semicircle or countries which lie round the Indian Ocean. Her back is turned towards Asia and her face towards the Southern Sea. Ever since the opening up of the high seas, her contacts with Asia, whether for trade or for defence, have mattered far less to her than her contacts overseas. Her mountain frontiers are a serious obstacle alike to trade and invasion. Her long coastline is a standing invitation to both. From the view-point of the defence of both her territory and trade the most important issue is the friendship of whoever commands the Indian Ocean itself and its gateways at Capetown, Suez, Singapore and Darwin. Both for trade and for defence, the Indian Ocean may well become what the Mediterranean was to the ancient world, a natural link between all countries surrounding it and in that development, India might well aspire to a dominant position and the meeting in Delhi during this war of the Eastern Group Conference and co-operation in the production of munitions might well prove to have been the long-runner of greater things to come.

Ah, but it will be said, "What has India to do with Europe and South Africa and Australia and New Zealand? She is part of Asia and a natural development of the future is Asia for the Asiatics and that it is, towards China or Japan that India's natural affinities will lead her." I believe that will be a profound mistake. There is no such thing really as an Asiatic and of the great racial and cultural divisions of the old world. India's racial origins and historical and political associations and traditions have linked her from the days of Alexander the Great through the long centuries of Muslim infiltration, and the subsequent two centuries of British influence, far more closely with the world of Europe and the Middle East than with the fundamentally different history and outlook of the Mongolian Far East.

Above all, British influence on India's legal and political thought, not to speak of the use of the English language as a common medium of intercourse between Indians of different home languages, all make association with countries of British tradition easier and more natural for Indians. Add to that the sheer practical difficulties of immediate disentanglement from the existing connection in defence and administration and it would seem as a mere matter of practical convenience and advantage, that by far the best policy for India during the period before she can afford to stand alone is to retain her association with the free partnership of the British Commonwealth. There is no political partnership in the world exacting so little from members, which I believe in the long run, can give so much in return. I have been talking on the purely material and practical plane, looking at the future exclusively from the view-point of India's interests. You may well ask the question: "What about Britain's interests?"

"Looking at the matter from the narrower view-point of this island alone. It would, I admit, be difficult to argue that the moral obligation to help India in time of danger is not likely to involve a far greater strain upon our whole defensive organisation and our foreign policy, than would be compensated for by Indians' military help or by the additional trade we might possibly get from such preferential advantages as India might concede our trade. From that narrower standpoint the association with India might well be more of a burden than an asset and we might have a good practical reason for telling that we wished to be quit of her.

"On the other hand, if we look at the matter from a broader view-point of the Commonwealth as a whole, taking into account the interests of other British territories in the southern hemisphere as well as interests in the Middle East there is a much stronger case for arguing that India as member of the Commonwealth partnership would probably be on balance and in the long run, if not firstly, will contribute as much as she would receive.

"If, therefore, we believe on practical grounds that the British Commonwealth as a whole is worth keeping together, we might also conclude that it will be as

much to the Commonwealth's advantage to continue association with India as in India's interest to remain associated with the Commonwealth. That brings me to a much more fundamental question. Is the continuance and development of the British Commonwealth something really worthwhile, either from our own view-point or from that of the world at large? Is it merely a system of mutual co-operation and insurance between a particular group of nations concerned only with the self-regarding interest of its members? Or is it not something far more significant and hopeful for mankind? Is it not a unique experiment in the direction of securing unity of political action in essentials between free nations without the sacrifice of their several national identities or their control of every aspect of their national life? Such unity, not based on the domination of a Master State, not even on the rigid structure and sacrifice of individual nationality involved in a federation, but on common ideals and mutual loyalties, is surely something well worth trying out, both for ourselves and as an example to others—in a work in which the need for larger unities for getting away from the present political and economic anarchy is becoming increasingly urgent.

"Is it not in this direction, in the direction of leagues of like-minded free nations, that a true 'New order' of the world's immediate future is to be sought? And if such a league can successfully include in equal freedom and responsibility not only nations of kindred origin, but nations so far apart as the peoples of India, and those of this island and the Dominions of European stock, cutting across all divisions of colour, race and creed, shall we not have advanced an immense step towards the evolution of that future free league of mankind which is the ultimate hope of the world but which is unlikely to be reached by any more mechanical scheme for an immediate millennium?"

"If so then the case for India's remaining in partnership with the British Commonwealth, not only for the period of transition but permanently, and for our desiring her to remain therein, is based on grounds even stronger than that of the aeroplane we can furnish to each other in war, or the trade which we can offer each other in peace. It is based on beliefs and hopes which go to the very foundation of the spiritual nature of our people. Even more than on the practical commonness of both sides, it is on the deeper idealism, both of Indian and British peoples, that must depend the future relation of free India to the Commonwealth in which and through the influence of whose ideals, she will have found both her unity and her freedom."

Sir George Schusters' Call to Britain

On the Need for Positive Line of Action

The following is the text of a letter from Sir George Schuster appearing in *The Times* of the 14th. October on the India debate:

"You rightly characterised last week's Parliamentary discussion on India as a 'negative debate', and I believe that there will be many who share your own uncomfortable feeling about the way the British case has been put—both by the defenders and attackers—together with my still deeper feeling that British expression, both in words and deeds, is failing to rise to the needs of the occasion. The Government's case for strong measures to stop the Congress rebellion is unanswerable. Why then should Mr. Amery get involved in arguments about whether Mr. Gandhi 'meant' from the outset to wreck the Cripps Negotiations? Why do not we have evidence of what the Congress planned and prepared, objectively presented in a White Paper, so as to make it impossible for critics to continue their suggestions that we have trumped up the charge in order to provide an excuse for the strong hand?"

"Again, Colonel Stanley, in his brilliant speech, did us less than justice when he referred to the 'generosity' of the British offer, measuring generosity in terms of willingness to forego commercial advantage—with special reference to Lancashire's cotton trade. Trade figures prove unanswerably with what disregard of British interests, Indian opinion has been allowed to dictate fiscal policy in the last twenty-five years. (India's pre-1914 imports of over 8,000 million yards of cotton piecegoods, almost all British, dropped before this war to 800 million yards, more than half from Japan—a change which has brought widespread ruin and unemployment in Lancashire.) It is unfortunate to suggest that

a desire for the advantage of British industry may still be influencing British policy. Indeed, if, unhampered by any fiduciary relationship with India, we could bargain freely on a basis of reciprocal commercial advantage, we could in this material field, do much better ourselves.

"Then again, there were the usual references to American press comment as something which should influence our policy. That puts the position wrongly. We must be guided by what we believe right and not by what the American newspapers are saying of us. That does not mean that outside opinion does not matter. Having settled a course, we should see that it is properly understood in other countries; and in the matter, indeed, there is immense room for improvement. I would go further than this. I do not share the view that the United Nations are not concerned with what is happening in India or that we should say 'Hands off'. This is our business.' If they desire a conference on the matter, we welcome it. It will help in many ways if only to spread a true understanding of the position. But in the end, it will be recognised that past history has placed the responsibility on British shoulders which cannot be loaded off on to others or abandoned by betraying moral obligations.

"But the worst weakness in the recent Parliamentary discussions, has been failure to give adequate attention to what we ought to do now. We cannot allow the rightness of the present course to rest on our own record of past centuries or in the wrongness of our political opponents. We need a positive line of action now and for the future. We claim—unanswerably I believe—that we cannot, without a betrayal of right principles or the risk of chaos hand over full constitutional responsibility to Indian Ministers except on the foundation of a balanced constitution agreed upon between the main elements in India. We say that, pending this, we want a genuine Indian Government, retaining only the ultimate constitutional responsibility and leadership in war effort. Can we be satisfied with the way in which we have fulfilled the purposes? Have we gone as far as we could, to set up and strengthen a genuine Indian Government? Have we given a right and inspiring leadership in the war? In the Viceroy's Council, the two key portfolios (Home and Finance) are still held by British officials. Need this continue?

"What of our leadership? Let us, if we will, excuse the loss of Malaya and Singapore by the disaster of Pearl Harbour, which knocked the foundation out of the whole plan. But, if war preparation in India had been tackled with the right vision and urgency from 1939, could not Indian divisions have been sent to Burma sufficiently trained and equipped to resist the invader? Indian war production was not tackled with vision and drive from the beginning. Colonel Johnson, the United States Representative, reviewing the position last April said, 'India has done a fairly good job of war production, but it is a peace-time job'. That is not good enough. Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspiring leadership or rise to the needs of the occasion. British leaders connected with this failure cannot now create the atmosphere which is needed. The right men must be found. British leadership must be conceived in a new way.

"The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics, it is Indian Ministers that should hold the platform. Our endeavour must be to strengthen them to do this. And they must have a vigorous and inspiring policy not merely in war production, but in the field of social measures, for which the full pulse of war economy offers so many opportunities.

"I am not so optimistic as to imagine that action on these lines will bring any quick alleviation of the ill-feeling into which we have so unfortunately drifted in India, but it will, nonetheless, be the right action and worthy of our past record and present responsibility. Also, if steadily pursued, it will help us to retain the prestige and initiative, without which we cannot play the part we need to play in achieving our final purpose—helping the Indian parties to find an agreement among themselves and thus make possible the establishment of real Self-Government of India."

India's Fight for Liberty

Mr. Lin Yutang's Warning

"Mr. Lin Yutang, the well-known Chinese author, in a message to *Free World*, a new monthly magazine, representing a movement which had already secured influential support in the *New World*, argued the case for immediate grant of freedom to India. English, Chinese, Spanish and French editions of *Free World* began to appear and arrangements were made to bring out an Indian edition in the near future.

Mr. Lin Yutang, in the course of his message to the magazine, observed:—"Momentous events are happening in Asia affecting not only the 390 million people of India, but also the future progress and essential character of the war the United Nations are fighting. As a Chinese, I know China would be the first to be directly affected by it. It is imperative that we examine the events in India not as idle critics, but as responsible participants in a conflict between our two Allies, England and India. By our applause given to one or the other or by our very tolerance of the conflict, we prolong or shorten the conflict. The United Nations have a moral duty. I therefore, plead for a stern sense of realities of the Indian situation.

"We have been feeding ourselves on anti-Hindu propaganda. We might accept, for our own peace of mind, the fiction that Congress is not representative of India, the lie that it does not include Muslims, that Mr. Jinnah is very important, that the English are loved in India and every thing is very pretty. We acquire a sense of moral triumph by accepting the version that it is not we who do not want to give India freedom, but it is India who is not united in wanting it. By the acceptance of that fiction and our passive inaction in the months following the Cripps Mission, we have our-selves precipitated this inevitable conflict.

"The time for delusions is past and we must now pay for it. But our own fate is involved in it. We must break through the pall of abuse, misrepresentation and calumny against India that is being spread in America. Intelligent citizens know that India's case has never been represented to Americans except through the eyes of British censors at Calcutta and New Delhi, that the news about India is incorrect and inaccurate and very often distorted. It is a law of human nature that we must abuse those whom we injure, to prove that we are injuring them for their own good. It is a law of human nature that should and must go on; Gandhi is an appeaser, Gandhi is a wily and crooked politician. Gandhi has no sense of reality. Gandhi wants only the ruin of the British.

"The question is, Why is Gandhi such a fool? Why are men like Nehru and the leaders of the Congress such fools? Why are Indians such fools as to be misled by them? There is something terribly incomprehensible to many American critics and editors about the Hindus. Gandhi is a fool, because he is fighting for what George Washington was fighting—for his country's freedom and independence from England. Nehru is such a fool, because he feels as keenly about the little word 'Liberty' as Washington or Thomas Paine ever felt. The whole Indian nation is feeling exactly as keenly as the thirteen colonies about their country's freedom. Gandhi and Nehru are as stubborn as Washington was and De Valera is to-day. The injustices in India are exactly like the injustices in the American colonies and in Ireland of the past. Now that Americans have liberty, they forget what that little word means when a people have lost it. That is what is so incomprehensible about India.

"That is the terrible force which Gandhi and Nehru have unleashed to-day, which the spirit of Washington, whom both admire, helped to unleash the great cry of a great people for national freedom during our war for national freedoms. Recently, Secretary Hull was urging the nations to fight for liberty and Indians are obeying him. Hull cannot turn round and tell Indians, 'You must not fight for liberty.' We are anxious for the freedom of Greece, Yugoslavia or Occupied France, but we shut our eyes to the greatest single national movement for freedom in the world in India.

"India wants her freedom. Cripps denied it. They want to fight as a free nation alongside the United Nations. The Congress resolution clearly showed that they wanted Allied soldiers to remain in India and help defend their country if they were given the status of a free and equal nation. India is united in

AMERICA ANXIETY ABOUT INDIA

ding freedom immediately. Her splendid leaders, who qualified her for it, are pledged to use that freedom not for a decrease, but an increase, in her share of responsibility to fight the Axis Powers. I warn that India will not give up the fight for liberty until she gets it.

"Against these obvious truths, the refusal to return what we stole from her is based on sectional and national politics. Those who are clever at playing politics will, by their indecision and narrow vision, help defeat of the common war effort. We cannot win this war with nineteenth century psychology and imperialistic politics. The war has gone ahead of us, let us catch up with it.

America's Anxiety About India

Negotiations with Congress urged

Ernest Lindley, one of America's leading journalists, with a reputation for being the unofficial spokesman of the White House, expressed America's anxiety about India in the course of an article in a recent issue of *The Washington Post*.

He observed, "Little news is coming from India by normal channels. But the paucity of published matter does not mean that the Indian situation had markedly improved; it signifies rather severe censorship. Actually information reaching Washington from entirely reliable sources is causing anxiety."

"There is no sign of any further efforts to compose the internal political difficulty. The British now appear to be relying entirely on repression and British authorities in India express full confidence in their ability to smash Mr. Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience. This campaign according to informed sources has not yet really begun, but it is supposed to be springing soon in the leading cities of India. Spokesmen for the All-India Congress group boast that they will paralyse British authority within two months. Their ability to make good this boast is seriously doubted by independent observers. But as things are going now, relations between the Congress Party group and the British authorities are becoming even more embittered.

"The problem is a delicate one for American Government. After the rejection of the Cripps proposal American opinion, official and private alike swung against the Congress Party. It swung even more sharply with the revelation that Mr. Gandhi was against armed resistance to the Japanese and proposed to negotiate with them—although this was probably not Quialingism as it is understood in the West but rather an expression of a religious and fanatic faith in the ability of nonviolent resistance to deprive the armed invader of the fruits of conquest.

"The attitude of the Congress Party leaders has continued to be thoroughly exasperating and dangerous to the security of the United Nations as a whole as well as India itself. But it has not altered the American policy of favouring self-government for all peoples who are able to exercise it—a policy to which Britain also is committed by the Atlantic Charter and the declaration of the United Nations no matter what exceptions or mental reservation one may have noted in individual British statements.

"If repression were now the only recourse there would be no disposition to question the present British policy, regrettable as the necessity for it would be. But informed observers report that there is still a chance of composing the Indian political difficulties by negotiation. They doubt if negotiations could be carried through by the British and Congress Party leaders alone because distrust of each for the other is now too deep. Friendly intercession probably would be necessary by the United States and China.

"It is believed that a number of most influential Congress Party members would now accept less than their previous demands. Reaction against them in the American press came as an unpleasant surprise. There was danger that the effect would be to turn the Congress Party leaders quite as bitterly against the United States as against Britain and in the hands of persistent propagandists to create an impression that the white peoples of the United Nations were joining hands in a policy of repression. This danger was alleviated by the President's announcement that American troops in India were there only to fight the Axis and instructions had been given to them to hold aloof from internal affairs. But the danger has not entirely removed and perhaps can be eradicated only if another effort is made to settle the Indian internal political difficulties by negotiation.

Educational Progress in India

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

**The Convocation of the following Universities
were not held in the year 1942 :—**

- (1) The Lucknow University**
- (2) The Allahabad University**
- (3) The Mysore University**

All India Educational Conference

Annual Session—Indore—27th December 1942

Presidential Address

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference held at Indore on the 27th December 1942 said:—

I am thankful to you for the honour you have done me in offering the presidency of this important conference, where educationists all over India meet once a year. My active connection with education, as a teacher and professor, ceased many years ago but amidst all the diversions, which a busy life entails, I have maintained my connection with educational thought and activities in the country. The problems in my time, when I was a teacher, were different. They were (1) how far were schools to be permitted to give religious instruction to the pupils. An overzealous educational official in those days smelt addition in the teachings of the Bhagvat Gita and we had to carry on a strenuous fight on behalf of a school, which a few friends of mine established in Bombay. (2) The next question in those days was how far the independence of schools and colleges could be maintained consistently with the acceptance of Government grants. Nearly the whole time that I was a teacher, these questions occupied public attention.

Before I proceed further, I have to offer you my congratulations on the fact that your conference represents all the several communities and people of India including the officials and residents of the Indian States. I am glad to note that the communal virus has not over-spread your activities as is indicated in the resolution which you passed in 1940-41 in your session at Kashmir.

The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lusty students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as incipient criminals and punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This situation is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms. To mention only the last war, in England, which I ought to say strenuously, a large advance was made in spite of it. During the present war, you are all aware, Mr. R. A. Butler, presiding over the Board of Education, has made an insistent demand for increased grants based upon a reconstruction of educational ideals and methods. You are aware of his activities in endeavouring to enlarge the basis of British education, especially in the universities so as to afford its benefits to people who owing to its expensive character, have been hitherto unable to participate in its benefits. The plans of the Board of Education after the war are we are told ready, and when the war is over, they will be placed before the public to be carried into effect. In a place like China, supposed to be educationally backward, there is no tendency to starve education in spite of the war going on for the last several years. China is diverting all its resources to the development of its educational system. To quote only one instance, Article 157 of its draft constitution provides that educational appropriations should constitute not less than 15 per cent of the total Central Budget and 30 per cent of the budgets of the provinces, districts and municipalities.

Ill-placed economy in education is particularly undesirable in India, where educational grants have always formed a drop in the ocean. I am one of those who hold that war is the best time for pushing onward educational schemes, for the simple reason, among others, that the conscience of mankind is stirred during the war against ancient wrongs and injustices. We must, therefore, start planning our educational programmes now, for, when the war is over, we may have no time and we shall be found unprepared to prosecute them. We shall have to devise a more soundly and widely covered system of public education, with the ultimate goal of creating a living faith in freedom, truth and beauty and establishing national unity and peace. I am not using the expression national education to signify such a system, for it is doubtful how far pure nationalism can affect the spirit of education. Secondly, because the present war exposes the dangers of economic and political

nationalism of an extreme kind. But a system which has the following chief features may be described as national in its scope and objective, though not in its spirit. First, it will be national, because it is based on the actual needs of the entire nation in all its stages so as to provide an opportunity for every man, woman and child to develop personality to the utmost extent and to live a full life. Secondly, it will be national, because its objectives, methods and standards of performance will have relation to the facts of the economic, social and cultural life of the people of all classes of whom it is composed. Thirdly, it will be national, because it will be based on a new conception of citizenship, the requirements of which will have to be carefully planned by the State co-operating with the people. Before we do this last service, we shall have to decide what kind of society we wish to create, what social ideologies to promulgate, whether the present acquisitive and competitive system is to be replaced by a co-operative one, securing the common good of the various classes supplementing one another, whether we shall think in terms of individual or class profit in the place of the common good. This is not a job for the politician, but for the thinkers and educationists and the danger is if you leave it to the politician, then he will create citizens in the sense of "good haters and lusty flag wavers" as somebody said recently.

There are fundamental principles, however, on which human development in civilised countries has always proceeded. They are the same everywhere and have been evolved by the experience of centuries. In doing this, however, we shall have to keep in clear view Indian traditions of education and build on their basis. The main Indian tradition embodied in ancient literature is that right education must aim at the freedom of the individual all round, freedom to think and believe, freedom to meditate and adore, freedom for self-evolution and self-expression against all the tyrannies of sacred books and the fanaticism of political and religion zealots. An old writer was asked in ancient India for whom he was writing his great work. He replied, "for all persons good and bad, small and great, who think that they ought to be free bonds of low life." India also warned its citizens against the dangers of excessive intellectualism which it conceived to be in the extreme self-consciousness of the intellect leading to isolation, conceit and intolerance. Fourthly, it will be national because a new type of administrator will have to be brought into existence to work the new institutions which will arise after the war, a person of calm judgment, impartiality of outlook, combining out of these two, wise and beneficent leadership. This will enable him to rise superior to excitement both in himself and his followers, with an ability to quiet it in others by his tolerance and readiness to see the opposite point of view. Fifthly, it will be national, because it will aim at national unity and peace. The war is aiding this process, for during its operation the world has come nearer, distance has been annihilated and in the pursuit of a common endeavour against a common danger, all distinctions of nationality and creed, all group egotism, class outlook and racial superiority ought to grow dimmer and dimmer.

In India, the process would have worked faster if the Government had the wisdom at their right time to take full advantage of the offer of the youth of India to man the defence of the country. The history of the Marathas teaches us that, in the common enthusiasm which a war creates, caste distinctions are lost sight of and if the youth of India had been permitted to create a citizen army to defend their natural right, we would have by this time advanced a great deal on the path of national unity. These influences are working already, and it will be the business of educationists to take the work in hand in a methodical and scientific manner. We have to evolve a single nationality through the best avenue that circumstances provide, namely, the culture of the people and it will be the function of the university to plan it, so that our first and deepest loyalty will be for our country. The universities, as the name implies, must take up this work. Curricular changes will be necessary so as to place more insistence on all that unites the people and not on what divides them as at present. Universities are best fitted to do this, subjugating more and more all forces which make for isolation, superiority, intolerance and hostility. There is much in India on which the people can unite and, if this is brought more prominently forward, I have no doubt that the present forces of disintegration will be replaced by mutual understanding, respect and co-operation. The bigotries, both superstitious and political of self-seeking leaders, must be dissipated by the diffusion of the right ideals of education.

I have great appreciation of the system of national education which your conference adopted at its previous sessions and I am at one with you on the aim, the

objective and the general scheme which your conference has approved. It is wise to lay down that the aim of such education is the realisation of the maximum growth of every individual with a view to evolving an efficient co-operative social order; that the objectives of such education are physical well-being, cultural development, ethical and moral consciousness, economic self-sufficiency and national solidarity. Its general scheme will be that every individual will be ensured the maximum possible general cultural education coupled with a preparation for occupational life, labour and hand-work forming an essential part of the general cultural education at every stage. This scheme ought to receive more and more support in the country, as its essential features become more known. But some features of it I particularly value, for instance, that the medium of instruction will be the mother tongue of the pupils up to the secondary stage and, as far as possible, at the university stage. I appreciate the resolution which you passed in this connection in 1941. Secondly, the reduction of the public mass examinations and their replacement by internal examination based purely on the pupil's record of performance as judged by those who have known him well. Similarly your resolution against propaganda carried on for inflaming communal and racial discord and suggesting steps to remove it, is worthy of attention of all thinking man.

In my own part of the country the problem of education, at present engaging public attention, is more regional and linguistic universities of a teaching and residential character specialising in the fullest development of the language, history, literature and the agricultural and economical needs of the people of the region. The Bombay University has grown too bulky. A Government Committee, appointed nearly 20 years ago, advised decentralisation. The Bombay University at present caters to the people of four distinct areas, each growing increasingly conscious of its claim for the cultural, social, and economical needs of its people. As you perhaps are aware a committee is sitting to consider the development of such a teaching and residential university for Maharashtra. The problems before the committee are interesting, but I do not wish to tire you longer by giving their details. One important feature of university education, on which the public mind is insistent in Maharashtra, is the imparting of military education as a compulsory part of college studies, for we hold that it is the natural right of the youth of the country to prepare itself for its defence and that Indian universities contain splendid material for building up an effective defence of the country. It is unfortunate that the Government have not taken advantage of this unlimited storehouse of energy and patriotism, owing to the lack of confidence and goodwill. But we hope that the university, which is proposed to be established for Maharashtra, will rectify this defect.

The Indian Science Congress

29th Session—Baroda—1st. January 1942

Presidential Address

The 29th Session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Baroda on the 1st January 1942, under the presidency of Mr. D. N. Wadia, who in the course of his address said:—

"An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations, but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

Mr. D. N. Wadia, at the outset, felicitated Sir P. C. Ray, the 'Geyon of Indian scientists,' on his 30th birthday and referred to the loss Indian science had suffered by the death of Sir Shah Mohamed Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court.

Mr. Wadia added: "To-day, after a century of science, during which it has explored vast vistas of Nature supervised Time and Space, conquered many plagues and diseases, probed truths about God's creation and is near making an approach to absolute Truth, science is facing the charge of helping with its inventions and discoveries man's lower instincts and lust for power, possession and aggrandisement.

But for the aid of science, it is thought his animal instincts and desires would have been infinitely less and the tempo of resulting suffering and destruction greatly reduced. But science repudiates the indictment. The ulterior end of science is search for truths of Nature and of the universe, and Truth always builds and integrates. The wreckage made possible by the abuse of science is an evanescent phase in the history of nations, and is to be compared to the havoc by earthquakes and tornadoes. Science will, without doubt, rebuild the damaged world on better foundations and relegate the stricken people to a new and more secure life and the tempo of the resulting reconstruction will be no less striking.

"The precision tools, the alloys, the specialised steels perfected by scientific research, can be used equally well in the making of surgical instruments, in improved ploughshares, in drills for cutting the hardest rock as well as in the making of a super-edge sword, a Messerschmitt engine, or in the internal mechanism of a death-dealing bomb. To check this perversion of science, it is time the hierarchy of pure science asserted its patent right on the common pool of strategic science and, backed by its 1½ centuries of resolute struggles for the betterment of mankind, claim a determining share in the governments of the world. An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

The progress of science in India, the speaker added, was reflected in the growth of the Indian Science Congress during the last 28 years. A very welcome development of recent years was the addition of sections of Entomology, Physiology and Engineering, in each of which fruitful work had already been done, and in which the scope for productive research was still immense. The recent establishment of the Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations by the Congress was a timely move for reviewing the progress of science in the country and appraising the extent to which it had promoted, or was capable of promoting the real welfare of the populace. In a country whose social structure was based on traditional religion and custom it was inevitable that there should be some time-lag between the march of science and its ultimate effect on the popular welfare. This was the gap between the static India that is passing, and the dynamic India that was visualised by the scientists. The Committee's report was awaited with interest.

"Although it can scarcely be said that science has begun to occupy a considerable place in the general life of the masses of the educated middle classes," the speaker said, "one welcomes the attempts of some voluntary organisations, municipal and civic bodies through the publicity of the radio and the press to bring the benefits of elementary science home to people at large. The infiltration of everyday science thus to the 600,000 villages, which harbour 78 per cent of our population, is sure to bring results in improved agriculture and husbandry, health and housing, sanitation and nutrition." Here he paid a tribute to the "evangelistic work" of the two journals, *Current Science* and *Science and Culture* to accelerate the advancement of higher science in India. Stating that the disproportion between the task looming ahead and the work accomplished was vast and the outstanding basic needs of national economy, such as literacy, sanitation, nutrition and improved standards of living were reminders of our yet unliquidated liabilities, he said that workers in the cause of pure and applied sciences would have to multiply a hundredfold and their efforts redoubled in order to eliminate these big debit factors from the national balance sheet. Mr. Wadia, continuing, said: "A serious handicap to industrial progress in India has been the lack of planned liaison between industry and science. In the Board of Science and Industrial Research, inaugurated last year under the directorship of Sir S. S. Bhatnager, we see the promise of a new era of the planned aid to India's industry. Already the activities of the Board, through its fifteen committees, cover a wide field of research calculated to assist a variety of new manufactures. Although the services of the Board are channelled today to further India's war production through ad hoc research with the return of peace and the withdrawal of the stimulus of war premia and priorities, there will be a greater demand on these services for domestic aid to the nascent industries it has itself sponsored, as well as to those launched by private enterprise in recent years, particularly the heavy-chemicals, engineering and metallurgical industries. The country will then need a central agency for integrating the scientific effort of the different units to-day functioning under handicaps, financial and others and improving the defective industrial machinery of

the country at present working with many emergency joints, if there is to be no setback to the hardwon industrial progress of pre-war years. This need is now-where greater than in the mineral industries, where for the last three or four decades the raw produce of the mines, the ore and industrially vital minerals have been allowed to leave the country in ever increasing tonnages, at ridiculously low prices, simply because of lack of technical guidance in the processing of minerals or their part manufacture before exports.

Welcoming the commencement of the functioning of the Eastern Group Supply Conference at Delhi during the year, Mr. Wadia said: "When the crisis of war is over, the contacts established by this Conference should make for greater collaboration and interdependence of these nations in place of the ignoble jealousies and racial barriers that have marred international relations so far."

Mr. Wadia then gave details of his geological investigations in the last three years in Ceylon and the light they throw on the structure of India.

"The shape or figure of India, as we see it to-day", he concluded, "is determined essentially by the destructive processes of Nature. The sea, rain, rivers and other atmospheric agencies of change, by their ceaseless action have cut deep into the profile of India and have removed thousands of feet of matter from off the surface, producing the existing sculpture of the land. The 6,000 to 15,000 feet thick beds of clay, sand and silt, laid down in the Indo-Gangetic plains, are all derived from the decay of the Himalayas. They are only a small measure of the waste of these mountains. The dissection of the originally two miles high volcanic plateau of Malwa-Deccan to the depth of over a mile into the picturesque alternation of plains, valleys and hills is another visual demonstration of the power of surface natural agencies in shaping the surface features of the continents, while constantly lowering their level to the mean sea-level. These base-leveling processes have in the past, repeatedly peneplained vast tracts of India, but the geological cycle was not allowed to be completed by the supervening earth movements which restored topographic youth. Rajputana and Madras have thus been levelled and peneplained and rejuvenated by timely earth-movements reversing the geological cycle time and again."

The Historical Records Comm. Conference

18th Session—Mysore—21st January 1942

Mr. John Sargent's Speech

The eighteenth session of the India Historical Records Commission Conference was held at Mysore on the 21st January 1942 under the presidency of Mr. John Sargent who in the course of his speech stated that it was most pleasant and appropriate that a learned society like theirs whose primary concern was with man as a social unit, should be able to meet in a place where the glories of the past, the achievements of the present and the hopes of the future were so happily united. Much history had been made and named in this part of India. "I like, however, to think," he added, "that the aspect of local history to which the future historians and researchers will pay the greatest attention will not be 'old unhappy far off things and battles long ago' but that record of persistent, enlightened and constructive efforts for bettering the living conditions of ordinary men and women which made the reign of Your Highness's predecessor so illustrious, and will, we have every reason to believe, be no less characteristic of your own."

Mr. Sargent said that he regretted that ill-health had prevented the President of the Commission, the hon. Mr. N. R. Barker, from being present. Even in the short time, which had elapsed since he took up his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Mr. Barker had shown keen interest in the work of the Commission particularly in the reconstitution which had recently taken place.

Referring to the main objects that had led to the reconstitution of the Commission by the Government of India, Mr. Sargent stated that the changes were the outcome not of any feeling of dissatisfaction with the achievements of the old Commission, but they arose from the fact that a stage had been reached when it was essential to consolidate the work which had been accomplished and to prepare the ground for

a future advance. The first need in this connection was to ensure continuity of policy. During his short tenure of office, their President had been successful in securing funds which would do something towards enabling the keeper of the records to make available to students, the great historical riches which had been committed to his charge. An agreed policy of co-operation was essential in this respect and it was hoped that the Commission in its new form would be able to ensure that Mr. Sargent pointed out that great historical treasures lay hidden in the archives of private institutions, families and individuals. Access to those treasures could only be had by tact and persuasion and it was to be hoped that the work would be undertaken by the local bodies which it would be one of the main functions of the re-constituted Commission to establish.

Mr. Sargent then requested His Highness to address the Conference.

Mysore Ruler's Opening Address

His Highness the Maharaja welcomed to Mysore the distinguished assembly and added: "A French historian of the year 1800 declared that the plains of Mysore were the most beautiful habitation that nature could offer to men on the face of the earth. They are rich in precious metals also and in consequence in history and historical lore. But I am afraid you will also find that much of the historical wealth like the gold, has passed out of the country. I understand that the period of history in which you interest yourselves reaches from the Battle of Panipat, 1526, to 1800. In Mysore history, we might put it from the establishment of the capital of the present dynasty in the City of Mysore in the early part of the 16th century, to the Rendition of the State to my grandfather by the British Government in 1831. This period divides itself into four minor periods: from 1526 to 1761, when Hyder Ali first assumed the practical control of the country; from 1761 to 1799 the end of the Fourth Mysore War; from 1799 to 1831, which was the commencement of the British Commission; and from 1831 to 1881, the date of the Rendition."

"For the first of these periods," His Highness continued, "we have many documents in the wider sense—in stones and monuments, mutts and temples. But we have comparatively little in the way of documents in our archives. It is recorded that there were once many chronicles collected by my ancestors, but they all disappeared in the troubled period of our history. There is some matter still to be explored in the collections in the Oriental Library, and there are a few documents in the Secretarial records. There are also, I believe, a great number to be found in the possession of the mutts and temples and in the archives of our leading families."

"For the second period, from 1761 to 1799, the great bulk of the records have been removed. There are large quantities of them in the India Office, others in the Government of India Records, others again in those of the Government of Fort St. George and in the Mackenzie Collection. Others are to be found in many parts of the world.—in France, in the Dutch East Indies, in Goa and in Hyderabad. Others again were burnt when the Saraswathi Bhandar was destroyed in the great Palace Fire of 1897. We have a certain number left, including some original letters of the great Duke of Wellington, and the Residency have some more, of which they have been good enough to lend a collection for your exhibition. The records of the third and fourth periods are also distributed, but a considerable number of those for the period of the British Commission have been transferred to our records where they await examination and we have a good deal of matter of our own."

His Highness then referred to the work that had been done all this material from the Epigraphia Carnatica, relating to a period before 1526 to a volume of letters and despatches of the Duke of Wellington from 1799 to 1805, another of select letters of Tipu Sultan, a copy of Walk's report on the internal conditions of Mysore as in 1801-02, etc. There had been published a large number of histories of Mysore, many of which contained copies of extracts of important historical documents. The most important of those was Colonel Walk's history, which had recently been reprinted with annotations by Sir Murray Hammick and published by the Mysore Government. "In spite of all this formidable array," His Highness added, "I felt that I am speaking for my Government when I say that we fully recognize that there is vast amount to be done in the discovery, preservation, translation and publication of valuable records that were to be found in the headquarters offices, in the district offices, in mutts and temples, in places of business and in private houses."

"There is now, I understand, a project afoot for the development of a historical museum of Mysore," continued His Highness. "If money and time were unlimited, I should like to see added to this a records office, specially designed for

the purpose in accordance with the latest scientific arrangements, in which there should be preserved all the public records of your period, just as the older records are preserved in the Oriental Library. I would even go further and add to it something in the nature of a safe custody deposit, in which mutas and temples and private individuals could deposit their ancient records and have them preserved in accordance with the latest methods." "But these," added His Highness in conclusion, "are dreams for the piping times of peace. For the moment we want all our men and all our money in order to devote every effort of which we are capable to the conquest of the enemies of freedom and the right. When we have achieved that end, we can turn our attention to the extermination of the enemies of the raw material of history."

The Convocation Addresses The Calcutta University Convocation

Sir Arzrul Hogue's Address

In the course of the address at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on the 29th February 1942, *Sir Mohammad Arzrul Hogue*, the Vice-Chancellor, said :—

The world to-day is in the throes of great agonies and many sufferings. Clouds have gathered up not merely on our horizon, but almost all round ourselves, and no one can say how things are going to shape in the future. But whatever that may be, I have no doubt in my mind that India shall be stronger than ever, even though we may pass through a trail of sufferings, privations and misfortunes. With deep faith in Providence, Who has kept this country alive through many centuries, we shall emerge victorious from the perils of to-day. The Almighty will make her stronger than before—it is in that abiding faith and conviction that I feel that the time has come when we must critically examine ourselves, our educational system and our entire life. We have now felt and realised as to what it means if our trade routes are cut off and if our essential services are dislocated. And to-day we have to appreciate not merely the events outside India, but even inside this country or its neighbourhood. It is always in an emergency that we have to do severe thinking on our part as to what we should do to be prepared for the future. We are producers of a very large amount of raw materials and it is time that we must think of developing those raw materials for industrial and commercial utilization within the province. The district of Raipur and its neighbourhood grow many tons of maunds of raw tobacco leaves and the largest bulk goes to Burma where it is made into cigars. If Burma cannot import these raw leaves we have to find out as to what we can do to develop the industry within our province so that our cultivators who grow tobacco may not have to starve. We had to import a large volume of commodities of all kinds from abroad which we can not get to-day. We had to import a huge volume of finished products from Japan and in fact the Japanese trade enveloped a very large bulk of our imports.

If we do not get all our food requirements that we had to get from outside this province or from abroad, if our agricultural products or other raw materials cannot go out, if there is shortage of the commodities that we need for all our economic needs, we have to think if we can develop our own resources to meet our own needs. We have to build up the future of India and of this great province in view of our experience not only here but what is happening elsewhere in the world; we have indeed to rebuild this country of ours almost in a new shape of things to come. I have referred to all these that we may all put our heads together to consider as to whether our educational system requires any change to get an equilibrium between our training and our essential economic needs. If we are to develop our resources to meet our fullest needs, we have to answer the question as to whether we should not readjust our educational system so that, in view of what I have stated above, the innate capacity and tendencies of our youth with all the hereditary talents in arts, crafts and vocations may get full scope in life.

Great things have been achieved in the past under the present system but greater things have to be done in the future. We have to answer the question as to the part we do, can and ought to play in the economic life of the province and where we do, and ought to share in the industry and trade of the country. Is there any integral connection between our system of education and the larger needs of the country? Where do we stand to-day and what shall we do to equip and fit ourselves for the future? An answer to these questions can ultimately be given by the province and the country as a whole, even though the responsibilities to give new shape of things will to a considerable extent depend on the University and the University organisation. I can assure you on behalf of the University that whatever may be your ultimate decision, we shall not fail to act according to your decision and choice. We can even now do a great deal. Our research workers are always anxious to stand behind you and I know our University men and their past achievements and their ability. But we and they suffer from lack of funds. We have no funds to equip a laboratory to meet the contingent needs of to-day. I am grateful to those industrialists and commercial men and the Government who have given us a few thousands of rupees to carry on certain researches, but it is not even a drop in terms of what we can do in full expansion if we only consider the vast requirements of to-day. I only ask as to whether the time has not come when the authorities who have the power to shape things should not take immediate steps to prepare a scheme and to find out finances that may be required to carry on industrial and technical researches with a view to develop the resources of the province and also to determine as to what extent our educational system should undergo modification to equip the young men of the future for such work.

We Can Defend Our Country.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now in the midst of a war; it is almost near our doors, but let us have faith in ourselves that we can defend our country. Behind ships, planes, guns and fortifications, a country needs several lines of defences which we can only ourselves work up. To-day let every one of us stand for the other. Let us work with all that we have got and utilise every little bit to our best benefit and advantage. Let us face facts. Let us rise above our mere self-concerns and let every man and woman work not just for himself or herself but for the whole country wherever he or she may be or whatever his or her job may be. Let us have faith in ourselves. With land, naval or other fortifications, let us also have the will-power to defend our country. In its absence the Chinese Wall is stormed and the Maginot line gets broken, the fortifications vanish and along with it the nation collapses. Above all let there be a unity in this country of ours. Let us stand united; with war at our door, let there be no war inside and it is only then that the storm clouds that are darkening the horizon will vanish. Let every one of us honestly admit one's own fault and not always find fault with others. If there is more of loyalty to our country, with less of personal, racial or party advantages we shall be a stronger country. Either we sacrifice our personal selfishness for our country or we sacrifice the country for our personal selfishness.

Our Country is Worth Defending

And this country of ours is worth defending and fighting for. Here in India we have everything in our midst that goes to make up a strong, united and powerful country. Words have their limitations; expressions fail me; it requires the imagination and the inspiration of a poet to describe the majesty of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayan ranges guarding our frontiers and the eternal beauty of the deep blue oceans which wash our shores. In our magnificent rivers flowing past historic cities, in the gloriously green forests scattered all over the country, in the enormous and probably inexhaustible stores of our mineral resources, in the proverbial fertility of our soil which has attracted the wondering eyes of the world, with our vast paddy and corn fields and, above all, in our enormous man-power, we have ample materials for the fullest economic and political development of this land.

This country of great culture and a noble heritage should not be lost to us on the counter of personal jealousies or on the chessboard of political manoeuvrings. Countless thousands of men of many creeds and faith have toiled for centuries to make this country and its culture what they are to-day; our inheritance is a heritage of great sacrifice, of great faith, of great prowess, of great courage, of great conviction and of supreme faith in the Providence. Let us also have that faith in the Providence Who is the only source of ultimate power and strength to ourselves and then toil in the fervour to make all efforts to defend our country and let us arrange its defence in all fronts.

The Crisis And Our Duties

Ladies and gentlemen, the world to-day is passing through a crisis unparalleled in the annals of human history. The shadow of the international conflagration threatens to overwhelm our motherland. I do not wish to enter here into the politics of the present war, but I declare most emphatically and with the fullest sense of responsibility that it is foremost duty of every one of us irrespective of party or religious allegiance to fight to the last for the preservation of our motherland. I do not know about military defence but it is my firm conviction that we shall be untrue to our culture, to our motherland and to those gallant sons of India who have cheerfully laid down their lives in the defence of India if we do not make it our primary concern to do everything possible to keep the enemy out. Let us for the time being sink our internal differences—let us once for all realise that at a time when the nation is faced with a national crisis, disunity is fatal. Let us not repeat the tragic mistakes of the past. Let us build up in Bengal the most powerful Maginot Line of our unshakable determination not to yield an inch of our country to the ruthless enemy. I have no doubt that against this line of defence—the panzer divisions of the enemy and the fifth columnists will hurl themselves in vain. Our country to-day is in grave peril. Our culture, our civilisation, everything that is sacred to us will be completely obliterated if we fail at this critical moment in our history. Let us to-day stand united in the defence of our motherland—let us today take a vow that in the interests of the nation we shall cheerfully sacrifice every comfort. Let us leave the enemy in no doubt of our iron will to fight for our motherland. We are to-day passing through a period of agony, but out of this agony will emerge a New India of which every one would be proud.

New India

And in that picture of New India, I see you, the graduates of this University, occupying the most pre-eminent position—leaders of men, moulders of thought, pioneers of industry and organisers of prosperous peasantry, and, above all, builders of peace, unity and concord. Graduates of the University, to-day I raise that vision and that ideal before you and I wish you God-speed in your march of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, within almost a few days I shall have to relinquish charge of this great office as the Vice-Chancellor of this great University to take up my duties elsewhere. I have to leave my motherland with deep sorrow that I have to be away and far away from my friends, brethren and countrymen. For the last four years I have worked with you in this post to the best of my ability and on this occasion of farewell I look to you in all humility for your best wishes and for your blessings.

The Gurukul University Convocation

Sir Radhakrishnan's Address

In the course of his Convocation Address delivered to the Gurukul University, on the 5th April 1942, Sir Sarveswari Radhakrishnan said that he was impressed by the ceremonies which he witnessed. They indicated the uninterrupted continuity of the Indian culture over a large territory and long stretch of time. That distinguished the different systems of education was not the content of the programmes which was usual, but the spirit or form. And the spirit or form were closely related to the nature of society. The schools and colleges endowed their students with beliefs and ideals which society cherished. Later, militarism and patriotism had been the greatest ideals. Their educational institutions turned out young savages with splendid physique and ruthless energy, delighting in the thoughts of war and conquest of territories. In India, however, a different ideal prevailed as in institutions such as this, the Gurukul University, and persisted till today.

After commenting on the Hindu ideal of Brahmacharya he pointed out that the present conflict was between two ways of life or philosophies. His implication entered every side of our life and activity. What was progress was not a military contest and there was no security that the military victory would not throw them back into the same blindness, cowardice and folly which had brought about this war. If the tragic defects of their ways of life were to be redeemed the ideal of truth and love must have functioning reality.

He exhorted the graduates to conform to great ideals of India which would save them even when catastrophes occurred, tyrannies were set up or dynasties were overthrown. A united and free India would be of the greatest benefit to the world at large.

Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps' proposal Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said : "The weakest part of Cripps' proposals, which were very satisfactory in other directions, was in the encouragement which they implicitly gave to the dismemberment of India. It will be practical undoing of the greatest trust imposed on Britain, namely, develop an independent, strong and united India. The work of great British statesmen and administrators for over 150 years will be destroyed, if any such disintegration is encouraged."

The Delhi University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarker's Address

"To-day the waves of war are furiously lapping on our shores and may, at any hour, flood into our very hearth and home. It would mean untold misery and sufferings for millions of peaceful citizens. Yet even as the war churns up its tales of destruction, cruelty and horror, it would at the same time afford our youth—in the course of a remorseless struggle against the cruel aggressor—just those opportunities to prove the strength of its moral fibre—of courage, discipline, organization and all that go to make the fullness of character."—Thus observed Mr. N. R. Sarker, Education Member, Government of India and Pro-Chancellor, Delhi University, at the 20th. Convocation of the University, held at Delhi on the 18th April 1942.

"As in the Western countries during the last war," Mr. Sarker added, "the younger generation of our country—in the role of the soldier in the trenches, the elusive guerrilla fighter and the anonymous hero—will escape from the colourless tenor of an artificial existence and face nature and raw life with a new dignity of hardships and sufferings. It will be their privilege to render a unique service to afflicted society in obstructing the enemy, in preserving the morale of the public and in bringing help and succour to the distressed. The very intensity of such an experience cannot fail to affect profoundly the mental outlook of an entire youthful generation."

Mr. Sarker said : "India is predominantly an agricultural country, about 80 per cent of the population being dependent on agriculture. This is significant weakness in the economic structure of the country and the ideal which now guides India is the establishment of a more balanced economy resulting in the expansion of her industries to an extent that will help to reduce the proportion to a level of 50 per cent by transfer of the excess to non-agricultural pursuits. A careful reflection on our peculiar problem and needs would show that for the large majority secondary education should in itself be complete after which they would either start specialising in various technical lines or to pass on to some kind of employment needed by them."

Discarding False Ideas

"Now that you are at the portals of a hard and intensely competitive world, I would like you to realise the great complexities of modern life. In days gone by there was almost a certainty that the average university student could, on the completion of his college career, step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation to-day has become ever so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective vocations of life you elect to pursue. You must shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are in such a flux under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people, that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation even to-day."

"The hectic craze for climbing the golden ladder each for himself, no matter what happens to others, is no longer the ideal that inspires American youth. They now place emphasis on sufficiency of life rather than on a plethora of riches. The

young people in America now think in terms of good health, good working conditions that are based on the wider sense of social well-being in which methods for individual advancement do not conflict with those of the advancement of the community as a whole. This is a spirit which the young men of India will do well to emulate."

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Sir Maurice Gwyer, Vice-Chancellor of the University, addressing the convocation, gave a detailed history of the progress which has been made in the academic side and the preliminary steps taken to establish the three-year degree course which, in his opinion, was going to be a blessing to the university itself and to those whom it sought to educate. He gave an account of the progress of the construction of the university buildings, and acknowledged the gifts from numerous donors who had helped the university.

Sir Maurice Gwyer said that every rupee which the university had received had been well spent, and the plans for the development of the university were no longer paper-plans only but were being steadily translated into reality. The Government have provided funds which would enable things to be done which he had been afraid would have to wait till after the war.

He made an earnest appeal to the citizens of Delhi to come forward with help which was very badly needed to complete all the schemes.

S. N. D. T. University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

To-day totalitarian war, in its mighty sweep, is rushing towards our frontiers, and may, at any hour, completely envelop our crisis, if and when the call should come, I have no doubt in my mind that our womenfolk, too, will stand in comradeship with our manhood in consecrated acts of courageous and self-sacrificing devotion to the me of our Motherland."

These remarks were made by the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member, Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his address at the twenty-sixth convocation of the S. N. D. T. University, Bombay, held on the 3rd. July 1942.

The higher education of our girls as much as of our boys presents the depressing picture of an aimless drift, except perhaps for a microscopic minority. Against this background we are becoming more and more conscious that the ideals of the system of female education in our country, stand in need of being defined and viewed in the context of the economic and social realities of our national life. Old institutions, like the joint family system which kept questions relating to the economic status of women very much in the background, are disintegrating and new ones are arising.

And inevitably along with these rapid changes in our society, we are being confronted with the task of giving close and careful thought to the question of women's status, the role they will have to play in the changing order of society and the training that should be imparted to them for the purpose.

Separate Universities For Women

To-day, co-educational colleges are often nothing but boys' colleges where a sprinkling of women are admitted, while their special needs are ignored. It is true that there are colleges meant exclusively for girls, but even these because they are mere reproductions of the boys' colleges, these colleges as well do not minister to the special needs of women. Viewed in this light, all, I think, will concede that separate Universities for women, if built up along right lines, will answer to some definite needs and perform a useful function in society.

Formal education, however, I feel, can never be a satisfying substitute for home training and we shall not get the ideal system of girls' education, until the home is fully and firmly rehabilitated as an educational factor.

At the same time, in our zeal for practical education, we may lose sight of the value of a liberal culture. A liberal education, in Aristotle's view, is liberal in proportion to its divorce from practical affairs. If in consonance with the conventional type, we limit her education to a predominantly practical curriculum, we not

only subordinate the full and free development of her personality, 'but also make her incapable of building a home in which her child will find "a University of true culture."

Presiding Spirit Of Home.

For a housewife is not merely a domestic technician whose task is solely to cook, darn, sew and, in general, to look after her children and her husband. She is the presiding spirit of the home and the cultural level of the home is measured precisely by her own. A woman totally submerged in the petty details of domesticity is not

I sincerely hope the Indian Women's University will be able to offer a true synthesis of liberal and cultural education, on the one hand, with the training in practical subjects to fit women for their primal vocation of home-making, on the other. It is this synthesis which, I strongly feel, should constitute the ideal higher education of women in India, as otherwise it may lead to serious complications in our social structure of which signs are already in evidence.

Ascription Feminism

Unless we are able to achieve the right synthesis, I am afraid we may also witness in this country a repetition of what has taken place in Western countries—an extremely assertive feminism leading women to try in every way to fit themselves for man's world and man's work, competition by women for men's jobs, with consequent increase in male unemployment, decrease in the number of marriages, disruption in family life and the many evils that come in its train.

Experience during the last few decades is leading people once more to lay the emphasis on the home as the focal centre of woman's activities. But I must not be misunderstood to imply that women have or can have no sphere of work outside the home. The world is becoming much too tough and complex for us all and in exceptional times like the present specially, women must work and exercise her influence for the benefit of the community in various directions. It is in fact most remarkable how women in countries with most diverse social and political backgrounds, have unhesitatingly accepted the hardships of a strenuous life of struggle during periods of national emergency such

War, in fact, always quickens the pace of social changes. The last example, hastened the advent of women's franchises and led to improvement in the status of women in Society.

Vital Role Of Women In War

Even this war is providing us with glorious instances of the rich and varied contribution that women can make and are making to the life of the State, even though in times of peace they accept the home as their most important sphere of work. To-day in Russia, the women, emancipated by the last Revolution, are playing the most diverse, arduous and courageous role in the defence of their Motherland. — in conservative China, the stresses of the war have brought about a most remarkable change in the status and role of women. In a short period, they have passed from the impotency of bound feet to the strenuous dignity of a life of bitter struggle against a ruthless foe. They have been fighting in comradeship with their

I am inclined to think that the troubles of our generation, in a large measure, are due to the exclusion of the feminine personality in the direct shaping of our social affairs. Without women in public affairs men have made a world in which physical science is over-developed in comparison to the science of human and social relations; in which brain-power has precedence over heart-power; in which brute-force is admired more than humane and sympathetic control; in which, in short, the male personality predominates over the female personality. As a result what a frightful man we are to-day! Clearly it is high time that some new influence were introduced to assuage the sufferings of a ravaged humanity—not, however, the bodiless influence of women, but the impact of her emotional and intellectual integrity on a grievously distracted world. Woman bears life in pain and her strongest instincts are towards preservation and concord. The plight in which humanity finds itself is, I believe, a direct consequence of a lack of balance between the male and the female instincts in social organisation. With women mostly out of it, society has been not a dot, but a dot—and a disastrous one at that.

In India, we realised long ago the dual principle of the masculine—feminine

personality—"Ardhmerichmora" and what the Western civilisation has called the "weaker sex," we in India have apostrophised as "Shakti"—Power.

You who are to-day passing out of this University, are the flower of our enlightened womanhood. I would remind you again that if your power and prestige are great, so are your responsibilities. I can pray for no greater blessings than this that you may hold high the ideals of womanhood and may shape and mould the present generation and the generations yet unborn, so that society may be informed with the aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual values and the abiding spirit of Beauty and Goodness which indeed are the epithets of perfect Womanhood.

The Agra University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

"The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a constant and penetrating study of our education problems, a study which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system," observed Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University held at Agra on the 14th November 1942.

Mr. Sarkar said young men to-day were confronted with a situation infinitely more complicated and difficult than that which his generation had to face in its time. He doubted whether the Government or the public in this country had given that constructive attention to the problems of youth which they deserved. Mass education had never appealed to the Government as a practical proposition. The autonomy of universities and other educational institutions availed them little in the solution of our educational problems, not only because such autonomy was never large or real, but also because they did not derive sustenance either from a wise national government at the top or from a population which was being helped by widespread primary and secondary education to discover its racial genius and aptitudes. Higher education in India, therefore, always hung suspended in mid-air, and "despite the impressive number of Committees and Commissions appointed by Government for enquiry into the subject and the large annual output of educated men and women, we do not seem to have moved far beyond the stage of either skimming the surface or skirting the fringe of the problem. Even to-day when the paramountcy of educational purposes is more widely recognised, incursions into it on the plea of exigencies of war are far from being rare."

Dealing with the position of education in war-time, Mr. Sarkar deprecated the tendency to cast covetous eyes on educational buildings and staffs for war purposes. He referred to the services which had been rendered by technical schools and colleges in this country in connection with the scheme for training skilled and semi-skilled men for munition work. The universities, colleges and various scientific institutions had afforded invaluable help, both in men and material, for research. It was only in this way that education could legitimately help the war effort. "But I am more than doubtful", he said, "if the numerous officials and authorities who have the power to take over educational buildings or conscript men for war work have adequate appreciation of the limits within which alone legitimate demands can be made on education for aid to the war effort. If they have not, the evil must be traced to its deep roots in the traditional apathy of the Government towards education."

Indian Problems And The Solution

"There are special reasons why it is particularly important that India should look to her educational system while there is time," said Mr. Sarkar. "It is reasonable to assume that the time is rapidly approaching when India will be called upon to manage her own affairs and that a number of the young men and women now in colleges and schools will be called upon, and consequently ought to be prepared to take their part in this management. We have our masses without even the most elementary form of literacy; we have large numbers of men to whom literacy is much like cut-off clothing, a system of secondary education, which is neither

sufficient for those who enter life thereafter, nor a sound preparation for the university, an increasing number of colleges and universities which soothe communal susceptibilities more or satisfy local pride more than our educational wants. In the background, there is the wellnigh insoluble problem of bringing into proper relation the training and teaching of youth in school and college on the one hand, and the economic conditions into which youth has to live its life. The solution, doubtless, lies in a happy blend of two or three alternative courses of action. One is that of adapting education to the possible demands for particular kinds of ability, a second is making the training in itself a factor for change, in other words, creating these kinds of ability which do not wait for markets, but create them. The third is not wholly within the sphere of the educationist. For it is dependent on the formulation of a complete scheme of economic planning, which will state precisely its requirements of particular kinds of ability. To unify the educational drive of the post-war period, to ensure proper devotion to the national aim of educational uplift of the masses, to avoid needless duplication of educational amenities and to ensure their proper diversity a central authority, more federal, if you like, than unitary, will be found to be necessary. It is not too early to take a move in that direction."

India in Post-War World

Warning the young men against falling victims to catch-phrases and slogans, Mr. Sarkar said, "I want you to have a virile and active mind, a mind that is equipped against the fallacies of the market place, animated by the will to believe and act, but open always to the breath of reason and the light of truth, ready to take pains that the scales of judgment should be always even and fair. You must place the requirements of our ultimate aims against the apparently urgent promptings of the present. Not the least of the difficulties in securing healthy political life is the fact that by the time political policies get a hold on the public mind and gain popularity, conditions become different from those in which the policies were originally conceived. It is your duty to reflect on whether such is not the case with the policies of some of the great political parties in India, whether the war and the way it has developed and spread do not detract considerably from the wisdom of these policies, whether the post-war world as we can see it now, however dimly, is not a different world from that in which Indian Swaraj, as it has all along been thought out, would have to function. If we are rudely awakened to the fact that free India will have to live in a far more dangerous world than we ever imagined, that it is not the lone wolf of British domination that the Indian lamb has to fear, but packs of wolves, hungry and growling, not too far from our doors. I submit there are then new aspects of our national problem which you cannot escape by plunging into over-simplified programmes of direct action. The claims of patient building of the good are not to be brushed aside in favour of passionate destruction of evil."

The Madras University Convocation

Sir C. V. Raman's Address

"The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children. If you ask me what is the greatest industry—the key industry—of a nation, I have no hesitation in saying that it is the production and diffusion of knowledge," said Sir C. V. Raman delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University held at Madras on the 27th November 1942.

Sir C. V. Raman urged Indian students to devote themselves to higher studies in Indian universities instead of going abroad and said that the money annually spent abroad, if devoted to promotion of university activities in this country, would result in great and permanent benefit to India.

Referring to research activities of the Madras University, Sir C. V. Raman, congratulating it on the work done so far, pleaded for a due recognition of the importance of basic sciences as a necessary part of studies in Technology and Applied Sciences. His Excellency the Chancellor, Sir Arthur Hope presided over the Convocation.

Sir C. V. Raman, addressing the Convocation, said that it was no small honour to be called upon to address a gathering of this kind and especially so to one who, is

that very hall, 36 years ago, had the privilege to be presented as a candidate. Since then many changes had taken place. Some of them were regrettable and one of them, for example, was the obvious disappearance of the turban as the head-dress of the graduate. (Laughter). It was regrettable, because, as had often been mentioned to him while travelling in Europe, where he was recognised as an Indian by his turban, there was no head-dress more beautiful and dignified than that of the South Indian. They might look at the Vice-Chancellor of the University to realise the truth of that statement. (Laughter). Another change which he noticed, though not regrettable, which made up for the lack of the picturesqueness of the turban, if he might be permitted to refer to it, were the beautiful coiffures of the increasing numbers of lady graduates. In his days, it was regarded as a rare phenomenon for a lady to aspire to a degree of the Madras University. At that time, they used to applaud the lady who was presented at a convocation but to-day nobody took notice of them unless when in competition with men, they knocked away the medals and prizes of the University. (Laughter).

Knowledge as key industry

"As one who has been assigned the duty of addressing the graduates to-day," Sir C. V. Raman said, "let me, in the first place congratulate you on this occasion in your life. I assure you this is a great occasion. It is a fashion nowadays to decri Indian Universities. We hear so much to-day about Capital and Labour, about Marxism and Capitalism and about basic industries and so on, and here I should like to make a confession of my own faith. I have been a teacher for 35 years and I say this advisedly that the true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks or in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of the men and women and children of the country. The greatest industry, the key industry, of a nation is the production and diffusion of the knowledge. You are the products of the greatest key industry of the country. There is no nobler work for a man or an institution than to bring up a young generation in health and strength and in the vigour of intellectual and physical activity.

"I have lived long enough in this world to know that the present generation of young men in this world do not stand in need of any advice, especially, when that advice is given free and gratuitously. But let me, as a farmer in the garden of youth, express a few thoughts which come uppermost in my mind. You can feel justifiably proud of being graduates of one of the three oldest universities in India. The Madras University can look back upon nearly a century of useful activity, and I hope before long, God willing, the University will celebrate its centenary. When that centenary comes, the university will look back with pride upon the long list of noble and distinguished names among its alumni. If the University can look back with pride upon its alumni I think you can look to your Alma Mater with the same pride. One thing which you must place before yourself is to raise and exalt in some way the name of your Alma Mater and do something that will make its name resound in the world. I do not ask you to be blind to its faults but you must try to help her rise higher and higher in the estimation of the whole world."

The Foreign Education Fad

Continuing Sir C. V. Raman said :

"I do not wish to be unjust, but I think there is in the mind of many Indians a feeling that Indian universities may be good enough or not quite so good as they ought to be. Before the war, as you know, a great many young Indians went abroad, to Great Britain, Germany, France, America and other parts of the world, to study in universities there. Behind all this, there was a kind of abstract feeling that we must send our young men to Oxford, Cambridge or Paris if we want to give them the best. Parents and young men shared that belief. I have been told that, at a rough estimate, something like a crore of rupees was spent annually by students from various parts of India studying in various universities abroad. What a pity ! I do not decri the idealism and the thirst for knowledge, so far as these were the motives underlying their going abroad, but one cannot help deploring the state of affairs which made such a thing necessary. If you study the budgets of our universities, you will realise, with the same feeling with which I regard this vast expenditure of money abroad, that even half that amount, Rs. 50 lakhs, would mean a vast addition to the resources in staff, laboratories, libraries and other equipment to our universities here. That being so, it is but right, I think, to ask if India is getting the value for the vast out-pouring of her money each year ! I say it with due deliberation and some-

of responsibility, that I hold all that money as literally wasted. I do not for a moment, let me repeat, seek to decry the great universities of Great Britain and other countries. But what we are concerned with now is this. Do Indian students really benefit by going to that environment to the extent they think they do, and can they not do just as well and even better still by staying here if all the money were used here. To that question, there can be only one answer—

“A Vicious Circle”

“Believe me, graduates and Senators, I say with a due sense of responsibility, that no country in the world and no people should continue to believe that their own teachers, their own institutions, their own scientific Chairs and Academies are inferior to those of other countries. Can we ever hope to see anything achieved unless we shed this complex? If we want our institutions to be great and rise to eminence, we must lay aside such beliefs and refuse to accept the proposition that Calcutta, Madras or Allahabad is inferior to Oxford or Cambridge or any other university in the world. (Loud cheers). I will go further as a teacher, pleading for understanding. I am prepared to quote any number of examples to show that Indians who have stayed here and worked at our universities and used the opportunities present here, have done infinitely better and shown more real originality than many of those who went abroad. I do not say that a few who did go abroad have not really benefited; but, I do maintain, that if they had stayed here, they would have benefited more, certainly not less. I feel strongly that it is up to you and every one interested in the future of Indian education to try and make our institutions—I include here the Universities and everything connected with the advancement of learning—the very best in the world. If we find the resources wanting, let us try to make up. Let us try to make the institutions the best—we should not be satisfied with anything less than the best. What will be the result? Instead of a great many of our young men going out of the country, they will remain here and strive to advance our reputation and that will make us strive for more good things.

“The moment we believe that the right thing to do is to send our young men abroad, we come to believe also that the right thing is to have men with foreign degrees as teachers, professors, and for other places. It is a vicious circle. I should therefore put it before my young friends that their aim must be to reach the highest in the field of scholarship and learning by remaining and studying in Indian Universities, and I am sure they can achieve their ambition.”

Madras University's Record

Proceeding, Sir C. V. Raman said that time and again he had noticed with pride how the Madras University had not stood still. He wondered if there was any University in India or anywhere else in the world which boast of such magnificent location and buildings. What was even more, the Madras University had tried its best to promote all branches of knowledge.—Tamil, Music, Bio-Chemistry. “In common with others interested in learning in India” the speaker said, “I have watched with pride the achievements of the Madras University, of my colleagues in various departments here in raising and keeping aloft the flag of research and advancement of knowledge which is indeed the highest aim of a University. But I should be failing in my duty, if I sounded this note of gratulation without, at the same time, discharging my duty as a son of my Mother by respectfully venturing to draw the attention of you, Sir, and the Senators of this University, to certain obvious lacunae which must strike any observer. I refer to this. In the development of research in this University, there has been a fundamental lack of balance if I may say so, and appreciation of the basic principles on which learning should be organised by a University. If I speak to-day on this point, it is because the Vice-Chancellor, I am glad, is a distinguished man of science. I am very happy about it, because I am sure that what I say will fall on fertile soil and that by the time the University celebrates its centenary, some of these deficiencies would have been rectified.

Importance of Basic Sciences

“One of these wants,” Sir C. V. Raman said, “is the complete lack of research activity in some of the branches of Science. For instance, there are the great branches of Knowledge, Theoretical Physics, Chemical Physics, Physical Chemistry, Inorganic Chemistry and so on. These great branches of knowledge may be taught in colleges but can any one who knows anything about Science say that anything worthy of mention is being done anywhere in the Madras University in these subjects. I say that with great diffidence, but I know what is being done. I am not one of

those who would say that a University must do everything. But there are certain basic sciences and I know of no University in the world that claims to be a University engaged in research and scientific work which ignores these great and fundamental sciences. For, you cannot organise successfully the kind of atmosphere you want in a University if you ignore these branches of knowledge. I think it is the clear and plain duty of the Madras University and its *chancellor* and all those—I hope there are many—who look forward to seeing a great and glorious future for it, to organise the highest kind of study and research in these branches. Then and then only can we hope to see the right kind of results coming out from all these activities in which the University is already engaged in. I am sure the true meaning and spirit of my appeal will be realised and no time would be lost in rectifying these obvious and fundamental defects in the organisation of studies in the Madras University. We see in other parts of India a Rash Behari Ghosh or a Jamshed Tata or a Tarak Nath Palit coming forward to give of his best for the promotion of learning. Has it not been truly said that he who gives for learning will be remembered long after kings and emperors are forgotten? There is no greater gift a man can make than a gift in the cause of learning. It is up to the graduates of the University, past and present, who have benefited by the teachings of the University in trying to develop these fundamental activities. I am not one of those who think that the University should concentrate on pure academic studies only, but I think you cannot really hope to see anything like real development of Applied Science or Technology, if the university ignores the organisation of studies in the basic sciences. As any one who really has gone into the matter knows the success of technology and practical education rests essentially on the existence in the University of a strong School of Basic Sciences. Technology trying to advance without Science is like a man trying to walk in darkness with eyes completely blindfolded. It is very necessary that if we in Madras wish to see our students and our men and women enjoy the fruits of the earth to the fullest extent, we cannot achieve that object by following the idea that technology could be encouraged without a study of the basic sciences."

Concluding, Sir C. V. Raman said: "I will ask you to make it the great aim of your life to further the fair name and reputation of your alma mater, to help its progress as well as the progress of your fellow-countrymen which is intimately bound up with the future of our centres of learning." (Applause.)

Benares Hindu University Convocation

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

"We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high," said Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University held at Benares on the 29th November 1942.

"India has a message for the whole world. Her treasures of spiritual wisdom are for the healing of nations. Many, are struck with amazement that a nation so great, spiritually, morally, materially, once upon a time, has come down to its present low position. The recent past of our country is an age of decadence and shaken nerves. A nation that has produced such culture and such men for centuries has a right to Independence, to shape her own future in keeping with her past. If India wants freedom, it is for enabling her to teach the world lessons of moral perfection and love. It is impossible for those who have not experienced foreign rule to realise how deadening it is to the soul of the country. Freedom is something deep and elemental. Speeches like those of the Prime Minister about there being in the country a White Army, larger than at any time in the British connection and that he is therefore entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondence or alarm, are highly provocative. They burn into the Indian soul deep resentment and bitterness."

The Vice-Chancellor, continuing, observed that to preserve order was the primary duty of every Government, but it did not stop there. There was another obligation on the Government to have their rule on the consent and goodwill of the governed. It was the duty of a Government, not only to maintain law and order, but to create conditions which made for law and order.

THE CONVOCATION ADDRE

"We need a programme", said Sir Radhakrishnan, "more positive than repression, which is not an aid to civil peace or war effort. The Secretary of State said, 'Indian nationalism, the desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands free from external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all.' So that aim we in this country have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, I repeat that pledge. But when the fulfilment of this pledge is put aside to some future date in the name of war, doubts arise."

"We are glad that the course of the war has changed for the better and we hope very much that it will end in 1943 with the victory of the Allies. But if we have to win it on the moral plane also, where we have the power, equality and freedom must be established. In fighting for our rightful place in the common-wealth of nations, we should not sacrifice our inner wealth of spirit, the inexhaustible richness of human sensibility. If we give up the traditional courtesy of this ancient race, if we fall in love and forgiveness, the soul of India will have departed from this stand. Nothing is lost if the spirit lives. This world plunged into darkness will wake up to the truth and come to its senses. Daylight shall yet return for time is boundless and the world is wide".

Purpose Of Education

Sir Sarvapalli said that education was not a mere intellectual enterprise. It was a training for human environment, by civilising our attitudes and refining our emotion. It was dedicated to social, moral, as well as intellectual ends. It initiated the pupil into the traditional pattern of living in the race. India was not to be the passive instrument of outsiders, wills and forces. We could borrow from others' experiences, but we cannot build on them. We must, therefore, preserve our individuality. To lose touch with tradition was to doom ourselves to mental ruin. If we were to play a worthy part in the world we must know our spirit and preserve it. India had passed through many valleys of humiliation, but she had not entered the valley of death. Her territory had been invaded but her soul was unaffected. India had been tested by many trials, strengthened by many struggles, and made enduring by many sufferings and long patience. A spiritual inspiration had been the secret of her long life, of her immortality.

Giving a word of advice to the students Sir Sarvapalli said, "The art of living is insisted on. The pupil must not do anything which is questionable, though it is done by many good people. Whatever duties are blameless, be devoted to them. It is not given to us to be perfect. In spite of our care and vigilance, we may be guilty of lapses, we are erring, so do not imitate our fallings. For leadership and guidance, we will look to the conduct on the wise, the finest and the most disinterested conscience of which the nation is capable. When we are in doubt about what is right, take for your guidance what is done in similar circumstances by Brahmins competent to judge, apt and devoted, but not harsh lovers of virtue. As for those persons, who are accused, conduct yourself in such a way in which those Brahmins who are living there, who are competent to judge, educated to good virtues, not led by others, not cruel lovers of virtue, conduct themselves". We must abstain from personal quarrels and petty bickerings must not play the partisan. 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay' says the Christian Bible, the guilt is due to the force of circumstances or impulsiveness. There is nothing in the world which is completely divine, or hopelessly diabolic. Chance plays a large part. Lastly there is insistence on discipline, on respect for superiors, on obedience to authority. It is the duty of pupils to listen to the voices of the wise, to respect the wishes of elders and carry out the prescribed duties".

Concluding Sir S. Radhakrishnan said, "India never stood for national and cultural isolation. Her spiritual heights rest on a basis that embraces all humanity. Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race".

The Dacca University Convocation

Sir Mirza Ismail's Address

"At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power," said Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, held at Dacca on the 2nd December 1942.

It is not at all strange, observed Sir Mirza Ismail, that the Fascist Powers have been able, by means of education, to inoculate the minds of the youth of the land with an attitude to life which has for them the sanctity of a gospel but which to others is a negation of all that makes life worth living. And, if we are to counteract effectively what we can only regard, from the point of view of ideal life, as evil forces, we must in our educational institutions create leaders who have a living faith in freedom, truth, and service. It is also through such leaders that we can hope to gather together and strengthen those forces which can repair the wastage of this terrible war and prevent another.

No expenditure, therefore, can be too high on educational institutions which aim at creating such leadership, continued Sir Mirza. No economy can be so disastrous as that which starves such institutions. The new China in the throes of a deadly struggle which has now lasted for five years, has not relaxed her educational effort and is still diverting all her available resources towards the maintenance and further development of her educational system. That she places very high the need for educational facilities, is shown by article 137 of the draft constitution for China which reads as follows:

"Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15 per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30 per cent of the total amount of the provincial district and municipal budgets, respectively."

Dacca was the first unitary University with its emphasis on the residential system, to be established in India. Educationists all over the country are watching how this system works at Dacca, whether transported to Indian environment it deserves the famous eulogy of Cardinal Newman:—"If I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years ago; if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect, which of the two courses was more successful in training, moulding and enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that university which did nothing over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every subject under the sun." It is, of course, too early to apply this standard of judgment to Dacca, but in your stock-taking of twenty years progress, proper emphasis may be laid on this aspect of development.

Economic Uplift

It is not enough, however, if graduates go out to the world from our Universities imbued with the ideals of truth and freedom and nobly strive to hold aloft these ideals. No leadership can succeed in India which does not attend to the dreadful disease of our body politic—the appalling poverty of the masses. In no problem of administration, during many years of public service have I been more interested than in this; and I may say to you with conviction that modern knowledge has made such poverty absolutely unnecessary. Notwithstanding the misuse of scientific invention for destruction and death-dealing purposes, the genius of humanity has also given us a wide range of implements to serve the progress of the race. From the dawn of the agricultural age up to recent times, human civilisation has depended mostly upon slave labour. It is well known that in Athens at the time of her highest glory, there were four slaves to each citizen. In Rome the proportion was 15. To the slave captured in war was assigned all important work of the

—, irrigation, and handicraft.
The triumph of modern knowledge is that it has made human slavery absolutely unnecessary for civilisation. A machine can easily take the place of the slave and human muscles need no longer bear the drudgery and pain of work that machines can do. And there is no reason why the people of every country should not enjoy

a fuller and more satisfying life provided the country possesses sufficient natural resources and, what is more important, the people have the ability to explore and exploit these resources. The Red Indians, who lived in North America barely three-centuries ago, had no idea that their problems of food and living could be satisfactorily solved except by continuous wars between the tribes for the possession of some fields of maize and corn. Yet, to-day, the same country maintains 120 million human beings with food in such excess that to keep prices up to the level desired by the merchants maize has sometimes been burnt and milk thrown into streams. The standard of living is so high that there was a motor car for every five persons in the United States up to the coming of the States into the War. Sanitary and prophylactic measures have become so perfect that the average expectation of life is more than fifty years, twice that of India. All this has been due to the ability of the people in harnessing the power that modern knowledge has placed at their disposal. We know well that India does not lack natural resources. Her fields and mountains, her waters and mines can give us in abundance all that we want. But have we got the ability to develop these resources—men and women with the requisite technical skill, who have learnt to dare and to pioneer? The Universities of India can provide part of the future affirmative answer to this crucial question.

Anything that a thoughtful and serious man can do, whatever his profession or vocation, to create a feeling of oneness in the country, is probably the most worthwhile thing that he can be doing, continued the speaker. The educationist can achieve a great deal by upholding the idea of unity and in moulding the younger generation to a way of life which will lead to the solution of conflicts and the growth of a new and broader outlook. Both inclination and reason place me among the optimists. I believe the future will be better than the past. The destiny of India is unity. Geography, time and common dangers and interests work towards its integration. Indian rivers rise, fall and flow without reference to provincial and State boundaries. Every instrument that science forges from telephone to television, jumps frontiers. People cannot be left in compartments in the world of to-day, much less in the world of to-morrow.

The Travancore University Convocation

Sir Ramalinga Reddy's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered by Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University at the Fourth Annual Convocation of the University of Travancore held on the 8th. November 1942 :—

Your Highness the Chancellor and Authorities of the Travancore University, Senators, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first express my sense of deep and sincere obligation to your Chancellor and the Authorities for the honour they have done to me by inviting me to address this Convocation. I know that this is one of the many events connected with the celebration of His Highness's auspicious birth day. So let me commence by proffering to His Highness the heart-felt congratulations of the Andhra University and myself on his birthday and our best wishes for many many happy returns of the same. I must also congratulate the Graduates on the degrees they have obtained under such distinguished auspices and more especially our illustrious savant, Brahmasri Gayasikhamani L. Muthia Bhagavathar, on the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. conferred on him and my friend, Professor Mondgill, on the Honorary Degree of D. Sc., which he has just received. I wish all these Graduates every success in their careers that are awaiting them; and, career or no career, I trust they will all dedicate themselves to the service of the country and humanity.

Your Highness, the Travancore University has been laid out on sumptuous and spacious lines. You have Colleges devoted to Arts, Sciences, Technology, Applied Sciences, Forestry, Engineering and Law. You have also a Department of Fine Arts in which Music and Dancing and all that go to promote the appreciation of aesthetic values and grace of life are inculcated. The ideal of a full and balanced life is at the root of your organisation and it is developing on lines that fill educationists with pride and pleasure. My friend, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of this University referred to the importance of Research. In fact, without creative output a University

cannot justify its existence. It is Research that serves to keep the teachers up to the mark and up to date preventing their falling into stagnation. Research is the life-blood of a University. I must specially congratulate your Highness on the Central Research Institute in Travancore which already distinguished itself by its original output regarding which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar just now said they were significant. The future of humanity rests largely on Applied Science. Science yokes nature to the service of man, and Arts endeavour to yoke man to the service of society. We want both life as well as the good life and, if anything, life is the foundation of good life. Whereas you can have life without the good life—it is not a desirability—you cannot have the good life without life, for it is an impossibility. Applied Science is power. Power is not the supreme good but it is a condition of good without which the good secured cannot be preserved and safeguarded from the rapacity of possible aggressors. I, therefore, wish those Departments greater success in the future than they have achieved in the past.

Tests of progress

But one thing. We are making small beginnings. We cannot allow ourselves to be satisfied with results so far obtained or the progress so far made. We must, above all, resist the temptation to compare ourselves with what we were yesterday and to fall into a state of self-complacency when we find that we are a trifle better to-day. It is a wrong comparison altogether, though it is a very usual one in India. To say that things are a bit better to-day than they were yesterday is no ground for satisfaction. The really significant thing is not whether we are better off than yesterday but whether we are fit for the tasks of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Let me illustrate. In England, when the Navy Budget is introduced, the First Lord of the Admiralty gives an account of all the Navies of the world and provides for a Navy better than that possessed by any other Power. The standard there is not a Navy better than what it was a year before, but a Navy which is superior to the best in the world, say, to a possible combination of the best in the world. At one time they had the two-Power standard. The requirements of international competition determine the standards of progress that England maintains. In India, it is the other way about. We are here treated to statistics to show that there has been some improvement over the last year and the year before that, and we are asked to be profoundly grateful for the wonderful progress, relatively to our backward past achieved. This is most defective, it is most deceptive.

Moral and Mental Dualism of England and other Imperialist Powers and Organic and Inorganic States:—

Now, let us, for one moment, ask ourselves the question, how comes it that there is dualism in the moral and mental attitudes of the Imperialist Powers? They apply one standard in their own administration, a very different and fallacious standard in the administration of their dependancies. What is the root of this mental and moral dualism? There is no book which, at the present moment, is likely to be of greater interest to the student of politics than Sir John Seeley's "Expansion of England". He has there pointed out that there are two types of States, the Organic and the Inorganic. In the organic State, it does not matter what the form of government is, there is one soul, one heart, one will and one ambition actuating both the government and the people. Parties and classes act in subordination to the nation's good. It is one body politic. It has therefore one life and in all its larger interests, is actuated by one will. Sir John Seeley has pointed out that that is the kind of relationship that exists between England and her Colonies like Canada and Australia. This particular relationship is not dependent on forms of government nor is it disrupted by class or party rivalries. Apparently it is dependent on racial and other affinities. I will later discuss the question whether it cannot be dependent on other affinities besides physiology. The relationship, Sir John Seeley points out, between England and India is not organic but inorganic. It is mechanical. There is no common life. If anything, there seem to be differences which are apparently, and on a surface view, irreconcilable. It is not one blood that courses through both the countries. It is not one life, one soul, one ambition, and it is this that is at the root of so many of those dilemmas and difficulties that vitiate or confront the administration of India and cause our political agitations and asperities. I do not wish to say that consciously and deliberately anybody or any Power is trying to do injustice to the dependancies. But it seems to be there is a matter of unthinking habit of nature untutored by equity and unenlivened by spiritual obligations. In the present War, for instance, the United Nations are undoubtedly actuated by the

highest ideals of democracy, by the principle of equalitarian co-operation, which they are out to establish between the different races and peoples of the world. I have not the slightest doubt about it. But unconsciously this inorganic relationship between the suzerain Powers of the West and the dependencies of the East shows itself. For instance, some time ago, in discussing the War aims of the Allies, Lord Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned that England was fighting to establish Christian civilization in the world. Christians are not the only people who form the organisation of the United Nations. Earl Winterton very properly pointed out that such a claim might prove, if not positively offensive, to a certain extent repellent to the Muslims and others who are also fighting the Nazis and Fascists. The Foreign Secretary replied that when he used the words "Christian Civilization" he did not mean it in any exclusive sense derogatory of other religions but meant those spiritual and ethical principles underlying all the religions of the world; but being born a Christian he was expressing himself in the idiom of the religion in which he was born. The explanation, no doubt, is satisfactory to himself. But if the Englishman can claim to speak in the idiom of the religion in which he was born, he cannot deny a similar right to the people of other religions; and supposing Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek says that the Chinese are fighting for establishing Buddhist civilisation in the world; and the Muslims of the Allied Armies, that they are fighting to establish Muslim civilisation in the world; and Hindus, that they are fighting for establishing Hindu civilisation in the world; the result would be that all would be fighting to establish Bedlam. My fear is that all unconsciously, without meaning it, idioms are employed which, though they appeal to the mind of the West, do not convey the same appeal to the mind of the East and of India but rather irritate. That is because this organic relationship, one life, one will, one soul, is absent. The same dualism, unconscious perhaps and not to be taken literally and pressed to its logical conclusion, can be seen in other declarations. Sometime ago, General Smuts, the distinguished soldier-statesman of the Empire, was telling a London audience that when the War was ended there would be nothing more left for Japan except Japan for the Japanese. I am very glad to hear it. I do not want Japan to establish an empire over the countries of Asia. I do not believe in her Greater Asia Policy or, as she puts it, the policy of co-prosperity. Japan will be the principal and the rest will not count. But the question arises, what about Java? Will it be Java for Javanese or will it be Java for the Dutch? Are the Allies fighting in the cause of liberation of peoples from thralldom or in the cause of liberation of peoples only from particular thralldoms and not all thralldoms? Sir Dorman Smith, the Governor of Burma, made a speech recently about the re-conquest of Burma. Very naturally people are asking whether he means to liberate Burma from Japan and give Burma full independence or whether he is out to re-conquer and re-annex Burma to the Empire and continue as in the old days. Will it be Burma for the Burmese or for the British? My own feeling is that the Allies are sincerely devoted to the cause of democracy and the self-determination of the different peoples. Indeed the whole trend of events is in the direction of the minimisation of imperialism in order that a Supreme Global Order capable of giving permanent peace and prosperity to all the peoples of the world might emerge as a result of this global war. If global wars are to be avoided in the future, a global order will have to be instituted. I will not refer to the speech of Mr. Churchill in which he used the provocative phrase that India is now safe because of the large number of white forces stationed here, revealing how little we count in his calculations of war and consequently how little in his arrangements for future peace. Let me explain that I am not one of those who feel that our national dignity has been affected by the presence of American and other forces. Why, forces of many countries were in France, forces of many countries are to-day in China, North Africa, Australia and in England itself. Only the U. S. A. is free of foreign soldiers. This war is not a war fought by isolated nationalities for the perpetuation of their powered isolation and their insular independence or for imperialistic grab and greed. It is a war of all from all the wars that have gone before. It is a global war all the humanitarian powers are acting in co-operation with each other for the sake of establishing a global order based on equality and co-operation. So there is nothing wrong in referring to the white forces in India or even to the yellow, though it looked as though he seemed to repose confidence in the safety of India from foreign aggression more on them than on the goodwill and co-operation of the Indian people.

Imperialism and the Global Order

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, in his recent speech, spoke of Great

Britain after the war remaining a great power. Other British statesmen also are beating the Imperialistic drum in answer to American criticisms of their policy in the East, Middle, Central and Far. Mr. Eden gave certain arguments in favour of it; England had a great mission to discharge; she had known how to govern; she had got the traditions of government in her. All true, perhaps. But analysis would show that particular result, if it does come about, will not lead to world peace but may possibly become the ground and seed of a further world war to follow. Mine is pure analytical argument. At present, there are four big nations, not to speak of many small ones, which are fighting the Nazis—Russia, China, United States and England. All the ideals that the Allies are out to establish are contingent on their winning a smashing victory over the Axis. I have not the slightest doubt that victory is theirs. In fact, the kind of language that has been employed recently by British statesmen is indicative of their thorough confidence in the coming victory. I also think that victory may come and will come sooner than anticipated. That is the very reason why after such a long time I have adopted a slightly critical tone to-day because we are now on the up-grade in our fortunes. Victory cannot long be delayed. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in entering on a bit of self-examination regarding the objects and the aims the Allies are out to realise. Now, Four Powers are fighting and if there is victory, it will be victory for all the Four Powers, and not for one only. If at the peace Mr. Anthony Eden wants provisions by which England would remain a Great Power he cannot deny an equal ambition on the part of America, on the part of Russia or on the part of China to be great dominating Powers. The last number of Powers under such a scheme would be four and we know what it would lead to. The friends of to-day may become the enemies of to-morrow. In politics there are neither permanent friendships nor permanent enmities. After all, is there an organic relationship between these Four Powers; No. Is there an organic relationship between China and any of those countries? No. Between Russia and the other three? No. It is an inorganic alliance of vast moment and enormous significance, but not a natural, insurmountable, enduring, oneness or harmony; a union of swords, not of hearts. So if there are four Great Powers, the ground is laid for possible animosities, for new alliances for further alignments and balances and an outbreak of a further trial of strength. The question arises then—is there no way of getting over these competitive rivalisms, nationalisms, statehoods and imperialisms, which have been at the root of all wars?

Two Types of Ideal Order

The Nazis want to establish world order under their own supreme power and they would like to keep all the other nations down. They must themselves be the masters—*Herrenfolk*—and all the rest subjects. This mastery they will base on a monopoly of all those applied sciences and basic industries that make for efficiency in war. The rest of the world will be held down and kept down. They will have to produce raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. That is one way of having universal peace—peace of death for all the other nations except Germany which will enjoy the mastery of the world. But that is not our ideal. Then if there are four Great Powers, each completely sovereign and each exercising its sovereignty in the way in which nation—states and racial imperialisms have been exercising their sovereignties so far and exploiting the opportunities, each wanting to dominate, then the ground is laid for future animosities and future wars.

Concept of Humanity of a Global Order as its Embodiment

Is there a way out? I think there is. After all, the conception of humanity is wider and nobler than that of race, than that of nations and states. The very word 'humanity' connotes that there is possibility of an ethical relationship between different races, which transcends the exclusions of blood and of phylogeny, the greed and rapacity of our animal nature. There can be unity in a moral purpose and it can be as real as the unity of blood and the unity of race. All religions, universal religions like Christianity and Islam which believe in conversion, proceed on the hypothesis that all humanity could be brought into one brotherhood, one fraternity and that a moral or spiritual purpose can unite us as much as colour and race; and illustrate this by churches and missions spread over the globe and having all races as members. But moral ideals are not likely to be very effective unless they are based on material interests and the movement of history. Is there then any movement of history now which opens up the hope and the possibility of a world order being established, so

supreme that the old competitive nationalisms and imperialisms would be transformed, regulated and kept in due subordination ?

Historical Movement and the Global Order

I think there is such a movement, and my reason for saying so is this. Air power has abolished boundaries. It was in 1937 that I delivered my first speech on the probable influence of air power on the future of the world and I have devoted more thought since. Natural boundaries have gone. Imagine a condition of things in which the Himalayas are no longer there as it were, as even the Vindhyas are supposed to have been buried underground by Agasthya ; wide oceans approximating to the dimensions of little channels ; and war not confined to particular lands and particular places or lines, but by means of air power, spread all over and everywhere ; where total wars prevail and the civilians are as much in the fight as the military, and women as men. Out of evil cometh good. Out of this power of aviation which has produced these changes, the conception of common world order is, I think, bound to be evolved. Natural boundaries caused nations to be formed. Now the sky is the boundary. It is over all. And all will be one day one nation or at any rate, one State or Politico-Economic Order. Otherwise, there is no safety for the races. Frontiers have gone, the whole world now is one unit for purposes of war. And should it not be one for purposes of peace ! Federative political arrangements and co-operative economic distribution of production and consumption are bound to be evolved. If not, what is the alternative—wars, the elimination of weaker by the stronger powers, and the emergence of the strongest power as the World-Master, the Nazi ideal in a round about way !!

The other historical factor is that this is a global war and the difference between this war and the previous war is that in the Great War, frontiers existed making the questions of adjusting the frontier between Germany and Czechoslovakia and between Germany and Belgium etc., real, live, important military issues. To-day that question has disappeared. Your Maginot line did not prevent the German aviators and their divebombers crossing over and attacking the French Army, from the rear. This is a global war. This is a total war. The other Great War was global without being total. These are the two special features. I think therefore the future of the world depends, as many thinkers have now been advocating, on an equalitarian co-operative world order to be established by the victory of the Allies. Why do I say that it has to be established by the victory of the Allies ? Because the Nazi theory, the Nazi practice, is domination by Herrenfolk. They mean death to the rest of the world, while it will be a privileged life for the Germans. If there is going to be anything like a good order, like a decent peace, good-will in the world, and co-prosperity of people, it must come from the victory of the Allies. And it must take the form of an equalitarian co-operative world order.

of Nations the forerunner of Global Order

I may incidentally remark that this idea came into existence even in connection with the Great War. It took shape in the League of Nations. The idea of a global order based on co-operation is as old as the previous Great War, but it failed because equality was eschewed and it became the plaything of England and France—an international wire-pulling station for England and France to make their puppet dances to their wishes, secret or avowed. The global order does not, necessarily, involve the abolition, but it does involve the abatement and regulation of at least three principles which have been actuating imperialists and nationalists of previous wars, namely, the exploitation of weaker races. That must go. Secondly, the anarchical sovereign nationalisms in terms of which Indian politicians are still thinking about our future. That too must go. Thirdly, exploitative racial imperialisms like the Dutch Government over Java and the government of the European races over Africa and Asia, these must go. America has been the only non-imperialist Great Power known to the history of East or West and she must serve as the law and model for the future.

Now, if we apply these principles to India, I think we can now see in proper proportion and perspective, the value of the contentions that are raging in our fields. There are four parties. The Government with its imperialism, though no doubt that imperialism has been considerably modified and reduced from what it was before. There is the nationalism of absolute independence claimed by most of our parties. There is the communism for which the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah stand and

there is the particularism of the Indian States. If the Anglo-Indian relationship is inorganic, India's internal structure is also inorganic: this is the difficulty, the root of the tragical frustration of the hopes and endeavours of our intellectuals. Now if each is to be strong enough to fight every other—and that was the principle of the old order of things—I can understand the imperialist saying, "No, I won't give up any of my territories, powers and privileges". I can understand the nationalist saying, "I want my country to be absolutely independent and enormously strong, so that I may be able to fight anybody and everybody." I can understand the Muslim League saying, "In such a country we shall have no part or lot." I can understand the Indian States saying, "We too would like to be first-class powers, so that if there is anarchy in the country, we may annex neighbouring territories".

But if you conceive a new world order in which there is a supreme power seeing to it that there is proper co-operation between the different parts, then these individual ambitions need not be there in their present acute form. It is one thing when each unit will have to be strong enough to fight any and every other unit. In those circumstances, the unit has to be as strong as possible and it must have the freedom to form any alliances it likes so that it may have maximum strength on its side in the hour of trial. Balance of power, ever unstable, may be a desideratum in those conditions. But conceive a different future for the world in which the strength of each is the strength of the whole and where there is a whole which will, impartially and in a spirit of honesty, sympathy and trustship, regulate the privileges and actions of the different units. Then it is no more necessary to have the types of rights and privileges that were claimed under the old order, than it is necessary for an individual in a well-ordered society to go about with a pistol always in his pocket. Society protects him and to that extent there is no need for him to arm himself.

Is a Global Order Possible?

Is such a global order possible? I have already shown that historical evolution is pulling in that direction, that otherwise no permanent peace, plus good-will in the world is possible, and furthermore, the idea has already been there since 1914. In the light of experience of all these years, statesmanship ought to be able to devise a more effective institution than the old League of Nations. The old League of Nations failed. Firstly because Russia was excluded on account of her Communism. The United States, the author and evangel of the idea, would not come in but stood aloof in rebuke of European imperialism. This is not known to many people. The Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles on the ground that the League of Nations Covenant formed part of the Treaty and that one of the provisions of that Covenant was that members should guarantee the integrity of the States joining. This meant that America should guarantee European imperialism in Africa and in Asia, which it felt it could not do consistently with its republican principles or the self-determination of peoples professed by the Allies. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held an enquiry at which Egyptians and others from the Middle and Far East gave evidence. The Senate said, "We cannot enter the League which has to guarantee the present frontiers of the different Empires".

Global Order possible only under the victory of the United Nations

Now I am sure that in some of these respects there will be a change in the future and that the United States will take a leading and healing part. But such a development is contingent on two hypothesis. First the United Nations must secure a smashing victory. Under the Nazi-Fascist ideals there is no scope for human liberty; there is no scope for even the cultural freedom and the economic prosperity of the different nations of the world. Therefore, the first condition is that the United Nations shall win a victory. The second condition is that they shall remain united after the victory. That did not take place after the Great War. Italy broke off; Russia also broke off; Japan was sent out, because it was England that denounced the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The United States would not enter the League or ratify the Treaty. I do trust that this time at least the United Nations will keep together but they cannot keep together if Mr. Anthony Eden says, "England shall remain a great, world-dominating power", and if Mr. Churchill says "everything that England gained in China and Asia in the days of their weakness shall be regarded as our eternal and natural properties". Then Holland and France and Russia will make similar claims and the Global War would have resulted in a Global status quo and stalemate. That is why I said we need not talk politics about these matters. If we

talk analytical politics and merely analyse the propositions laid down by the Imperialisms and see how they lead to absurdities and self-contradictions, we shall have done something to produce a correct understanding of the trend of history and induce them not to betray the causes they profess, in the hour of their success.

India's Duty

If I have carried conviction so far, India's duty is clear. Apart from all politics we must support the Allies in this war, because individual problems are not going to be decided according to the pretensions and claims of individual nations, but as parts of a generous global order. If that global order is secured, then the claims and privileges to which individual nations and races can legitimately aspire, will also be secured. The fate of the world is not in the grip or hands of any particular power, not even England. Therefore, I say that India should realise that in this war issues far transcending nationalism and imperialism are involved; and by promoting a proper world order, which cannot be done unless the Allies win the war, we shall stand a chance not merely of our independence being secured, which is not all-important, but of there coming into beneficent operation an order in which regulated or limited independence will be assured to all and there will be guaranteed universal peace and prosperity. An independence which is threatened by aggressors every day is not worth having. What we must have is an insurance against aggression and that insurance is the global order which I think is being evolved. Our duties are both positive and negative. Our positive duty is to join in large numbers the various War Services that are being opened. I would ask the young men, the Graduates here, to apply for Emergency Commissions. I would ask my medical friends to accept places in the Indian Medical Services. I would ask our women to go out as nurses. I would ask everyone to do his absolute best for the war by contributing personal service and finance. Now commissions are thrown open to us. Many facilities previously denied are freely offered and even pressed. Till the other day it was held by the Government that locomotives could not be manufactured in India. Now we are told that they are going to begin their manufacture. The War has opened their eyes, and I hope their hearts. Let us not ruminate over past wrongs and disabilities and future possibilities. Regrets for rights and claims lost or denied in the past, should not lead us to sulks and sullenness leading to futility in the present and unavailing regrets for all future. That is not good sense or patriotism. Our nationalism won't suffer by our war services. It will be strengthened. Lakhs and lakhs of demobilised disciplined officers and other ranks will be a powerful supplement to the force of our platform arguments. Make the world safe for democracy. And India will get all she deserves to have if only she can get over her internal dissensions.

There is a negative duty. The kind of disorders and the sabotage that has been going on, will do harm and nothing but harm, and we must prevent them. Two people are fighting for an inheritance and what is the good of burning down the inheritance that is under dispute. Sabotage weakens our war-effort. Therefore it has lowered the value of our political stock at Washington and in the Allied markets. Anything which makes victory more difficult must be regarded as a crime both against humanity and against our own country. For the future of our country is dependent not merely on England but on this vast conglomeration of forces which are evolving a new order of human society. Frustrate them and you defeat yourselves. It is like cutting the branch of the tree on which all our hopes for the future are hung.

The Indian Impasse

I do not wish to say much about the political deadlock that is such a tragic feature at the present time in our country. Everybody is preparing a key but no key seems to fit the lock. I have suggested a global key but I do not know if that will serve the purpose either. But I am not prepared to blame Government entirely for the present impasse. Two or three propositions seems to me to be self-evident. This country cannot put forward its maximum war-effort unless political leadership is associated with the Central Government. That is a self-evident proposition. That is why I suggested as early as October 1939 the institution of a National Directorate at the Centre composed of leaders of the big political organisations. It might function as a Super-government like the Genro of Japan. It will have power, and even more influence than defined power. Men of ideas are not enough; they must be leaders of opinion. University Professors are men of ideas. But what is the

power of opinion, that they can bring to strengthen the Government? It is the great parties which are organising opinion in the country or have organised, that are to be associated with the Government. For opinion is power. If political leadership must be associated, it follows that there must be transfer of power. No true political leader would care to accept an appointment on the same terms and status as the mere service man or as the carenist or others who have value only as individuals, granting that they have a value not wholly due to the position bestowed by Government. Positional importance without personal or political worth cannot be achieved in these days of widespread knowledge and criticism. The political leader is there to pursue a policy because he has made it clear to the people or party that he stands for certain principles and he must have scope for acting according to those principles. If he becomes a mere subordinate, he is no longer leader and no association of leadership has been really brought about. Therefore it seems to me to be a self-evident proposition—an analytical statement—that political leadership cannot be associated with Government without real transfer of power. But in our country the difficulty is this. How is power to be transferred when the League, the Congress and the Sabha and the bodies that organise opinion in the country are at irreconcilable logger-heads with each other? It seems to me that Government had no other course open to them except to try the alternative of mere Indianisation, though it is not the best of policies and cannot enthuse the country. But what other course is there for Government to follow? Indianisation means that so far as positions, as apart from power, are concerned the racial bar has been completely discarded. And that is as much as we can get until we evolve sufficient organic unity in the country. I do not wish to talk party-politics. I may therefore merely quote what Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said the other day. He has propounded a scheme about which we are having articles, explanations and advocacies every day. Apparently he expects a response from Government. But I do not see how that is possible unless the Muslim League first declares its approval. Mr. Rajagopalachariar himself concedes that proposition. He claims that his proposal in its essence is worth the support of every one, but if the League opposed the proposal there was no chance of a National Government being established. Mr. Jinnah has called his scheme his 'Kite flying'; and his response is negative. So I would request Mr. Rajagopalachariar to try and secure the League's co-operation before expecting a response from Government. I do not thereby mean to say that Government should not do its best, but it seems to me that it is not to throw the entire responsibility for the present difficulties on the Government. Great Britain is moving, and moving in the right direction. No doubt, having dependences in the East, she has to talk in two voices, which is sometimes confusing; a uniform voice for the ear of England and a fiftal one for India and the Muslim countries of the Middle East. But we ought not to be too critical. We ought to allow for the power of circumstances and the difficulties of a Power which has to placate diverse susceptibilities. Recently she has shown the direction in which she and the Allies are moving by agreeing to the abolition of extra-territorial right in China. That is a sign of the times. If she would promise to hand over Hong-Kong back to its natural and rightful owner, China, it would be a still better sign of the times. Let India be patient. She won't suffer after the war greater harm from England than she will inflict on herself by her dissensions.

Moral Ascendancy of England

At one time England held unquestionable moral ascendancy over the world. Today it has passed to America. I say this with regret. I am a lover of England and admirer. Why are American Missions and Wendell Wilkies and Col. Johnses sent everywhere and welcomed everywhere? It seems to me that the nations of the East have faith in the world of America and desire her endorsement to the bonds that others may give—the war bonds that may not have a peace circulation. Mr. Wendell Wilkie has said so bluntly and openly. The hour of victory may prove the hour of temptation. But England will not succumb. Victory won't go into her head; morality won't go out of her heart. England, the home of Cannings, Gladstones, Kussels, Morleys and other great lights of political idealism will not lag behind America as the hope of the world and all its various peoples.

In contrast to the kind of speeches that Mr. Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden and Mr. Amery have been making, I would like to read this passage which appeared in the papers the other day. It is a declaration by Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Addressing the Chinese Assembly he said:

"China is the largest and the most ancient of Asiatic countries but it is not for us

positively to talk of a right to a position of leadership among these countries. We have been fighting this war of resistance with a purity of motive and consistency of principle, not for any selfish purpose but for the salvation of the world, through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia and towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desire incompatible with the moral victory of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit."

That I think is a refreshing contrast to the type of speeches that have of late been delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill, Col. Amery and Mr. Anthony Eden; and probably represents the deeper soul of England more accurately. We have the recent pronouncements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wendell Wilkie, the twin leaders of the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Roosevelt has said that the Atlantic Charter applied to the whole of humanity and Mr. Wendell Wilkie has stated clearly that unless the United States took a more vigorous leadership in support of the pledges given and the solution of the problems of the East, she would begin to lose the confidence of the entire Orient.

These clearly show that the ethical forces that are going to shape the future are not dormant but active. But time would be required to produce big changes. I have no doubt that in the various activities that we here might undertake with a view to promote, firstly, the Allied Victory, without which no ethical reconstruction of the world is possible, and, secondly, with a view to bring prominently to the notice of the British Government how ardently we hope that she will re-acquire the moral ascendancy she once enjoyed under statesmen like Gladstone, I have not the least doubt that the people and the University of Travancore would play a most worthy and honorable part.

The Patna University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by *Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E. O.B.E.*, at the Convocation of the Patna University held at Patna on the 27th. November 1942:—

My first duty is to tender my cordial thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues for the honour they have done me in asking me to deliver this year's address to the graduates of their University.

History of the University

I have been reading with great interest a history of your University. It is young, since, of course, to a University a Silver Jubilee marks only a stage in infancy, but is after all not so young as its years would make it, since its affiliated institutions are old and enriched by their association with the University of Calcutta. Its possibilities seem to be without limit, and particularly cheering is the immensely increased demand in this area for university education, a demand that has outpaced even the considerable increase in the number of colleges.

There are one or two features which particularly impress one with the soundness of the policies of the University. One is the fact that, as soon after the founding of the University as was possible, a separate Science College, exceptionally well-equipped, was opened. Only two other colleges teach science, and I suppose that now, when among other difficulties, apparatus is so hard to obtain, it is vain to hope for an immediate increase in the number. May this soon become possible: I should imagine it is the greatest need of the University.

Colleges for Women

Another admirable change that has been made since this University began is the institution of a separate college for women. Clearly it is not enough, for I find that a large number of women students are non-collegiate. As at Oxford, so anywhere else, a non-collegiate student loses a great deal. One must have a college, of which one is a part and in which one can feel pride. And it is good to see that this University recognises that a separate college for women is most desirable. Where there is co-education in university colleges, the women, no doubt, may play their part in collegiate activities, and in a sense their association and competition with men is

to them, and to the men also; but nothing can compensate for the _____ of a college of their own, where all of them, at the different stages of social freedom, may live with complete lack of embarrassment and run their own concerns, in the way that best suits them. There is no doubt whatever that, at any rate for a long time, a somewhat sheltered career will be best for our academic womanhood. Whatever you do, of course, you must have co-education to some extent, since there cannot be a woman's college in every place, nor can such a college be easily provided with all the advanced courses, not to speak of the professional courses. But I think we should be governed by the general idea that, wherever possible, women's colleges for women are best.

University Union

I wish you had been able to build your University Union. Probably it is not a crying necessity, since the colleges no doubt provide for their own students a great deal of what the University Union would provide. Yet the same soundness of instinct that seems to appear in everything that the University does is evident here. As I am going to suggest later in this address, what we all need is to become broader, and yet broader, in our relationships and efforts and sympathies and it will be of great value to have a place and organization to provide for the combined activities of the students of the different colleges here. It will bring the teachers together, too. And it may help towards University consciousness in both staff and students, an excellent supplement to, and even corrective of, college consciousness.

University Convocations

The Convocation of a great university is, as a rule, an occasion, both solemn and exhilarating, radiant too with the hope and resolution of its hundreds of young graduates, who move forward after their first decisive success in life. Over this grand hope of theirs presides the sage and revered spirit of their University, which has done all that it could to train and arm them—above all to train them in the ways of knowledge and of reason, to arm them with the might of self-discipline. I am sure that this University has thus earned the honour and gratitude of those who graduate to-day.

The Chancellor

But I wish that they might be having a happier convocation. I am sorry to think that the graduates will have to look back upon a Convocation which lacked the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor. His presence would have been both an honour and a pleasure to me personally, and would have lent distinction to the occasion. I hope and pray that happier times are in store for us all, that happier relations will soon be re-established and that you, young men and women of the University, will offer him a warm welcome, such as he eminently deserves, both as a sympathetic and high-minded administrator deeply interested in your welfare, when he presides, as let us hope he will, on the next occasion. Those who make it difficult for him to attend bear a grave weight of responsibility upon irresponsible shoulders. May the day soon come when, throughout India, the dignity that is essential to the very idea and tradition of a university may irresistibly possess the mind of even the newest and humblest undergraduate!

Universities and the War

The last few months have not been one of the golden periods for our Universities. It might well be expected that at the time of supreme danger, the inspiration that should strengthen and save us would come from them. Instead of which, they have—most of them—simply gone out of action, and, so far from inspiring and guiding the whole country, have been defied by their own students. When we win hardly through to the peace for which we are now fighting, there will be much food for thought in this.

Until this war, which ought, I think, to fill our minds as to press all else into the back-ground, until this war is victoriously ended, there can never be for us an atmosphere in which we can duly meditate our academic duties, as at Convocations we have been accustomed to do. We have not been invaded; it seemed a miracle that saved us; we hope that such danger will not return. But there remains this deadly danger which by our united effort we must overcome, the danger that a complete, final victory may not be won, that civilisation may remain vulnerable to savagery. It is difficult to listen with patience to these studiously moderate persons who, with delicacy of judgment, do, on the whole, prefer the Allies to the Axis, and count them slightly the superior

of two groups of self-seeking materialists. Germany and Japan have been at pains enough to blazon, in both word and act, their own true colours, and to show, in every occupied place, how they propose to rule the world—perpetual servitude of all other peoples and the savage crushing-out of every kind of personal value and liberty.

We cannot rightly seek to escape from the thought of our war-duty into the peaceful old-time atmosphere of a university. And if now I proceed to consider some aspects of a university's work, I cannot hide my preoccupation with those tremendous issues. It is more true now than at any time within the memory of any of us, more true indeed than at any time in India's history, that what we are doing and planning now, at this moment, is in a sense decisive. To fail now is not only to fail ourselves and our own time, it is to fail the future, and that is the worst betrayal possible. The noblest of mankind have "loved the future" and undertaken any sacrifice for those who shall come after them.

Universities and the Past

It is the natural tradition among universities everywhere to be preoccupied with the past. The humanist's business is mainly this : to cherish and revive the memory of the past records of mere event and change, of thought, of creation in power and beauty. This is the heritage of the spirit, so vast that none can fully apprehend it. But it enters into the atmosphere of a university and makes it venerable even when in years it is young. Any responsible person who breathes that atmosphere is nourished by it in ways far beyond his conscious studies. We should be the more careful to keep it immune from passing controversy and from the heat of prejudiced passion, personal, communal, or national. But it is not right that any one, even the most learned, should live wholly in the past, or should so venerate it as to conceive that man's works are of value in direct proportion to their age. This is a common delusion among university people. Many an old manuscript, which in its own day was of little worth, is dug out and fondled and pondered over and classified with scrupulous care. Or the devotee of antiquities may trace, with the most painful apparatus of scholarship, the minutiae of a long-past administration, which matters less than nothing to us now. Not all that is true is worth knowing, not all that is old is sacred, and all this is just the sham of scholarship. Many and many an eye has been dimmed by years of utterly fruitless labour, and the time has come, I think, when before any research is begun, one should ask whether it can have any genuine fruitfulness for our day and generation. Inevitably, therefore, scientific investigation must at the present time be considered of more vital importance than research of a historical or literary or speculative kind. We need not deny the paramount value of those studies concerned with human nature and life. But, to speak rather crudely, perhaps, we have already rescued from the past all that we need from it of history, of literature, of philosophy. That store will serve us well. The discovery that we most urgently need now for our understanding of things is in the way of scientific experiment and reasoning, with a closer collaboration of sciences than ever before, with the mathematician accorded a new place of honour, and the philosopher called in to interpret—and a second-rate philosopher he may prove nowadays unless his own scientific knowledge gives him competence here. The special encouragement of scientific research for the practical purposes of industry is obviously incumbent on any university, but what I have been thinking of here is of more academic value, the scientific investigation which is directed ultimately towards metaphysical understanding, so that science becomes prominent among the humanities themselves.

That such work cannot prosper except by the widest cooperation has long been recognised by our universities, and the annual Science Congresses, ever-broadening in scope, have proved of immense value in bringing about personal intimacy between our investigators and correlating their work. The visits of great scientists from Europe have been helpful also. Nor have our historians, philosophers, and economists been unaware of the advantages of such contact with their fellows, both Indian and foreign. This movement towards unified effort of scholarship and exploration is one of the healthiest signs in our university life. We ought, I think, to stress this idea of unity which the name, university, implies. It is probable that at first that word implied merely a unity of faculties within the university, and even that is worth pondering. The compartment idea, the very notion of any sort of exclusive specialisation, is fraught with danger. It has been a trouble to us in the lower reaches of education.

It is really a shame to make even the little boy a specialist, and to pretend we are able to discover, when he is yet a child, the bent that is to determine his line of study and perhaps, eventually his line of life. It is not fair, and I would urge that in high schools we ought to give him a training that will not fit him for anything in particular, but will simply train his powers, give him a certain breadth of knowledge that will help to prepare him for life if he can study no more, and will be a good foundation for any special study thereafter. It does seem unwise and unfeeling to detect literary or scientific bent at fourth-form stage, when the child knows practically nothing and has had little chance of responding to different stimuli. And surely, even were the bent established, it should not be yielded to at once. It might well be considered that, the stronger the child's preference for something, the greater his need for something else. It has been found elsewhere—I wonder whether it is your experience here—that the ordinary science student (and not seldom the teacher of science himself) has not merely dislike but contempt for literary study. Now there is a case of sheer deficiency, which in all conscience we ought to set right. We ought to humanise the scientist however reluctant he may be—not in the technicalities of humane study, but in that within it which ought to appeal to all. Conversely, we find among students of history or philosophy, very frequently a really consummate ignorance of the simplest, most ordinary scientific facts and methods; and they are infinitely the poorer for this, and the less competent, perhaps, even in their own subjects.

Honours courses

One specialistic error that, I think, we often make is the undue encouraging of students to take honours courses. At the university stage, of course, specialism is often quite appropriate. But how often (thus I ask of the professors assembled here)—how often do you find that a man desires to take an honours course not because of any outstanding ability but simply because of lack of ability, because he will get on better within those narrower limits? In fact an honours course may be easier than a pass one, and very much less profitable. Surely it is best, even at college, for the man of ordinary abilities to have the broadest possible education, so a proper honours standard might be maintained, and the men of great ability might work on their own level and proceed their natural pace. This is a digression, but rather a serious one; and here I would appeal to the commonsense and charity of professors against their natural pride in large honours classes.

But to return to the question of unity and cooperation among faculties within a university or a college. It is not always observed. A jealous hostility between faculties is not entirely unknown; and sometimes the relation between one and another has been mainly a mutual studios scrutiny of laboratory grants or number of demonstrators allowed. It so happens—and of course, you are far more precisely aware of this than a layman can profess to be—that just at present the interdependence of studies has assumed such importance that even the professorial specialist can contribute but little to learning unless he possesses fairly comprehensive amount of accurate knowledge of the most recent advances in other spheres. We have come to realise that any really intelligible truth must be joint discovery of physicist, biologist, mathematician and metaphysician and even then it will so baffle our powers of statement that we must call in the figurative apparatus of the poet.

When this singleness of purpose informs each university, it will be the easier for all our universities to work together in a single national effort for the advancement of knowledge and learning in India. But, far beyond this, they may, by this unity of theirs, help to promote our national unity.

National Unity

Unity—how blessed is that word and that idea, so inspiring, so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. There are those who, looking far, too far, ahead despise talk of nationalism, conceiving that the only worthy citizenship henceforward is citizenship of the world. There are others whose view is precisely opposite, who prefer to think that India is not, and cannot be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests exists, which makes impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too, all around the growth

of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

Conflicts of tradition and interests

We all know well how serious are the discrepancies and conflicts of tradition and mode of life and thought, and, perhaps most serious, of economic interest; but it is our absolute duty to forge all this diversity into a single comprehensive state, within which there shall be absolute liberty for each composing element, and absolute justice, and confidence of justice, between them. It is not beyond our power. It is too great, too fine a thing to be impossible. We must be men of faith, faith in India's destiny, and then no mountain of difficulty can fail to be removed. Nationality, then, is by no means too broad an ideal for us to-day. Nor is it too narrow an ideal. Did you ever hear of any cosmopolitan, anyone whose country is the world, who was of any value to the world? My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people are my people, whose very soil is dear. He who has no country is nothing: the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on this intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people: and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties, and reaches them to us. Here can be no conflict. I am sure that he who most deeply and wisely loves his own country is the very man who will most deeply care for the well-being of mankind. Just as he who, as a child at home, has truly loved his parents and his brothers, becomes thus so rich and true in love that in the world he will care for his brethren, so love of our own people will teach us a wider charity and service far better than any vague, theoretic idealism can. As Harry Emerson Fosdick has said, "No other nation can mean to us what our nation means. Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. But because we feel so deeply about our own land, we understand how other people feel about their lands, and using our patriotism to interpret theirs, we grow, not in bitterness but in understanding and sympathy."

Universities and Indian Unity

What is the function of a great university in promoting this Indian unity? In one of its aspects, this is a problem of culture. Several languages, each with its own literature; several religions, each with its own philosophy and ethics. They all seem to care most, at present, about their differences and rivalries, and this, no doubt, is human nature. Few indeed, though most eminent and wise, are those who have cared to think not of Hindu culture, or Muslim culture, for example, but rather, of Indian culture. I suppose it may be argued that the opposition of religions is so radical, and culture is so intimately related to religion, that fusion of cultures is an unattainable as a fusion of religions. But this has already been denied by history, and already we can speak with pride of Indian culture. Speaking in Benares last year, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked, "As time has gone on in our history there has been a remarkable blending and fusion of the original Hindu culture with that culture which is popularly called the Muslim culture but which is clearly traceable to countries like Persia and to a certain extent Arabia, with the result that at least in Northern India during the last three hundred years or more a mixed common culture has grown up which may truly be said to be 'Indian Culture'."

Fusion of Culture

It is the task of a university to encourage deliberately, so to speak scientifically, that which by natural process is already coming to pass, and this fusion of culture can be hastened, and guided, and enriched by any university which deeply cares about it. There are curricular changes that would help; there are ways, too, outside the curriculum; but above all, this is a matter of attitude on the part of those who teach. It could never be suggested that between Hindus and Muslims and other communities there should be identity either of thought or of custom, for just as I have insisted that a people's vitality must come from the special national source, so the energy and worth of a person must be intimately related to his own religion and tradition. But the prevalent attitude of isolation, of superiority, even of intolerance and hostility, should give way completely to the positive desire and effort for mutual understanding, respect, and co-operation. There is no doubt that in colleges and universities students who play games have, without effort, simply forgotten differences of community. So also in the life of non-communal hostels. Why? I think that here

there are two secrets. One is that on playing-fields and in hostel people get to know each other, and are surprised to find that what is different is a small fraction of self and of life compared to what is common. But the other secret is still more important than these who are working strenuously together for a common end, whether victory in a game, for instance, or victory in a war, find that comradeship simply overbalances every sort of difference. If only it might come to pass that all sections of the Indian people were intent on defense and victory in this war, and strenuously working together for this, our differences would melt in the heat of this energy. This again is a digression—a digression to the fostering of a truly Indian consciousness, our universities may do.

Political structure of India

Indian culture is growing, and now a new political structure is to be made, and will be made the more quickly and securely the stronger our sense of unity becomes. Here, too, there rests upon the universities a heavy responsibility. The problem is one of exceptional complexity, and nothing in political history is adequate or guide. The different sorts of reconciliation which must be embodied in the structure of the new India demand the calmest, most patient, most disinterested scrutiny. Moreover, this is work for men of comprehensive and accurate knowledge, both of affairs in India and of every sort of experiment, past and present. Again, that constitution when arrived at, will itself be an experiment, and for a considerable time its working, and its bearing upon the various elements composing the body politic, will have to be studied with the same dispassionate care. There will be a wonderful opportunity for the universities to cooperate with the practical politicians, contributing to discussion of every urgent problem a fund of knowledge and quiet judgment. Can we be quite sure that those whose university business is the study of affairs are themselves totally free from partisanship and the influence of interests narrower than those of the people as a whole? I fear that often it has not been so; but I am sure we all agree that it must be so if men are worthy of academic office. And further, there is the duty—certainly a most difficult one—of inducing a certain calmness and impartiality of judgment in even the ordinary student sent out by the university to take his part in the political as in the other activities of life. In the nature of things, every graduate exercises an influence far beyond that of the average citizen, and is regarded by the less lettered public as one who both knows and judges better than they. In fact, a certain degree of leadership, however limited or unconscious, is thrust upon every man who has been to a university. The blind leader is a curse to the community and it is a frequent experience that self-confidence and aggressiveness are proportional to blindness. He who has taken the trouble to study and understand has some sense of his own limitations. If only the universities and colleges could exercise continually on the whole body of students that moderating influence which should come from an intellectual environment, and could instill a modicum of political fact and principle in all of them, not only those for whom politics is a curricular study, how well they would deserve both of the student and of the country?

Conclusion

In turning to the graduates, congratulating them and wishing them success and happiness, I would only ask them to be wise in the service of their country. All I have said is meant for them. They are a tiny proportion of society, and the more is required of them. They ought to rise superior to excitement and passion, and be able to quiet these in others. They should themselves be thinking men, a rare species, and their thought should make them tolerant and ready for compromise. We believe easily what we fear or what we desire, said a philosopher. To see things from many points of view, to enter into feelings far different from one's own, to understand and care about the ideas and interests of others, although they conflict with one's own, to be as ready to make concessions as to demand them—these are marks of the good man, these are forms of goodness which we positively demand of the graduates of a university. In this we meet with many a disappointment; so many graduates have proved positively illiterate in this finer learning of intellect and heart. Not you, however, not the Patna graduates of 1942. We rely upon you. We send you forth commending your country to your wise and thoughtful service, and commending you also and your future to the fostering care of a free, united India.

The Annamalai University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by His Highness The Maharaja of Travancore at the annual Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalainagar on the 9th. December 1942 :—

May I begin by thanking His Excellency the Chancellor for having asked me to address the graduates of this important Foundation? The first and most arresting thought that occurs to one who visits the precincts of this University concerns the happy choice of its site. Chidambaram is one of the holiest cities of the South with its five sacred Sabhas whose presiding deity, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance, was worshipped by the Sage Vyachapada and by countless other Bhaktas. The shrine of Nandanaar who overcame all handicaps of birth and prejudice by his immeasurable devotion and triumphantly demonstrated the equality of all men in the sight of God. This tradition and the juxtaposition in the same spot of Nataraja and Gobindaraja cannot but carry the messages of unity and reconciliation to the youth of our country who need such a message sorely. This University has another special feature connected with it, in that it has been mainly endowed by individual munificence. Such endowments are common in rich countries like the United States. Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford and more recently Rockefeller and Duke were great and far-sighted benefactors; and one has only to remember the initial gift of 99,000 acres of land in California by Stanford and of 35,000,000 dollars by Rockefeller to realise the extent and scope of their largesse. In India, educational endowments have not been numerous and in the matter of Studentships and Fellowships, it is only recently that the examples of Palit and Tagore have been followed. I therefore specially congratulate Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar who, by his provision and discerning liberality, has helped to bring this University into existence and who, as far as I have been able to gather, has insisted on no conditions save that this should be a nursery of indigenous culture and fine arts in addition to fulfilling the normal functions of Universities elsewhere. The traditional modes of charity resorted to by his community and his family have been deflected with significant and welcome results. The combination of Collegiate and University instruction under one administration has special advantages which appertain to this University.

We are now in the midst of an unparalleled cataclysm and the youth of the country, after undergoing their intellectual novitiate and equipping themselves with the spiritual armour and discipline which are the gifts of the University to its students, have to enter upon a fight which is different from the conflicts that were faced by their ancestors and predecessors. I congratulate the graduates of this University and Diploma holders on the successes that have attended their efforts. And I should like at the same time to point out that their responsibilities are numerous and unparalleled. Time was when the products of the Indian Universities qualified themselves mainly for what were termed the learned professions and for literary or clerical pursuits. The industrial and the scientific age burst in upon an unprepared world and for many years there raged a controversy as to the relative merits and virtues of technical, scientific and humanistic studies. As very often happens, the reaction against the study of the humanities tended to push them aside and to exalt the industrialist and the research worker and to depreciate the value of classical learning and of the fine arts. The results were conspicuous but also startling. The scientific age produced great marvels and profoundly altered the appearance of the world. Time and distance were annihilated. New wants began to be created and new appliances and methods were invented to meet those wants. The competitive age was ushered into existence. As an aftermath of competition arose those world-wide disputes as to raw materials which precipitated one war after another. Aggressive ideologies, perverted and pseudo-scientific theories of race superiority and race domination added to the confusion and not a little of the general distress which has overwhelmed the world is due to the disproportionate importance attached to one-sided scientific and technical training. The world cannot do without such training and indeed for us, in India, who have been lagging behind in the race and who, by nature, are predisposed to contemplation rather than to action, the lessons of the laboratory, of the workshops and the polytechnic have to be learnt without delay. The claims of pure and applied science cannot be denied and the Engineer, the Physicist and the Chemist as well as the doctor and the public health specialist will be amongst the indispensable

elements of the future; but the Annamalai University is amongst those institutions which, without ignoring such claims, also stress the importance of an all-round reconstruction of education, holding that every system should combine with technique and with science the teaching of an appreciation of harmony and beauty not only in art but in daily life and ideals—a knowledge, in other words, of the things that are more excellent.

Rightly viewed, there is and should be no antithesis between a technical and a liberal education. No such antithesis was envisaged in any Eastern scheme of studies or even by the European scholars, artists and scientists of the middle ages or later by Bacon and Newton. It was a passing phase that came to a culmination in the 19th century. But even during that period a great thinker like Huxley emphasised that as preliminary to all technical training there must be imparted a desire for the things of the understanding. A complete education, as Milton declares, fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. The ignoring of these aspects has perhaps led to the catastrophes that are evident around us. Accumulated and perverted scientific knowledge and the strict regimentation of the human intellect applied not only to the armies in the field but to the armies in the class rooms and work-shops have proved futile and, indeed, dangerous because tolerance and fair play and the spiritual aspects of human life cannot safely be ignored.

It is well that the Universities in a comparatively poor country like India, should cease to duplicate their courses and that, moreover, as far as possible, by the exchange of professors and students and by the endeavour of each University to supplement rather than to copy the work of its neighbours, should work for a common end pooling all their available resources. Large-scale exchanges of professors and students were growing in importance before the war. Lectures were given by travelling professors and exchanges of teachers took place all over Europe and America. The Universities Bureau of the British Empire and foundations like those initiated by the French Government and the Carnegie Corporation rendered notable services whose interruption has been a great calamity. The ideas underlying such enterprises are of the utmost possible value to us. Under present conditions, it is not every University in India that can afford the best possible training in all the subjects within its purview. Even in the matter of a single science, laboratory and other facilities may not be equally available to all foundations. The exchange of professors and students and the co-ordination of educational efforts are therefore necessary and the value of such efforts will not be solely in the educational sphere. They may well help to eliminate those parochial, racial and religious distinctions and hostilities too often arising from imperfect mutual acquaintance. I, for one, will gladly welcome such contacts being established between the University in my State and yours.

Side by side with the development of the intellect and the love for the fine arts, there arises above all things the necessity to care for the individual and corporate welfare of the students. We have sought in Travancore to combine the benefits of the team spirit manifested in Western games with those derived from the general discipline of our indigenous exercises including the Asana and Pranayama prescribed by our ancients for bodily welfare. Great hopes are entertained of organisations like the University Training Corps, the Labour Corps and other bodies designed to bring about not only physical fitness but a sense of union and discipline.

This war caught the world unawares. It found India largely unprepared. Our industries are now being refashioned to meet new requirements. Our craft and sciences have to be remodelled to suit novel applications. Our scientists, soldiers, sailors and airmen have found their feet and are acquiring themselves, from all accounts, as befits us and our traditions. Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courageous comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world-fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligations that are already crowding upon them.

It only remains for me to render the heart-felt thanks of my mother and myself for the conferment on us of Honorary Doctorates. We sincerely appreciate and shall greatly value these distinctions not only as symbols of personal friendliness but also of future collaboration in the field of education.

The Andhra University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Her Highness Smt. Parvati Bai* of Travancore at the annual Convocation of the Andhra University held at Guntur on the 12th. December 1942 :—

In accepting the invitation extended to me by Your Chancellor to deliver an address to the graduates of the Andhra University on the occasion of the termination of their studies and the bestowing of degrees on them it is my very pleasant duty to thank His Excellency for the compliment paid to me which I greatly appreciate. I can claim that while fulfilling this task, I am not coming to you as a stranger. In company with His Highness, I have enjoyed the hospitality of your University and we have been enrolled among its alumni by the conferment on us of Honorary Degrees five years ago. Our last visit, however, was amidst different surroundings and the change of environment naturally brings to one's mind the very special circumstances in which we, in India, in common with all other parts of the world are situated. It is a matter for profound satisfaction that we are now witnessing the turn of the tide of war and that we can look forward with renewed confidence to the coming of peace after these troubled years which have been a testing time for the courage and faith of the human spirit.

My prime duty on this occasion is to tender my congratulations and my best wishes to those who have succeeded in the various tests conducted by the University and who are emerging into a world in which they will, I feel confident, not play a merely passive role but will be active participants in the fashioning of the new society to be.

The culture of India was, by no means, one of quiescence or passivity. Referring solely to historic times, when India counted for a great deal in the world, when, for instance, the Mouryas and Nandas, the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras as well as the Vijayanagar and the several Andhra dynasties made their mark on the history of the world, our land was noted for achievements both in war and peace. Nevertheless, the special characteristic of our life in the past may best be described as the maintenance of Dharma and the pursuit of simplicity in life combined with many-sided culture. During the last few years, our contacts with the later developments of European civilization have, however, produced a state of dis-equilibrium. False social values were created by the rise of what has been described as a "white collar" or clerical class who, though useful to a limited degree, tended to occupy the front stage in life. An employee in a Government office or a member of one of the professional classes was regarded with a special respect whereas a great musician, a fine sculptor or a skilled artisan was treated with much less regard. This war is bound, amongst other things, to produce a revolutionary change in such an outlook. The technician, the scientist and the research worker are rapidly coming to their own although the world has been too chaotic and events have been too catastrophic for a due recognition of the place of the artist in the scheme of things. Mechanical inventions are giving us a larger command over the resources of nature and the capacity to produce wealth. But have they helped to add to the peace and happiness of mankind? Are we receding or progressing? Are we becoming less civilized or more? Is it not true that even our leisure has become as mechanised as our labour so that we are passively amused by mechanical devices which, in the language of Aldous Huxley, condemn us to frustration? Such are some of the inescapable questions facing us.

The Andhras have inherited a great sculpture and it is very probable that the Ajanta Frescoes are partly, if not entirely, due to the Andhra inspirations; and the devotion to music is part of your heritage. You represent the fusion of many cultures and the University is manysided in its activities. With the general support of the public and of local bodies as well as of the Provincial Government and the discerning liberality of great patrons like the Maharaja of Jeypore, you have made serious and successful efforts to cope with the problem of technological research and medical and public health problems as well as with the pursuit of literature and music, and you are endeavouring to work for a reconstruction of education on a well-conceived plan without giving rise to any cleavage between technical and liberal education.

The future opens up a vista of infinite possibilities, and we are noticing all around

us and even in the midst of the prevailing turmoil the results of what can be done by courageous enthusiasm and nation-wide effort. The chronicle of what is being achieved in the Chinese Universities is one of epic grandeur. Lashed from the air and on land, the apparatus and even the furniture of the Universities were badly shifted and taken from place to place by students and teachers alike so that even in the midst of the clash of arms and the assaults of the dive bomber and the machine gun, the boys and girls of China were not deprived of the mental and spiritual training which was their due. In a recent issue of the American Journal "Science," we read a remarkable account of the journey of Tsing-Hua University from the east to Kuuming in the south-west and improvised expedients adopted to secure continuity of studies. Thus writes a Chinese doctor of Medicine:—

"Six months in Kwelyang to start a medical school from nothing—absolutely nothing except a 'hospital' of four beds and a group of determined men—I devised everything, from a three-legged stool (after the principle of the tripod, for the legs are uneven), to the actually hand-made pneumatic machine ringed up from parts got from junk shops all by myself, in order that serious cases of tuberculosis be treated."

Such facts of endurance and unconquerable zeal cannot but be a source of stimulus and an inspiration.

Self-reliance and self-dependence are amongst our foremost requisites. If nothing else has been done by this war, it has at least brought home to us the importance and possibility of substitutes for everything, the need to improvise and to get on with whatever may be available and make the utmost use of it. The transportation of huge factories across a whole continent and their reconstruction is not only an instance of the rapid assimilation of scientific knowledge by the Russians but is evidence of a creative skill brought to being by the hammer-stroke of Fate. The Universities in future should be universal in the sense of being able to create not only pervasive ideas but also the apparatus and the environment amidst which such ideas may germinate. The future will be for those who make things side by side with originating new thoughts and new visions of beauty. War, no less than peace, is no longer a mere display of brute force but involves specialised training of the intellect and the rise of a spirit of fortitude without which the trials of to-day and the inevitable complexities of to-morrow cannot be met. All Universities, therefore, bear special responsibility. Physical education has to be their first care so that in the fashioning of the future the coming generation may not be handicapped by weakness, bodily or mental. Discipline in action accompanying freedom of thought and speculation will be their next care, and, finally, the fostering of aesthetic and spiritual development which is the foundation and the *sine qua non* of that peace and harmony without which enduring work will not emerge.

You have the further advantage of possessing a language which is musical and expressive and which arouses the passionate devotion of those who speak it. Familiarisation in your own language with the formative ideas and literatures of the world can easily be a labour of love with you as well as an apparatus of culture.

Many things have contrived to bring about a shrinkage of the world. No nation and no people can hereafter live wholly independently of the others and this implies not less but more toleration and breadth of outlook, a great sense of fair-play and more desire for union amidst diversity. Differences of language, of race and of creed may even be useful adjuncts of mental training but the supreme ideal is surely the fundamental unity of aspiration and endeavour that must be the keystone of the arch that will bridge our past and the future, and bear us safely over the rapids and whirlpools that are the symbols of the strifes of the present. This is our hope and it can best be achieved by the wise direction of a harmonious scheme of education that will at once kindle the light of learning and produce the mellowness of wisdom and the sweetness of authentic culture.

The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the *Hon'ble Mian Abdul Baze*, Minister for Education, Punjab, at the annual Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the 22nd. December 1942 :—

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for his invitation to deliver the Convocation address. For some reasons I wished to be excused, but in view of His Excellency's persuasion I had to give in. I deem it indeed a great honour and privilege. I prize this opportunity of addressing the Convocation particularly on account of the cataclysmic times through which we are passing to-day. As long as the present titanic struggle continues, our thoughts and energies are devoted to the achievement of final victory. We have applied ourselves to the realization of this high ideal with determination and unbending resolution, for we realize that on the outcome of this struggle depends the future of the race of man. I have full faith in the justice of our cause and in Britain's determination to fulfil her promises and pledges. I hope, when peace dawns on the world and the demon of war is longed by political profiteers in the East and the West is vanquished by the combined effort of the peace-loving nations, India will attain her long-cherished ideal of independence. It is my firm belief that after the inevitable victory of the Allied Nations, India will be a free country. What form of Government there will be, a strong Central Government or several sovereign States, I cannot predict. But of one thing I am certain and that is, without inter-communal harmony and complete understanding among the various communities, and without mutual trust and confidence, there will be no political progress or internal peace or the great future which I visualize for this ancient land of ours. Twenty-five years elapse, Mahatma Gandhi stressed the paramount need of unity and concord. He considered unity synonymous with Swaraj. It is a truism which holds good even to-day. India's future is as much linked with the outcome of the present war as with the evolution of a partnership, based on the tripod of unity, tolerance and fairness, for the speedy realization of our common ideals and aspirations. There is a tendency at times to ascribe our misfortunes and difficulties in national life to the presence of several religions in India. Religious doctrines and creeds, which in reality link God's creatures in a universal brotherhood, are looked upon with contempt and as a poison in our body-politic retarding all political and economic progress. Religion which should be beacon of hope and goodwill is considered a philosophy of despair and disruption. This is because we have not understood the essentials of religion. We are, indeed, every day drifting from it and the result is infinite wretchedness and unhappiness. If only we were true to the fundamentals of our religion, if only we practised in our daily life what religion ordains we would not witness the misery and dismay which we are facing to-day.

In the present-day stress and strain of war, when we are directing all our attention and efforts on attaining victory, we are apt to lose sight of an important aspect of war; I mean "Post-War Reconstruction". This is the theme of my address. This is a subject of supreme importance to a nation who has to plan ahead. Every war must end; and we, of the United Nations, feel confident that the time is not far off when we shall triumph, when a glorious victory will, by the Grace of God, be ours and all the forces of evil, tyranny and oppression will be vanquished never to rise again. The question, therefore, is: "Are we preparing ourselves for that devoutly to be wished for consummation?" Surely, we do not wish to be taken unawares, to be confronted all at once with a hundred and one problems which will demand an immediate solution and which will have far-reaching effects on the future generations. We, in India, should, like the other nations, take up the manifold problems of post-war reconstruction, so that when the enemy has sustained a total defeat and the sun rises on a world, tired and prostrate perhaps, but happy in the consciousness of a victory achieved in the nobles of all causes, we may be in a position to embark without delay upon the work of reconstructing a new world; a world which would wish to say eternal good-bye to all the differences, quarrels and antagonisms which have very nearly destroyed the bonds of brotherhood which should normally bind together all God's creatures; a new world in which every one would have suitable opportunities of enjoying the blessings of a full and complete life; a world in which there would be plenty of the milk of human kindness, of

affectionate neighbourliness, of communal, racial and international harmony and concord,—a good world of good, Godfearing men. The ushering in of such a world should not be a dream; and if humanity can emerge nobler and purer from the terrible ordeal through which it is at present passing, all the misery, anguish and suffering will not be in vain. All those who have died or those who will lay down their lives in the noble cause, will have died a martyr's death which would help in bringing in a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness.

"Reconstruction" is a vast, though a fascinating, subject. It has so many facets, and even an interweaving, interlacing and interplay of furies, wishes, sentiments and ideals that it would be impossible for me to discuss, even cursorily and meagrely, all its various aspects. I shall, therefore, deal to-day with only one aspect of the stupendous problem; I mean "Post-War Educational Reconstruction".

Every constructive reformer must proceed cautiously. There must not be too sudden a break with the past; no attempt should be made to uproot humanity and utterly ignore the old landmarks and foundations; every effort should be made to conserve and preserve all that is good and valuable, all that is sacred, pure and noble. It is in this spirit that I should, if I had an opportunity, undertake the work of educational reconstruction.

I do not think anybody now belongs to the Macaulay school of education. That system should be considered as dead. It was intended to serve a certain purpose during a certain period of Indian History, but it is entirely out of date and unsuitable for the needs of India of to-day. Every Indian to-day wants a fuller life, and efficient and useful life, which may see the fulfilment of certain ideals. For the achievement of such ideals we do not want mere literacy or capacity to read and write; we want a system of education which may open the portals of true knowledge and learning to us, which may not only train us to be good citizens but which may fit us to be worthy sons of India in every walk of life, so that each one of us may feel that he is an integral part of the body-politic who has a vital and important part to play in shaping and moulding the destiny of his country.

In my opinion the first essential requisite for such a system is the imparting of education through our own language. I am not one of those who shut their eyes to the advantage which the knowledge of English, as an international language, affords to every Indian, but I do feel strongly that instruction would be easier and more fruitful if it could be imparted through the medium of our own language. This question, however, should not be linked up with sentiment as is the tendency at times, but with science which is the very basis and texture of life to-day and without which we perish; or what is worse, glide back to barbarism.

I believe, it was said by a J-suit: "Give me the training of a child up to the age of seven, and I do not care to whom it is entrusted thereafter." I am in entire agreement with this view and feel that the most important instructional period in the life of a child is at the primary stage. It is during the first few years of his schooling that the foundations are laid, and the whole future of the child depends on whether the foundations are good or bad. From the very start give the child good and efficient teachers, healthy and wholesome surroundings in an attractive and well-equipped school and you have made his career. Give him an unqualified, ill-paid and unsympathetic teacher, an insanitary and uncommensurate building with little or no equipment, and you have marred the child's future. It is an irony of fate that although we all realise this fact clearly, yet in actual practice many of the teachers employed in our primary schools are ill-paid, unqualified and unsuitable, the buildings in which the schools are housed are in some cases a disgrace and the whole atmosphere what it should not be. In devising our new system of education our first duty, therefore should be to effect a root and branch reform in our primary education, no matter what the expenditure may be. All teachers in charge of little children should be fully qualified, they should be men and women of culture and character, and it is very important that they should be given a living wage, so that by example and precept they may be able to give of their best to the children entrusted to their care.

Some time ago the Punjab Government appointed a strong committee called the "Syllabus Revision Committee", which was asked to recommend the main lines on which the curricula and syllabi for the middle and primary classes should be framed. This Committee presented a very valuable report, and when its main recommendations had been accepted by Government, subsidiary expert sub-committees were appointed to draw up detailed syllabi in the various subjects. The result is that a thorough revision and reform of the curricula and syllabi for the primary and middle classes in

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the Punjab has been effected, and the Punjab Government has approved of the scheme of studies; and authors and publishers are now busy preparing books in accordance with the new scheme. It is not necessary for me here to give details of this scheme, which is now public property. Suffice it to say that the keynote of the new curricula is "Learning by Doing", so that the child may find pleasure in his studies which would interest him to such an extent that he would be attracted to the school instead of attending it unwillingly and half-heartedly; the latest and the most up-to-date methods of instruction, in consonance with the atmosphere and environment of the child, will be employed and education in the primary and middle classes will be imparted by teachers who have been specially trained for the purpose. But as I have said above, the new scheme is applicable to the primary and middle classes only, and the scheme would be incomplete if it were not followed up by a radical reform in the curricula of the matriculation classes, and in the whole structure of University education in the Punjab. I hope, most earnestly, that these important matters will soon be taken up by the University authorities, so that they may be ready for post-war reconstruction on sound lines.

This is not an occasion where to present a cut-and-dried scheme which can be enforced immediately. Very useful spadework will have to be done by the eminent educationists of the province, with perhaps the help and advice of men from outside; but I should like to entertain the hope that, when the war is happily over, we shall not be found unprepared or still floundering in the dark, but quite ready to embark upon a far-seeing and liberal scheme of education which will eliminate waste and stagnation; which will, to a large extent, remove unemployment; which will enable every young man and woman to get a decent start in life according to his or her tastes or aptitudes; which will make life fuller, nobler and happier; an education the aim of which will be not to add to the ever-growing number of graduates who subsequently drift in life like a ship without a rudder or compass, but to produce good citizens, leading happy and contented lives, free from all those sentiments and passions which sometimes make life so ugly; citizens who are conscious not only of their rights and privileges, but even more so of their duties and obligations; duties not to themselves and their families and friends, but also to God and all his creatures.

In visualising a new system of education one should not forget the role—the most important role—which a teacher has to play at school and college. With your permission, I should like to give you here a quotation from the Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee which I have already referred to:

When the class-room door opened, the teacher turned and beheld an eager group of children entering. His heart went out to them and he said: "What would you learn from me?"

They replied: "Show us how to keep our bodies in perfect health: teach us how to love beautiful things. Help us to discover what powers are in us, and what things we can do best."

"Show us how to work happily with each other, so that we may eventually work in happiness with all our fellow-men."

"Teach us how to draw and build the lovely things which are in our minds. Let us be busy at work-bench and table and blackboard; and at other times, when the mood takes us, allow us to reach quietly amid the treasures of the library."

"Show us how to speak and write our language with beauty."

"Help us to discuss some of the problems about which the modern world is so puzzled; perhaps some day we shall be the people who have to find a solution of these problems."

"Be one of us and play with us on the playing-field."

"Tell us what life means and how wonderful the world is."

"Do this and we will love you."

At this the teacher turned away sorrowing, for his learning dealt not with these matters.

Fully realising the defects not only of the present system of education, but also those in the training of teachers, the Punjab Government appointed other expert committees to overhaul the entire system of teacher-training in normal schools and the Training Colleges. The vernacular teachers in our normal schools are already being trained in accordance with the new scheme of studies, and I hope that in the very near future the training of graduate teachers will be given on up-to-date, practical and useful lines.

All these are steps in the right direction; but what about collegiate and uni-

education in general? I cannot imagine the post-war world being content with the status quo in higher education. It will insist on having a new system which lays more and more stress on vocational, industrial and technical education, a system under which nobody would drift, but be guided to choose and be trained for a career best suited to his capabilities, natural gifts and temperament. All are agreed that at present there is too much emphasis on a purely arts education which leads nowhere and which has blighted the careers of many young men who, if properly guided and trained, would have chosen suitable professions and been a credit to the country instead of being a drag and a burden. In the best interests of the country this policy of drift has got to stop, and Government and the University must devise means to achieve this end. It wrings my heart to find such a large number of highly educated men going from pillar to post in search of jobs and finding none. At certain stages in their lives, these young men ought to be guided to choose the right line or profession for which they are best suited, and it should be one of the most important duties of teachers in schools and colleges to help and guide their pupils in the choice of a profession. Before passing from one stage to another in his educational career, each student should be given facilities to discuss his future with his parents and his teachers and be encouraged to pursue a course of study which is calculated to lead to a successful career. Only those who wish to do research or become teachers or those who wish to acquire knowledge for its own sake and can afford to do so, should be permitted to proceed to the Master's degree. To help and guide students in coming to a correct decision in such matters, every college should have a Students' Career Bureau with a personnel possessing expert knowledge, sympathy, judgment and imagination to examine each particular case, supply useful information and give the necessary guidance to every student who leaves the college. The University should have a similar Bureau of its own which is in constant touch with Government departments and agencies, and with leading men and institutions in the industrial, technical and vocational spheres. Every one, be he a humble school-teacher or a college or University lecturer or professor, should be imbued with the missionary spirit; his aim should be not only to impart knowledge, but also to bring sunshine and joy into the lives of many of his pupils as he can help by extending to them his sympathy, affection and guidance. Nobody wants men of learning who are content to live in "shells" of their own, who take no interest in the outside world. We want teachers inspired by the highest ideals. They should be men of high character and integrity; they should be touch-stones in the real sense so that by helping and training their students they may help their country in its onward march, and at the same time revive the sacred bond which existed between the teacher and the taught.

With fitable ornaments and good, high-souled and ardent teachers, we shall require efficient up-to-date, well-equipped institutions where agricultural, industrial and technical training could be imparted. In the Punjab there are too many Arts schools and colleges, but not enough institutions of this type. After careful planning—which I think should be started at once—a number of such schools and colleges should be started all over the province to suit the needs and natural gifts of particular areas. Care should, however, be taken not to multiply such institutions so that the supply of trained men should not exceed the demand in any particular line or calling. No fetish should be made either of agriculture or of any particular form of industrialization. The days of extreme laissez-faire are, in my opinion, over and after the war every country and province will have to devise its own plans for development and progress guided by the Science of Economics but not by following its theories too slavishly and rigidly. Pure individualism and complete freedom in matters which pertain to the welfare of the country as a whole, often lead to failure, and some kind of State control is, therefore, necessary to prevent waste of national effort. This is particularly so in the sphere of industrial organization and development, and I have no doubt that in any national planning which Government may undertake they will have the co-operation of the people of the Punjab.

When this planning has been successfully attempted and particular schemes are launched according to certain programmes, some other measures will have to be adopted so that we may be able to make the fullest use of the brains, energies and capabilities of the youth of the province. These measures should be such as to make it impossible for promising lives to be wrecked on the waves of disappointment and despair. There should be no lack of opportunity for any one in this land of ours. The number of boys and young men, who possess first-class brains but are unable to make good or achieve anything in life for lack of suitable means and

opportunities, is distressingly large. We must, therefore, make earnest efforts to devise a new system of scholarships and stipends. At present, in addition to the University, local body and private scholarships, the Punjab Government spends every year over Rs. 2 lakhs on scholarships of various kinds: but the system under which they are awarded is halting and unsatisfactory. They are limited in scope and duration, and hedged round with too many provinces and restrictions; with the result that a bright lad who has, for example, won a middle school scholarship has to terminate his studies unless he succeeds in winning a high school and later a college or University scholarship. In most cases the award of stipends and scholarships depends on uncertain examination results, and so there is enormous wastage and loss. I should like to have a system of scholarships whereby a bright and promising lad enjoys, without a break a stipend or scholarship throughout his scholastic career, provided he remains of good moral conduct and his progress in his studies is satisfactory. It will also be necessary to adjust the value of these scholarships to the actual needs of the scholarship-holders, for it is useless to award scholarships of inadequate value which do not place a deserving student above want. I dislike the idea of awarding a scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem to a bright but poor student when his actual expenses are much more. Give the poor scholar all he wants, so that he can pursue his studies calmly and peacefully without having to worry about the wherewithal to support himself at school or college. Only under such beneficent conditions can we get the best out of our young men, and I feel sure that the expenditure will be worth while. I would like to have a large number of such scholarships and would not grudge any expenditure thereon. Not only would I award these scholarships for the ordinary school and college and for technical and industrial education, but I would give them to brilliant students for study outside the Punjab and abroad, so that this province may be fully equipped for every kind of social and economic advance.

I now turn to some other important aspects of Post-War Educational Reconstruction. Statistics collected during the last two decades—incomplete though they are—clearly show that the health of our students in schools and colleges is not as good as one might expect in this land of the Five Rivers, which is known all over the world as the Sword-arm of India and which has produced whole armies of strong sturdy and virile soldiers whose gallant deeds on the battlefield have from time immemorial been chronicled by historians and sung by bards. We must, therefore, give a very important place, in our reconstructional programmes, to the health of our children in all types of educational institutions. For some years past, some kind of medical examination of school and college students has been attempted but except in a few places very little success has been achieved and the problem still remains mainly unsolved. The most important feature of any scheme of medical inspection is that it should be as thorough as possible and must, in every case, be followed up by proper medical treatment. Under a scheme of this kind, physical defects and diseases could be detected at the earliest possible opportunity, and with suitable and sustained treatment many a valuable life could be saved and made more worth living. Mere spleen censuses and sporadic medical inspections at long intervals may be useful for statistical purposes, but otherwise they are futile unless followed up by proper and regular medical treatment. After the war I should like to see the establishment of a wholtime cadre of fully qualified medical officers for schools and colleges; some posted at central places, others itinerating from place to place, all bent upon doing their sacred duty of healing and curing. The cost of such a system on the health of the future generations of the Punjab would be tremendous and there would be every justification for as large an expenditure as it may be necessary to incur.

Every educational officer is of the opinion that even in this land, which has been so richly endowed by Nature, there is a very large number of children—particularly in the lower classes of schools in rural and backward areas—who are underfed or not properly fed on a sufficient and well-balanced diet. The school hours, the distance from home, the poverty and ignorance of parents may be partly responsible for this deplorable state of affairs, but the situation should not be considered hopeless. Certain successful experiments have been tried by some local bodies and other organisations, and particularly in our Model Schools—a fairly large number of which have been established in typical rural areas—and encouraging results have been obtained. The free supply of milk or other nourishing food to underfed children, who could not afford or arrange for their midday meal has made all the difference. It has been observed that a child gains in weight, his general health improves, and

he begins to take more interest in his work and is, therefore, able to make satisfactory progress in his studies. The matter cannot be dealt with by legislation, but co-operation between parents and teachers—and there are over twenty thousand of the latter in the Punjab—can accomplish much. In England and other Western countries a free or cheap midday meal in the school is a matter of daily routine and astonishingly gratifying results have been achieved. In some of our colleges, the "drink more milk" campaign is being successfully carried on, and a few milk bars have been established. This is a very welcome effort and those students who are acquiring a taste for milk will soon find that it makes all the difference to their health.

There seems to be general agreement that there should be universal, free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls in the Punjab. We have a new Act aiming at the achievement of this goal but we shall have to hasten slowly; our progress will have to be gradual and careful so that we hurt no teacher

abilities or tread on dangerous ground; enormous funds will have to be found for enforcing compulsion; many new school buildings will have to be constructed and equipped and a large number of additional teachers of the right type trained and employed. Despite financial and other difficulties, I should like to have a programme aiming at full compulsion for boys in 10 years and for girls in 30 years after war. This will need very arduous and careful planning and preparation, but the problem should be placed in the forefront in any programme of educational reconstruction.

There is said to be a tendency to look down upon a primary school and its teachers. This should be eliminated. Our post-war schools will be real centres of enlightenment. The people of a village will be proud of their school and treat the school-master with respect and affection. They will go to him for advice and guidance and he will once again come into his own.

Every school and college should have "Hobbies Club," so that creative and pre-vocational activities among the students may be encouraged. A few schools and colleges in the Punjab have these useful activities already, but I want them to become universal so that the leisure hours of the teachers and the taught may be employed profitably in creative and intellectual pursuits, and the new system of "learning by doing" may be reinforced by these activities in actual practice.

Not long ago the system of physical training in educational institutions was primitive and extremely defective. It is very much better now. Every school and college must have a properly trained Physical Instructor. I am no doubt that Physical Training will occupy a very prominent place in any post-war educational reconstruction programme. There is a B.A.-class P. T. at Montmorency Park, Walsby, which is now temporarily utilized for the training of Military Officers. I hope, it will continue to train and send out men of good physique and character who will act in a missionary spirit and help their province in building sound bodies with sound minds. I look forward to the organisation of games, sports and health clubs in every town and village with the help and guidance of these P. T. experts and with the co-operation of the villagers and citizens themselves. Everything should be done to encourage games and sports in schools and colleges, but care should be taken to ensure that no student devotes himself to neglect his studies. Skill at games is, indeed, an additional qualification, but the tendency among some students to sacrifice studies for the sake of games should be carefully checked.

There are many other things which a post-war educational system would necessitate: but what about finances?—you will naturally ask. The roughest estimate—even if the most urgent reforms are to be effected—would be astronomical, but any expenditure on such a nation-building activity as education would be justifiable and must be met. We Indians should realize that no sacrifice would be too great in the noble endeavour of reconstructing and reforming our whole educational system in the best interests of the present and future generations. At the same time it is quite clear that no Government, as such, can bear the whole financial burden necessitated by great reforms and schemes. If there is to be free compulsory primary education, the present expenditure on vernacular education will have to be doubled, not quadrupled. To meet this enormous increase in expenditure, it is suggested that every local body may be empowered to levy an educational cess the proceeds of which shall be earmarked for educational reform and expansion. (This experiment was lately adopted for raising money to meet the cost of renovation of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore and quite a large sum was collected.) The secondary schools, colleges and the University will have to be given liberal grants-in-aid; but they will also have to build up endowment funds. Government will, no doubt, provide as many

facilities for scientific, vocational and technical training as it can afford, but the philanthropists of India will have to supplement Government efforts by founding a number of such institutions and by endowing scholarship and stipend on as liberal a scale as possible. Only then can those who are rich and affluant to give, make their names immortal; only then can they carve their names on the pages of history and get enshrined in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

Education is, as you are all aware, a provincial subject, and the Central Government does very little by way of financial assistance to the Provincial Exchequers. I have never been able to understand why the Government of India should be absolved of all responsibility for education, especially at the earlier stages, in every province. If I had any hand in the framing of the Government of India Act, I should have made provision on this point charge on Central Finance. But things being what they are other means will have to be devised to help Local Governments in financing big educational schemes and reforms. If I remember right, it was suggested some time ago at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education that few errors of omission could be raised if the restrictions imposed at the present on the imposition of a tax on a few necessities of life could be removed. The suggestion was made subject to the conditions that the whole of the amount thus raised was earmarked for education, and that each province should be allotted a quota according to its needs and requirements. If all the dreams we are dreaming now about educational reconstruction are not to remain mere empty dreams, some such legislatures to raise funds will be necessary.

Before I close, I should like to offer, if I may, a few words of advice to my young friends who have been admitted to the various degrees to-day. You will realize, I am sure, that you and those who have graduated during the last few years will have a very important role to play in the post-war India, and it is high time that you began your preparations for it right now. A few of you will, no doubt, by sheer force of ability and merit obtain a decent and respectable start in life and rise, in due course, to the top of the ladder; some others among you, who have acquired knowledge for its own sake and whom a kind Providence has placed above want, will probably not care for jobs; but for the majority the struggle for existence will be hard—perhaps bitter and long. To the more fortunate ones I would say: don't forget in the pursuit of a happy and lucky career, that there are many others to whom destiny has not been so propitious in her gifts and whom, therefore, it is your duty to help by all the means at your disposal. Take a vow to-day that the service of humanity at large will be your guiding principle in life; resolve to-day that if circumstances do not permit to help a fellow-being, you will at least avoid harm. There are so many ways in which you can help others in this world and apply a soothing balm to lacerated hearts. A little word of kindness, a little generosity and charity may often save many a life, may heal many a wound and restore lost hope in many a miserable heart. I should like to believe that all of you will leave this hall with the firm determination of doing good to all and harm to none. You are now on the threshold of life. You will look back upon and remember, with a fond and reverent affection, the happy days you have spent so profitably in your colleges and in the University; but always look forward and ahead, and make up your mind that despite disappointments, trials and rebuffs you are going to make good in life. Even in the darkest moments keep your faith in God and in yourself firm and unshaken, and always remain convinced that whatever happens in for the best, that when you have one trouble after another in life you are really being subjected to a wonderful test and that all will depend on how you face the test. I want you all to be "Happy Warriors," living not only for yourselves, but for your fellow-men and for your country. In this selfish spirit of service face the battle of life, and success will surely be yours.

It only remains for me to wish you the best of luck, and pray that all that you have acquired as members of this University and all that you have for your duty in life and enable you, with God's help, to serve your fellow-men and your country to the best of your power and ability. You may go out to the world to accomplish its high ideal purpose with a passion for action service, to bring about concord where there is discord, love where there is hatred, and trust where there is suspicion and distrust. Let you, my young friends, be the pioneers of a new movement which will eradicate the devastating prejudices and racial and communal barriers which divide us to-day, for that alone will secure for our country place worthy of her great past in the comity of nations.

